

Guests in the House

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

The Northern World

North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 A.D.
Peoples, Economies and Cultures

Editors

Barbara Crawford (St. Andrews)

David Kirby (London)

Jon-Vidar Sigurdsson (Oslo)

Ingvild Øye (Bergen)

Richard W. Unger (Vancouver)

Piotr Gorecki (University of California)

VOLUME 33

Guests in the House

Cultural Transmission between Slavs
and Scandinavians 900 to 1300 A.D.

By

Mats Roslund

Translated from Swedish by Alan Crozier



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2007

Cover illustration: Detail from the painting *The introduction of the Slavic liturgy: Praise the Lord in your native tongue* from Alfons Mucha's *The Slavic Epos*: While a Papal Bull is being read to the Moravian ruler Svantopluk, an earnest youth raises a circle, a symbol of Slavic unity. The painting is a symbolic comment on the right to hear the Gospel in Slavonic. Two Greek monks, Cyril and Methodius, translated parts of the Bible and the liturgy as a part of their mission in the 9th century. With kind permission of the City Gallery, Prague.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all rights holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyrights holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

ISBN 1569-1462

ISBN 978 90 04 16189 4

Copyright 2007 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface and Acknowledgements	xi
List of Illustrations	xv
 Chapter One The Power of the Past	 1
Introduction	3
Perspective and method—the itinerary of an archaeologist	8
For a self-critical contextual archaeology	10
The hidden ties	17
The Slavs	18
Alliances and wars in the south	22
The outlook on the Slavs in the <i>Ostsiedlung</i>	29
From cultural integration to conflicts of interest in the east	34
A people with smokehouses and kvass	39
From ‘subhumans’ to a part of Scandinavia’s history	42
Ur-Slavs and the Pan-Slavic aspiration for a Slavic identity	43
To arms! Slavic archaeology in hot and cold wars	48
“The poor Slavic culture...”. The view of the Slavs in Scandinavian archaeological and historical research	61
Conclusions	73
 Chapter Two The Encounter	 77
Cultural identity and material culture	78
Ethnic categorization in the Middle Ages	78
Race, tribe, and ethnic identity	86
From essentialism to subjectivism—a historical reorientation	91
Cultural and ethnic identity—anthropological renewal	97
Four questions for archaeologists	102
Conspicuous signals and low-key communication	120

Cultural transfer	128
Style and cultural transfer	128
Pottery and cultural identity	139
Conclusions	151
Chapter Three Preparing the Gift	155
The Ideological Potter's Wheel Models to Explain	
Changes to Early and Middle Slavic Pottery	156
From the Danube to the Baltic	159
From the Black Sea to Ladoga	174
Pottery, change, and ideology	187
Late Slavic Pottery in the Homelands	198
The tribes in the west	201
Pomerania and the Great Poland of the Piasts	223
Rus'	245
Conclusions	258
Chapter Four Scandinavian reception	261
Baltic Ware—a Definition	264
Eastern Denmark	279
Lund	279
Lund between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic	
traditions	284
Conclusion	305
Rural Skåne	307
Rural Skåne between Slavic and Scandinavian	
ceramic traditions	308
The countryside and Lund	319
Conclusion	322
Rural Halland	323
Rural Halland between Slavic and Scandinavian	
ceramic traditions	324
Conclusion	329
Rural Blekinge	330
Rural Blekinge between Slavic and Scandinavian	
ceramic traditions	330
Conclusion	333

Gotland	334
Visby	334
Visby between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	337
Conclusion	344
Rural Gotland	344
Rural Gotland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	345
Conclusion	353
Göteborg	353
Småland and Öland	353
Köpingsvik and Kalmar	354
Rural Småland and Öland	358
Baltic ware from Berga and Eketorp	358
Småland and Öland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	361
Conclusion	363
Västergötland	363
Skara	363
Skara between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	365
Conclusion	374
Lödöse	375
Lödöse between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	376
Conclusion	380
Rural Västergötland	381
Rural Västergötland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	381
Conclusion	385
Östergötland	385
Skänninge, Linköping and Söderköping	385
Skänninge, Linköping, and Söderköping between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	391
Conclusion	394
Rural Östergötland	395

Rural Östergötland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	395
Conclusion	400
The Mälaren valley	400
Between west and east—black earthenware in Birka	402
Sigtuna	406
Sigtuna between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	409
Conclusion	434
Nyköping, Södertälje, and Strängnäs	449
The towns around Mälaren between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	437
Conclusion	448
Rural sites in the Mälaren valley	449
The rural Mälaren valley between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions	452
The countryside and towns of the Mälaren valley	463
Conclusion	467
Chapter Five Slavic Guests in the Scandinavian House	469
Contacts and Baltic ware—what the potsherds tell us	472
Arrival—the time before 1000	472
Consolidation—the first half of the eleventh century	473
Separate paths—the second half of the eleventh century	476
Maximum—the first half of the twelfth century	480
The watershed—the second half of the twelfth century	484
The beginning of the end—the thirteenth century	489
Shades of black-regional consumption patterns	491
People and Baltic ware—the potter's tale	495
The memory of hands, the receptivity of humans	496
The guests who arrived—Slavic contacts	505
Slaves and guests	505
Idiosyncratic assimilation	514
Broken ties, firm handshakes	516
Farewell and welcome	521

CONTENTS

ix

Baltic ware and Slavic identity	525
The power of the present over the past	527
Literature	531
Index	551

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No other period in Scandinavian archaeology provokes such a degree of international attention as the Viking Age. As regional icons for the North, Vikings occupy a position not only in the minds of curious tourists, but also in those of scholars. And indeed, Viking influence extends to even later periods. The late Early and the High Middle Ages, in a central European perspective from 800 to 1200 A.D., have become largely a time of Scandinavian raiders and traders who exploited their European neighbours. Scandinavian excursions are recorded in foreign written documents from Carolingian times, and from the 12th century onwards by Northern chroniclers in their own languages. Modern scholars mostly see the Norse achievement as a purely Scandinavian activity. However, the neighbours of those fierce Vikings, and later on of crusaders in the Baltic, were not only on the receiving end. Neighbours interact, even if the contacts can be skewed. Strangers influenced Scandinavia no less than Scandinavians impacted on European medieval culture. This book intends to highlight a period of such interaction by focusing on Slav and Scandinavian cultural exchange between ca 900 and 1300 A.D. It was first presented as a dissertation in 2001, defended at the Institute of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund University in Sweden. The Department of Historical Archaeology (formerly Medieval Archaeology) has been the base for my excursions into the Slavic world.

Slavic archaeology has a long tradition in countries dominated in the Middle Ages by Slavonic speaking peoples. Just as in the case of the Viking Age, Slavic history has been influenced by contemporary perspectives. Its zenith coincided with the post-WW II political division of Europe. The content of congresses in Slavic archaeology owed as much to new achievements in the discipline as to the political *Zeitgeist*. As a consequence, research in continental Europe developed different traditions from that in the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon worlds. Not only the political and scholarly situation, but also the language barrier has been a major obstacle to forming a coherent picture of the common history of northern Europe. From my Scandinavian corner of the world, I have tried to merge perspectives and knowledge from all three traditions in East, North and West.

The need for better knowledge of past interactions has been stressed from both the “Scandinavian” and the “Slavic” sides. Building a common cultural heritage in Europe is an occupation rooted in contemporary politics, as it always has been. To find a balanced view in the face of such political rhetoric is vital. If we accept that archaeology is a part of society and a dynamic contributor to historical knowledge, it is necessary for every generation to re-interpret the past. “Guests in the House” is thus an attempt to open up aspects of everyday interaction through the simplest archaeological source; those black cooking pots that carry the stylistic traits of Slavonic producers. Even if pottery seems to be devoid of ethnic or political relevance in its medieval context, I hope to make clear that these vessels are signposts to contacts at the highest levels of society as well as commonplace features of the hearths of ordinary households. People act through material culture and negotiate their identities in everyday situations. It is through such unprepossessing remains that archaeology is able to contribute to an interpretation of culture transmission in the past and to participate in the discussion of how cultural heritage is created today.

Writing is similar to the loneliness of a long-distance runner. But along the track there are people who cheer you on and provide water stops. My coaches have been many. Firstly, I have warm memories of Anders Andrén (now at the Institute of Archaeology, Stockholm University), who acted as mentor for my PhD. Without the comments originally from Johan Callmer (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) about Slavic archaeology and medieval Europe, the focus of my book would have been narrower. Hans Andersson, the former director of the department of Medieval Archaeology, commented on the text and made it more legible. Several colleagues at the Institute have contributed to an on-going discussion about cultural and ethnic identity as an archaeological field of study. I am greatly indebted to them.

The reason for writing this book is given by a simple question. What is the connection between the Baltic ware found in Scandinavia, Late Slavic pottery and Slavic identity? This question opened doors to people’s scholarly work as well as to their homes in Sweden, Germany, Poland and Russia. Coaches in Germany have been Torsten Kempke, Hartwig Lüdtke, Günter Mangelsdorf and Ulrich Müller. My first scouting trip to Poland was arranged by Wojciech Brzeziński, who introduced me to Andrzej Buko, Aleksander Bursche, Anna Bitner-Wróblewska, Marek Dworaczyk, Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Władysław Filipowiak, Zbigniew Kobyliński, Zofia Kurnartowska, Lech Leciejew-

icz, Władysław Łosiński, Marian Rębkowski, Błażej Stanisławski and Wojciech Wróblewski. In Russia I obtained indispensable support from Sergeij Beletsky, Valentina Gorjunova, Evgenij Nosov and Nadezhda Platonova. Without their help it would not have been possible to throw light on this black hole in Scandinavian history.

Archaeology is much dependent on pictures. Without published references to styles and vessels this book could not have been made. I'm indebted to several publishers and scholars who have generously given permission to print their work. The publishers are Akademie Verlag in Berlin, Archaeologia Polona, Landesamt für Kultur und Denkmalpflege in Schwerin, the City Gallery, Prague, Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Insel Verlag in Frankfurt am Main, the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, the Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie, Ossolineum in Wrocław, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg and Wachholtz Verlag in Neumünster. With gratitude I mention Sergeij Beletsky, Cecilia Bonnevier, Sebastian Brather, Andrzej Buko, Eugenius Cnotliwy, Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Birgitta Hulthén, Torsten Kempke, Stefan Larsson, Władysław Łosiński, Marian Rębkowski, Peter Tolochko and Gustaf Trotzig for letting me use their pictures.

Alan Crozier has made a translation I feel comfortable with, always keen to catch the personal voice in the text, as well as finding the correct words. I'm grateful for his thorough work.

Alan Crozier has made a translation I feel comfortable with, always keen to catch the personal voice in the text, as well as finding the correct words. I'm grateful for his thorough work, which was supported generously by the Ebbe Kock Foundation.

While writing and travelling, life has run its own unforeseen course and made me change tracks a couple of times. I therefore dedicate this book to my parents Arne and Marianne, and my daughters Julia and Nellie. Four compasses pointing at the important things in life for this long-distance runner.

Lund in February 2007

Mats Roslund

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.	Novgorodians hunting squirrels and collecting honey. The Novgorod farers' pew in the church of St Nicholas, Stralsund	37
Fig. 2.	Olaus Magnus; Russian pirates	40
Fig. 3.	Olaus Magnus; Russian merchants	40
Fig. 4.	Alfons Mucha's <i>The Slav Epic</i> . "The introduction of the Slavic liturgy: Praise the Lord in your native tongue." Property of the National Gallery in Prague	46
Fig. 5.	Louis Moe's picture of the Wends in an edition of Saxo Grammaticus from 1911	64
Fig. 6.	Scene with Slavs and Saxons from the German law book <i>Sachsenspiegel</i> , the Heidelberg manuscript. After Koschorrek 1970, p. 128, folio 24r in the facsimile part. With permission by Insel Verlag and Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg	80
Fig. 7.	Louis Moe's illustration of the meeting between Henrik and Knut in Ribe	82
Fig. 8.	Early glazed ware of Stamford type from Lund. Drawn by Stefan Larsson	146
Fig. 9.	Vessels from Sandomierz, Poland. After Buko 1990 ...	150
Fig. 10.	Polish forms represented among the vessels from Přerov, Moravia. After Staňa 1994	151
Fig. 11.	Vessels of Prague-Korchak type and Sukow- Dziedzice type	159
Fig. 12 a and b.	Form types from Moravia representing a selection of a larger number of regional types. The changes in form show the typological and technical shift towards forms with typically Late Slavic features	162
Fig. 13.	Vessel types from Bohemia	163
Fig. 14.	Distribution of Feldberg ware in Mecklenburg- Vorpommern. After Brather 1996	166

Fig. 15. Distribution of the Fresendorf tradition in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. After Barther 1993, Abb. 5	167
Fig. 16. Distribution of the Menkendorf tradition in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. After Brather 1993, Abb. 4	168
Fig. 17. Rüssen vessels	169
Fig. 18. Rötha vessels	170
Fig. 19. Tornow vessels	170
Fig. 20. Vessels from Santok, Great Poland. Second half of the ninth century	172
Fig. 21. Vessels from Kraków, Little Poland. Ninth and tenth centuries	173
Fig. 22. Cooking vessels from Crimea, seventh to eighth centuries	175
Fig. 23. Vessels from the settlement site of Monastirek on the Dnepr, eighth to tenth centuries	177
Fig. 24. Vessels from the cemetery at Gnezdovo, tenth century	179
Fig. 25. Vessels from the hinterland of Polotsk, tenth century	180
Fig. 26. Pots from Pskov, ninth and tenth centuries	181
Fig. 27. Pskov. Vessels from the tenth century and early eleventh century	182
Fig. 28. Hand-made vessels of Ladoga type from Ryurikovo Gorodische	184
Fig. 29. Novgorod. Vessels from the second half of the tenth century	185
Fig. 30. Map with find spots of Late Slavic pottery used in this work	200
Fig. 31. Mecklenburg. The most common vessel types according to Schuldt 1964	202
Fig. 32. Starigard/Oldenburg. Warder forms from the eleventh century. After Kempke 1984, Tafel 26: 1; Tafel 20: 3	204
Fig. 33. Starigard/Oldenburg. Graph showing percentages of the Late Slavic ceramic groups	205
Fig. 34. Starigard/Oldenburg. The most common everted rim forms. After Kempke 1984, Tafel 17: 11; Tafel 24: 5; Tafel 44: 5 & 6	206

Fig. 35. Starigard/Oldenburg. <i>Ringaugengefäß</i> from the twelfth century. After Kempke 1984, Tafel 25: 5	207
Fig. 36. Veligrad/Mecklenburg. The variety of forms in the most common Late Slavic vessel types distributed by <i>Reihen</i> . After Donat 1984, p. 91, Abb. 53	208
Fig. 37. Veligrad/Mecklenburg. Quantitative distribution of the most common Late Slavic vessel types distributed by <i>Reihen</i> . After Donat 1984, p. 92, Abb. 54	209
Fig. 38. Alt-Lübeck. Graph showing percentages of the Late Slavic vessel groups	211
Fig. 39. Alt-Lübeck. The most common rim forms in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. After Hübener 1953 ...	212
Fig. 40. Warder. Graph showing percentages of the Late Slavic vessel groups	213
Fig. 41. Behren-Lübchin. Graph showing percentages of the Late Slavic groups	215
Fig. 42. Teterow. Graph showing percentages of the Late Slavic groups	215
Fig. 43. Rügen. Common inverted rim forms of late Fresendorf and Warder types. After Lampe 1983	217
Fig. 44. Quantitative distribution of vessels associated with inverted forms. Base map after Kempke 1981	218
Fig. 45. Examples of rims from the groups constituting the background to the map in fig. 44. Redebas, Kreis Ribnitz-Damgarten (Corpus 38/94)	219
Fig. 46. Rügen. Late Slavic vessel from Ruschvitz. After Lampe 1982, p. 165, Abb. 10 k	220
Fig. 47. Wolin. Wilde's classification of Late Slavic rim forms from the town. After Wilde 1939	226
Fig. 48. Wolin. Vessels from the first half of the eleventh century, the second half of the eleventh century, and the first half of the twelfth century. After Białęcka 1961	228
Fig. 49. Wolin. Vessels from the first half of the twelfth century and the middle of the twelfth century to c. 1200. After Białęcka 1961	229
Fig. 50. Szczecin. Vessel types in use in the town from the second half of the tenth century to the first half of the thirteenth century. After Cnotliwy <i>et al.</i> 1983, p. 235, fig. 205	231

Fig. 51. Szczecin, some examples of vessel types G and G1. After Cnotliwy <i>et al.</i> 1983	233
Fig. 52. Szczecin, Examples of vessel types J and K. After Cnotliwy <i>et al.</i> 1983	234
Fig. 53. Białogard. Graph showing percentages of the Late Slavic types	236
Fig. 54. Gdańsk. The variation in everted rims. Lepówna 1968, p. 28, fig. 3	237
Fig. 55. Gdańsk. The variation in the everted rims over time. After Lepówna 1968, fig. 7	238
Fig. 56. Gdańsk. Cups at the top belong to a form that became frequent from <i>c.</i> 1180. Cylindrical necks were made in the earliest phase of the town, i.e., around 980. After Lepówna 1968, p. 271, fig. 48	239
Fig. 57. Santok. Vessels from the Late Slavic groups. Second half of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh century and the middle of eleventh century to the twelfth/thirteenth century. After Dymaczewska 1972, Abb. 17	241
Fig. 58. Kruszwicza. All the rim forms used in the town between the second half of the tenth century and the middle of the fourteenth century. After Dzieduszycki 1982, p. 178, ill. XIII and p. 179, ill. XIV	243
Fig. 59. Kołobrzeg. Late forms of traditional Slavic pottery from the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. After Rębkowski 1995	246
Fig. 60. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Vessels from just after 1000	249
Fig. 61. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Vessels from around 1050	250
Fig. 62. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Vessels from the second half of the eleventh century	251
Fig. 63. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Vessels from the first half of the twelfth century	252
Fig. 64. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Vessels from the second half of the twelfth century	253
Fig. 65. Izborsk. Vessels from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After Beletsky 1996, p. 28, fig. 8	254

Fig. 66. Izborsk. Vessels from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. After Beletsky 1996, p. 28, fig. 9 and p. 29, fig. 10	255
Fig. 67. Grave vessels from the hinterland of Novgorod. Eleventh and twelfth centuries	256
Fig. 68. Kiev. Rim forms from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. After Tolochko 1981, p. 300, fig. 131	257
Fig. 69 a and b. Map showing the places mentioned in the study of Baltic ware	263
Fig. 70. Kugeltöpfe from Lund	283
Fig. 71. Lund, Anglo-Scandinavian black earthenware	283
Fig. 72. Lund, vessel of indigenous Late Viking Age type	284
Fig. 73. Lund, Apotekaren 4. Percentages of Baltic ware and Late Baltic ware in different periods	285
Fig. 74. Lund, Apotekaren 4. Early black earthenware distributed by ware group over time. Fig. 75. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. A selection of the most frequent forms of Baltic ware during the eleventh century	286
Fig. 75. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. A selection of the most frequent forms of Baltic ware during the eleventh century. Scale 1:4	288
Fig. 76. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt 25–26. A selection of the most frequent forms of Baltic ware during the eleventh century	289
Fig. 77. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Forms of Baltic ware from the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century	290
Fig. 78. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Forms of Baltic ware from the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century	291
Fig. 79. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Late Baltic ware <i>c.</i> 1150–1250	292
Fig. 80. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware with various functions. Hanging vessels, lamps, lids, and bowls from the eleventh and twelfth centuries	293
Fig. 81. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware, vessel family mostly from the first half of the eleventh century	295

Fig. 82.	Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware, vessel family from around 1050	296
Fig. 83.	Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware, vessel family from around 1100	297
Fig. 84.	Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware, vessel family from the twelfth century	297
Fig. 85.	Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Late Baltic ware, vessel family from the second half of the thirteenth century	298
Fig. 86.	Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Late Baltic ware, form reference Lu 77, end of the twelfth and start of the thirteenth century	298
Fig. 87.	Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware with forms analogous to the late Fresendorf tradition in eastern Mecklenburg- Vorpommern and at the mouth of the Oder	302
Fig. 88.	Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware with analogues in eastern Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and at the mouth of the Oder	303
Fig. 89.	Analogues to form references in Lund from Usedom, Kreis Wolgast	304
Fig. 90.	Rural Skåne. Some of the most common forms of Baltic ware from the villages of Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup	309
Fig. 91.	Rural Skåne. Some of the most common forms of Baltic ware from the villages of Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup	310
Fig. 92.	Rural Skåne. Baltic ware with special functions such as lids, lamps, bowls, and hanging vessels from the villages of Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup	311
Fig. 93.	Bjäresjö. Baltic ware with everted rims	312
Fig. 94.	Gårdstånga. Baltic ware with characteristic local forms	312
Fig. 95.	Baltic ware from Önnerup	314
Fig. 96.	Önnerup. Baltic ware with cylindrical necks	314
Fig. 97.	Önnerup. Baltic ware with biconical vessel bodies	315
Fig. 98.	Rural Skåne. Late Baltic ware from the villages of Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup	316

Fig. 99.	Kyrkheddinge. Late Baltic ware with everted rims and short vertical rim	316
Fig. 100.	Rural Skåne. Baltic ware from Fjälkinge	318
Fig. 101.	Rural Skåne. Anglo-Scandinavian vessel from Kyrkheddinge	321
Fig. 102.	Rural Skåne. Late Baltic ware from Häljarp	321
Fig. 103.	Rural Halland. Late Viking Age pottery from Varla	325
Fig. 104.	Rural Halland. The most common forms of Baltic ware from the villages of Skummeslöv, Trulstorp, Ösarp, Östorp, Kärragård, Eldsberga, Hörsås, and Träslöv	326
Fig. 105.	Rural Halland. Other forms of Baltic ware from the villages	327
Fig. 106.	Rural Halland. Baltic ware from Skrea, Öringe, Okome and Grimeton	328
Fig. 107.	Rural Blekinge. Baltic ware from Augerum and Gärestad	332
Fig. 108.	Visby. Baltic ware. Vessel forms with local affiliation	340
Fig. 109.	Visby. The most common forms of Rus' pottery	341
Fig. 110.	Visby. Other examples of Rus' forms	342
Fig. 111.	Visby. Rus' rim forms	343
Fig. 112.	Rural Gotland. Baltic ware with everted rim, short vertical rim, inverted rim, and cylindrical neck. After Selling 1955	346
Fig. 113.	Baltic ware used to hold a hoard buried around 956. Gotland, Rondarve in Eksta Parish	347
Fig. 114.	Southern Gotland. Baltic ware. Vessels found in graves, Grötlingbo and Hablingbo Parishes. After Hulthén 1991, fig. 1 b	349
Fig. 115.	Southern Gotland. Baltic ware. Vessels found in graves, Grötlingbo and Hemse Parishes. After Hulthén 1991, fig. 1 a	350
Fig. 116.	Gotland, Västergarn. Rus' pottery	351
Fig. 117.	Öland, Köpingsvik. Baltic ware	355
Fig. 118.	Småland, Kalmar. Vessel found by the excavation in Slottsfjärden 1933–1934, probably Late Slavic ware from a western Slavic area. After Selling 1955	356

Fig. 119.	Småland, Kalmar. Western Slavic vessels presented as rim profiles and Baltic ware with inverted rims, probably of indigenous origin. After Wahlöö 1976, fig. 79, 80, 81, 301 & 302	357
Fig. 120.	Småland, Berga. Baltic ware	359
Fig. 121.	Grave vessel from Öland, Skärlöv, Hulterstad Parish. Analogues to the cylindrical neck and the decoration can be found in Visby, Köpingsvik, and Sigtuna	360
Fig. 122.	Öland, Eketorp, Gräsgård Parish. Baltic ware of local origin. After Wahlöö 1976, fig. 82	361
Fig. 123.	Skara, Iris 1-5 and Rådhuset 30. Vessel of Late Viking Age type	366
Fig. 124.	Skara. The close relationship between the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition and the local Baltic ware is obvious from these two vessels	367
Fig. 125.	Skara, Iris 1-5 and Rådhuset 30. Baltic ware with inverted rims	368
Fig. 126.	Skara, Iris 1-5 and Rådhuset 30. Baltic ware. Further variants of inverted forms	369
Fig. 127.	Skara, Iris 1-5 and Rådhuset 30. Baltic ware. Everted rims	370
Fig. 128.	Skara, Iris 1-5 and Rådhuset 30. Baltic ware. Lid and lamps	371
Fig. 129.	Lödöse. Areas DC and NE. Late Viking Age tradition and round-based cooking pots, probably local manufacture inspired by German <i>Kugeltöpfe</i>	377
Fig. 130.	Lödöse. Areas DC and NE. The most frequent rim forms and two bowls for oil lamps of Baltic ware	379
Fig. 131.	Rural Västergötland. Berghem. The Baltic ware mostly has inverted rims	382
Fig. 132.	Rural Västergötland. Baltic ware from Råda, Finnestorp, Rättaregården, and Assartorp	382
Fig. 133.	Söderköping. Late Viking Age pottery from the von Platen and Hertigen blocks	389
Fig. 134.	Söderköping, von Platen and Hertigen. Local variants of Western European <i>Kugeltöpfe</i>	390
Fig. 135.	Linköping. Baltic ware and a presumed Rus' rim	391
Fig. 136.	Skänninge, Järntorgsparken and the Nunnan block. Baltic ware, and a presumed Rus' rim	391

Fig. 137. Söderköping, von Platen and Hertigen. Baltic ware	393
Fig. 138. Söderköping, von Platen and Hertigen. Vessels of presumed Rus' origin	394
Fig. 139. Rural Östergötland. Borg. Vessel of Late Viking Age type with smooth surface and hard fabric	395
Fig. 140. Rural Östergötland. Översta, Askeby Parish. Vessel from a cremation grave without grave goods	396
Fig. 141. Rural Östergötland. Borg Manor. Baltic ware	397
Fig. 142. Rural Östergötland. Baltic ware. Vessel from Västra Bökestad, and Pryssgården	399
Fig. 143. Mälaren valley. Birka. Vessel of Ladoga type from Rus' and two turntable-built vessels from Rus'. After Selling 1955, Taf. 45:8, Taf. 18:6, and Taf. 18:7	404
Fig. 144. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Vessels of Late Viking Age type	408
Fig. 145. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Percentage of early black earthenware in each period	411
Fig. 146. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most frequent forms of normal and simple Baltic ware	412
Fig. 147. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most frequent forms of normal and simple Baltic ware	413
Fig. 148. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of simple Baltic ware	415
Fig. 149. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of simple Baltic ware	416
Fig. 150. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Normal Baltic ware. Lids, oil lamps, and low bowls	418
Fig. 151. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of Rus' pottery, <i>c.</i> 980 to 1250	419
Fig. 152. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of Rus' pottery, <i>c.</i> 980 to 1250	421
Fig. 153. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of Rus' pottery, <i>c.</i> 980 to 1250	422
Fig. 154. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Representatives of other forms of Rus' pottery, <i>c.</i> 980 to 1250	423

Fig. 155.	Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Representatives of other forms of Rus' pottery, c. 980 to 1250	424
Fig. 156.	Base marks in the form of Rurikid symbols from Kiev and Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Base marks from Kiev after Tolochko 1981	427
Fig. 157.	Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Percentage of rim forms in the simple Baltic ware distributed over time	429
Fig. 158.	Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Baltic ware. Percentages of simple and normal rim forms in each period	432
Fig. 159.	Nyköping. Late Viking Age vessel and indigenous vessels influenced by the forms of <i>Kugeltöpfe</i>	435
Fig. 160.	Strängnäs. Late Viking Age pottery with decoration inspired by Late Slavic style and undecorated Late Viking Age pottery	438
Fig. 161.	Nyköping, Stallbacken and Folkungabron blocks. Baltic ware from the town, and a rim that may be of Rus' origin	439
Fig. 162.	Södertälje, Kilen block. Baltic ware of varied quality and vessels of Rus' origin	443
Fig. 163.	Strängnäs, Rådstugan 3 and 4. Baltic ware and Rus' pottery	446
Fig. 164.	Baltic ware from Västerås, Linnea block, and Stockholm	446
Fig. 165.	Rural Södermanland. Baltic ware	453
Fig. 166.	Rural Södermanland. Baltic ware	454
Fig. 167.	Rural Södermanland. Baltic ware	455
Fig. 168.	Rural Uppland. Baltic ware	456
Fig. 169.	Rural Uppland. Baltic ware	457
Fig. 170.	Rural Uppland. Baltic ware	458
Fig. 171.	Rural Uppland. Baltic ware	459
Fig. 172.	Rural Uppland. Baltic ware	460
Fig. 173.	Rural Uppland. Baltic ware	461
Fig. 174.	Late Viking Age pottery with decoration inspired by Late Slavic style, Uppland	464
Fig. 175.	Distribution of Baltic ware in the Mälaren valley. Base map after Bennet 1987	465

Fig. 176. In Hälsingland, Hög, Hög Parish, we find the northernmost vessel of Baltic ware in all the area studied	480
Fig. 177. Map showing the distribution of Baltic ware in Scandinavia	492
Fig. 178. Obodrite rule at its widest extent at the end of the eleventh century	507
Fig. 179. Map showing Rus' pottery from <i>c.</i> 1000 to 1300 found in present-day Sweden	522
Fig. 180. Stockholm, Norrmalm, Svalan block. Russian vessel from the late fifteenth or the sixteenth century	525

CHAPTER ONE

THE POWER OF THE PAST

On an island where the Dnepr flows into the Black Sea there is a runic stone. Grani raised it at Berezan in memory of Karl "...his companion [*fēlagi*] ...". In the simple line of runes, the only known runic stone in the kingdom of Rus' has captured what has been considered to be the chief interest of the Norsemen in the areas to the east. Trade along the road between Varangians and Greeks went on intensively between 800 and the end of the tenth century, leaving its traces in Arabian and Byzantine chronicles.

In Sønner Vissing church in Jutland there is another runic stone with a type of text that is commonly found: "Tove, Mistivoi's daughter, wife of Harald the Good Gormsson, had this memorial raised after her mother". Family members erected such stones in memory of a brother, a son, or, as in this case, a mother. This particular stone has a special meaning. The message it has borne over the years is about kinship connections over a cultural boundary. It stands as evidence of a political agreement between people differing in language, material culture, and lifeways.

The runic stones are in many ways symbols of the direction taken during the twentieth century by research into contacts between Slavs and Scandinavians. The perspective from Sweden has had a Nordic colouring, from sources such as runic stones telling of foreign expeditions, and hoards of Arabian coins. Because of the clear texts on the monuments and the origin of the silver, the contacts have been viewed in a rather one-sided way, and research has focused on active Norsemen off in the east collecting silver. The exchange seems to show a poor balance, with a flow of people from Scandinavia to the Slavic regions and a flow in the opposite direction of the wealth they amassed. In the east the picture is also conjured up of Scandinavian initiatives to found a state in Rus', the name of the emergent political organization that later became Russia. The concentration on the Viking Age in research on connections between the Swedes (Svear) and East Slavs has had the effect that trade and political exchange seem to cease at the start of the Middle Ages. In Sweden narratives about the subsequent period have

concerned conflicts and negotiations with Novgorod from the end of the twelfth century to the boundary agreements of the fourteenth century. The burning of Sigtuna in 1187, Alexander Nevsky's victory over Spiridon, *voivoda* of the Swedes, in 1240, and the Peace of Nöteborg in 1323 are individual events with roots in a larger political process in which the focus has been on disputes. If we turn to Denmark, we see that the shared interests of the late tenth century are overshadowed by the conflicts of the twelfth century. Then Danish exploits were required to meet the threat from the untrustworthy Wends who tormented the population of the islands. Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, with its politically coloured content, has set the tone for medieval relations with the West Slavs south of the Baltic Sea.

The problem of obtaining a nuanced picture of the contacts also has to do with the chronology of historical scholarship. The years 900–1300 are squeezed in between two well-defined research fields, the Viking Age and the 'Hanseatic Age', and represent a period when the political and cultural situation in the Baltic area is difficult to capture. In archaeological terms a very elastic string ties the late Viking Age to the High Middle Ages, periods which with their rich amounts of finds display separate patterns of culture. The few written sources give an incomplete picture, with glimpses of the political situation but not of relations between people. In texts where details of Slavic connections occur, the content is politicized or far too general, which makes it harder to understand cultural changes in the Baltic Sea area during the period. Rus', Poland, and the Wendish federations developed in different directions as regards relations with the surrounding world, material culture, and political ambitions. Relations were moreover in constant change. In the last three decades, however, there has been a change in the direction of studies of the links. The Slavic material culture manifested on Scandinavian soil has attracted increased attention.¹

Archaeological interpretations are stances we take up in the present. In our formulations we shape the future's view of the past and put arguments in the hands of people who use them for their own purposes. When I choose to bring up the question of cultural transfer, it presupposes the existence of a sender and a receiver. Since I am working in a time with a fair number of Scandinavian and German written

¹ Hårdh 1976a, 1976b, 1996; Andersen 1982; Duczko 1983, 1985; Grindler-Hansen 1983; Jansson 1987a, 1987b, 1989; Callmer 1989.

sources, but few Slavic ones, the groups take on different profiles. The shared feature is that one can point to the actors in today's Europe. Vikings, Novgorodians, Piasts, and Wends are used or discarded with the changing needs to use them. Today's scholars and politicians pull the different actors out of the box to allow shadows from the past to move across the screen as in a Javanese puppet theatre. Behind the screen, however, there is always a *dalang*, a puppet master, controlling the narrative. Ethnicity and archaeology form an explosive binary substance which calls for great caution in approaching both source material and interpretations. One task for archaeologists and historians could be to draw attention to the heterogeneity of the population structure in the Middle Ages. Since this study concerns influence and immigration from countries which are striving today for a national identity, in Scandinavia, Germany, Poland, and Russia, the results can be used as tools in a process when we aspire to new forms of integration.

INTRODUCTION

In this superficial background sketch of research on Slavic-Scandinavian contacts, my own point of departure is formulated as a critique. Although important work has been done to trace and explain the presence of Slavic artefacts in Scandinavia between 900 and 1300, the results lead to a general picture of how the contacts were maintained. I want to investigate whether they existed on a personal level, with Slavic presence in Scandinavian households. This can be difficult to detect archaeologically. The reason is the ambiguity of the source material when one tries to find out in what social context and how the objects reached Scandinavia. To avoid ending up in the trap of early culture-historical archaeology, when every foreign artefact was viewed as an ethnic indicator, the artefacts must be evaluated in terms of their respective properties. Silver ornaments have an intrinsic value as prestige objects and means of payment, while modest foils of cooper alloy circulated in a different social sphere. Difficulty also arises when one tries to capture changes or the temporal dimension in the connections. Few objects are so firmly fixed in time that they can serve as a foundation for a typological-chronological series. Well-dated stratigraphic sequences are rare. If we wish to detect the personal presence of Slavs in Scandinavia we need a group of artefacts with a short period of circulation, with no prestige attached to them, and definitely belonging

to the everyday structure in the Slavic core areas. One such group can be found in what archaeologists call Slavic pottery, Baltic-Wendish pottery, Wendish black earthenware, A II ware, or Baltic ware. This type of ware is found in Scandinavian households from the end of the tenth century, with the majority in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. It occurs in copious quantities and with a broad geographical spread in Sweden and eastern Denmark. Ever since Slavic pottery was identified at the end of the nineteenth century, the question of what it represents outside its area of origin has been on the agenda.

The main question asked in this book is therefore very simple. What does Baltic ware tell us about Slavic presence in the Early Middle Ages in today's Sweden and how was the tradition passed on to Scandinavian potters? In short: what is the link between Baltic ware and Slavic identity?

The way to a probable answer is more difficult, however. Basic premises of a theoretical, empirical, and methodological kind are very important for the conclusions and require scholars to pursue in-depth studies of their own. As regards theory, discussions about what statements we can make about the past, what constitutes ethnic identity, and how distinctive features in material culture are passed on to other cultural groups are important. In empirical terms, a search for analogies or contrasts calls for a knowledge of what the pottery looks like and in what social contexts it was manufactured, both in the Slavic areas and in Scandinavia. As for method, we need tools to define the ceramic traditions in verbal, tabular, and graphic form so that the search becomes possible. The main question therefore has ramifications with their own specific premises. Consequently one must work with both breadth and depth.

The temporal perspective must be extended. It is therefore necessary to break the bounds that have been built up within archaeology, where prehistoric archaeologists deal with the period up to the end of the Viking Age, and then historical archaeologists take over. In the latter subject there are also traditions which act as an impediment. For many years we have discussed the possibility of abandoning the categories that force thought to stay within special research areas. Historical archaeology is burdened with a straitjacket made of material from the doctrine of the four estates of society. Nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants are certainly categories with their roots in the Middle Ages, even though they did not develop fully until the Late Middle Ages. But while they can be a good point of departure in a dialogue, the division makes it difficult to study overarching themes with a social content. Among

these questions are studies of social mobility, age-related status, gender, and ethnicity. The problem is of a basic structural nature. We find the categorization in the syllabus for undergraduate education, in the courses taken by postgraduate students, and at international conferences. This is serious since the ongoing discourse within the discipline is also based on the four estates. We have rural groups and castle groups, clubs discussing churches and clubs for medieval towns. It is only when we study themes crossing boundaries in time and place that it becomes possible to create the conditions for studies of continuity or discontinuity in ethnic connections.

The assessment of the Slavs as a culture group has indirectly or directly influenced interest in studies of Slavic influence on Scandinavia. By examining the historical premises of research on the Slavs, we can understand the interpretations we meet in older literature. This text can thus be regarded as making the Slavs visible in a dual sense. I want to show how the view of the Slavs has shaped archaeological perceptions, and to underline the varying contacts with Scandinavia.

The designation 'Slavs' may seem broad. In principle it covers ethnic groups in the area from the Baltic Sea to the southern Balkans and from the Elbe in the west to the eastern boundary of Russia. Here I confine myself to those whom we know to have had close contacts with Scandinavia and who lived nearby. In practice the book concerns the West Slavic tribes who were called Wends, the inhabitants of Poland and Pomerania above all, and Russia or, as it was called in the Early Middle Ages, Rus'. The actual point of departure is that the Slavs constituted different ethnic groups, but with some shared features which make it appropriate to study them together, as in continental archaeology. The Slavs themselves have through the ages stressed in different ways unifying traits in culture and interests.² Long before the Pan-Slavic movement emerged from a romantic source, there were shared features which extended over the Catholic-Orthodox religious boundary.

It would make the text more difficult to understand if I anticipated the step-by-step narrative with an overall account of research, a description of the method, and a presentation of the empirical material. Concepts and methods which are significant for the discussion will be presented in the chapters where they are relevant. The text is divided into four

² Dvornik 1962, p. XXI.

main chapters, each of which deals with a separate problem, and a fifth where the conclusions are brought together into an all-round view of the contacts.

In the chapter 'The Power of the Past' I present the reason for the choice of topic for study, the questions raised by the work, and the perspective from which I proceed in my narrative. The background in the history of scholarship is fundamental for the assessment of the Slavs as people. Based on the historiography of the medieval life situation of the Slavs and the evaluation of their culture by the disciplines of archaeology and history, I describe the premises in this politically ambiguous research field. When researchers enter this field, their hypotheses, interpretations, and results end up in a sphere of politicized history, important for the Slavic identity past and present. A focus on the ethnogenesis of the Slavs is firmly rooted in German, Polish, and Russian research, where archaeology has always played a significant part in interpretations. Kossinna's *Kulturkreis* theory and chauvinistic political archaeology have been intensely discussed in the last decade. In this section I shall therefore put special emphasis on opinions originating in Slavic and to some extent Scandinavian historiography. For my self-understanding as a researcher, and in the realization that my results will be used in the dialogue of the present with the past, retrospects are absolutely essential. The breaking down of old political walls is accompanied by a possibility of interpreting the past according to a new yardstick. The use of history continues on the basis of a contemporary need for self-understanding.

Cultural identity and the expression it is given in material culture is considered in the chapter 'The Encounter'. Clear cultural areas existed in the Middle Ages, when different conditions prevailed as regards language, politics, and ways of life. The period is therefore especially appropriate for identity studies. But it is important to investigate whether there was an awareness of foreignness expressed in material culture.

In the last two decades ethnicity as a social category has come into focus in archaeology. In the chapter I present the topic with the emphasis on recent years' theoretical and methodological experiences in archaeology and history. The field has also acquired a place in Scandinavia, and the few existing examples of concrete applications are highlighted.

The link between the abstract definition of cultural identity and material culture can be made via the discussion of style. The choice of style for artefacts materialized the mental image that a group of

people considered to be the proper one. Where different traditions met there was always the possibility of adopting the other side's customs or material expressions. The willingness to assimilate or the aversion to adopting something foreign reflects the relationship between the actors, while simultaneously making the power relations and differences in mode of production clear. Concrete examples of production and consumption of cooking pots are the starting point for a contextual analysis in which time and place are important for being able to explain the development of style.

The lowest level of the contacts in the archaeological source material is clearest in the use of Slavic-inspired household pottery in Scandinavia. As a basis for knowledge of the interaction we need to know more about ceramic diversity in the Slav-dominated areas of Europe. Slavic pottery on the continent from the fifth century to the start of the fourteenth century serves as the background to the emergence of the Scandinavian finds in the chapter 'Preparing the Gift'. By placing pottery manufacture in a specific chronological and social context and stressing the variation in forms in the continental source material it is possible to see Baltic ware in a broader context.

In the chapter 'Scandinavian Reception' we penetrate deep into chronology and typology to be able to answer the question whether the so-called Baltic ware is a purely Slavic phenomenon or a concrete example of cultural transfer. This is also the centre of gravity of the book, since it is possible to reveal clear contrasts in the use of pottery between regions in both the Slavic and the Scandinavian countries. Differences and similarities in the set of pots can moreover be periodized in intervals which are short by archaeological standards, making it possible to detect rapid changes. Because of its everyday function and its changeability, it is therefore here that the personal contacts are most obvious.

The interpretation of the information extracted from the seeming monolith of Baltic ware is presented in the chapter 'Slavic Guests in the Scandinavian House'. To clarify the differences between the observations and interpretations enabled by the testimony of the potsherds and the explanations for the transfers which I consider probable, I divide the chapter into two sections. In the first of these, entitled 'Contacts and Baltic ware—what the potsherds tell us' I interpret the chronological course, the development of form and decoration, and the link with the Slavic areas where Baltic ware occurs. In the second section, called 'People and Baltic ware—the potter's tale' I combine

the empirical material with the wisdom drawn from studies of cultural identity, style, transfer of material culture, and pottery production in other parts of Europe.

PERSPECTIVE AND METHOD—THE ITINERARY OF
AN ARCHAEOLOGIST

The perspective that pervades the text has its roots in the view of historical archaeology as cultural history. It is important to point out that this is not the same as culture-historical archaeology. There is of course an affinity with the romantic tradition that emerged in the closing years of the eighteenth century, in the study of foreign peoples in other parts of the world, and among the common people or ‘folk’ in the home country, as bearers of something original and unspoiled.³ The nationalist programme of the nineteenth century included ideas which left their mark on archaeology. Older cultures were considered to be entities of peoples with shared material, spiritual, and biological identity which reached their end point in the states of the time. The criticism levelled against this outlook instead emphasizes the subjectivity and diversity of cultural identities. The clearly demarcated nation that scholars thought they saw turned out to be more elusive when a multiplicity of sources was used to define it against other groups. Although this tendency proceeds from the same tradition, the concept of *cultural history* should instead be perceived in the sense in which it is used by ethnologists and historians of mentality, whose basic view is that humans as cultural beings actively shape their lives and their material surroundings, and that through the sources we browse among cultural patterns.

The perspective that I have chosen is a part of the post-processual school’s view of humans as active in the past and of artefacts as bearers of meaning. In contrast to a processual outlook which looks for general behaviours among people as biological creatures in a system, I consider it more interesting to underline the diversity of cultural modes of expression. I wish to stress, however, that this is not the primary point of departure for my stance. It took a long time before the Anglo-Saxon debate reached medieval archaeology in Lund in a

³ Bringéus 1976, pp. 9ff.; Andrén 1998, pp. 126ff.

concrete way. Despite a relatively early visit by Ian Hodder in April 1982 and comments on his ideas presented soon after, the post-processual trend cannot be said to have influenced the subject to any great extent until the 1990s.⁴ Hans Andersson, who succeeded Erik Cinthio as professor in 1986, has expressed the opinion that medieval archaeology in Lund, through Cinthio, already embraced a contextual outlook and that processual archaeology was weakly represented. There was therefore no seedbed for a counter to the latter.⁵ The clash between the old and new which fed many heated discussions between representatives of the New Archaeology and its critics in the 1980s therefore had no culture medium in which to grow. It was not until the end of the 1980s that a discussion of the identity of the subject found more explicit expression, above all in relation to the written sources and the chronological limits.⁶

Other currents with similar content must be held up as important for the emergence of this book. In Germany there has been an interest in what has been called *Alltagsleben* or *Lebensordnungen*.⁷ In Swedish archaeological research the French historians of the *Annales* school did not come into focus until the major works appeared in English and Scandinavian translations. German research on cultural history may be said to have had a weaker impact. Language difficulties and the scant interest in the German-speaking culture area are reasons for the lack of attention to historiography from Central Europe. But there are also reasons of a different kind. From the historical archaeological point of view, the weakness of the German-language texts is that they are mostly based on written source material, while the material remains serve as ornamental details instead of being integrated in the narrative. Historical archaeological contributions to the theme of *Alltagsleben* are often confined to descriptions of the material instead of problem-oriented investigations; this has been pointed out by Wolfgang Seidenspinner, who says that “es ist doch nicht Alltag, wenn wir wissen ... aus welchem Schüsselchen ein mittelalterlicher Dorf- oder Stadtbewohner einst seinen Hirsebrei gelöffelt hat”.⁸ Presentations can be totally free of social interpretations, which has the effect that they become narratives about

⁴ Andrén 1983a.

⁵ Andersson 1988, pp. 65ff.

⁶ *Meta* 1988/1–2, *Meta* 1992/4.

⁷ Seidenspinner 1989; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1993, p. 20.

⁸ Seidenspinner 1989, p. 42.

the past without clear questions or theoretical perspectives. *Alltagsleben* risks becoming a branch of peasant romanticism and an infatuation with the past itself. This danger has of course been pointed out in historical research in the German-speaking countries.⁹ The possibilities for medieval historians and archaeologists lie in the wealth of modes of cultural expression to be found in the written and archaeological sources, a concrete framework for how life was lived. The diversity in time and place is fascinating and we are shown the categories of the time, which can be used in social studies.¹⁰

For a self-critical contextual archaeology

The above sources of inspiration have given me a fundamental perspective and fostered an interest in man as a cultural being. Its application to the archaeological source material is dependent on yet another concretization which makes it possible to work. Awareness of the debate concerning processualism versus post-processualism in archaeology is of course there as part of my view of the discipline. It is contextual and interpretative archaeology that is the basis for my work with the question of cultural transfer.¹¹ This approach has not yet had much impact on the historical archaeological dialogue, although the possibilities of working in times with both written and archaeological sources have been held up as being particularly fruitful.¹² To a large extent my perception of the limits and scope of archaeology coincides with that of part of the heterogeneous post-processual group; in other cases the views are alien to me. Shared perspectives concern: people as living actors in the past; the need for a holistic outlook for social and historical interpretation; a contextual analysis; and the search for abstract categories in material remains. The question of cultural transfer is one such. We are furthest from each other when it comes to the relativist element in the interpretation process and the politicization of archaeology.

The growing critique of the post-processual school, both internally and externally, should be emphasized to facilitate an understanding of how the perspective can be made concrete in the encounter with a body of archaeological source material. The problems are numerous

⁹ Ehalt 1984, p. 33.

¹⁰ Borst 1973; Fichtenau 1992.

¹¹ Hodder 1986; Shanks & Hodder 1995.

¹² Moreland 1991; Verhaeghe 1998.

and concern the outlook on the sources, the contradictions in the actual use of the contextual method, and the politicization of scholarship.¹³ Here I would like to make a brief comment and to a certain extent counter the critique in order to clarify how my own contribution should be perceived.

Contextual archaeology is highly dependent on data. An artefact can be interpreted on the basis of its context with the aid of other variables, and the more of these there are, the richer in contrasts is the backdrop we create. Success in the solution of a problem is thus closely associated with the quality and quantity of the archaeological source material, with the chronologies and sorting systems, something that is easily forgotten in discussions of theory.

The relationship to the source material is problematic. Even trickier is how to translate the contextual method into practice. It is therefore necessary to highlight three areas where disagreements have been clear between different groupings in archaeology; these must be discussed in the present work since they affect the interpretation process. One concerns how a contextual outlook functions methodologically, the second deals with the problem of generalizations, and the third is about how we relate to analogies.

The context to be used for an understanding of source material is not given. It must consist of a shared frame of reference, a normal science. In the study of an artefact pattern in an attempt to form an idea of social structures, one needs the contemporary society as a backdrop for the interpretation. The method can come dangerously close to circular reasoning;

To get at economic and social aspects of the society one must go via the cultural traces, but to interpret these remains one must be familiar with both the society and its history. This task is as easy as pulling oneself up by the hair.¹⁴

One way out of this dilemma has been to work with the material remains viewed interrelatively, with nearness and distance in time and place making up a 'meaning'. What then does the context consist of? In the mid-1980s Ian Hodder gave a definition of the concept which

¹³ Andrén 1983; Trigger 1989; Engelstad 1991; Callmer 1995a; Solli 1996; Olsen 1997; Eggert 1998.

¹⁴ Andrén 1983, p. 39.

covers everything from artefacts to landscape. At the artefact level he claims that it is necessary to correlate the object with other objects, times, and places.¹⁵ But it can be difficult to decide which other objects are relevant for a correlation. It is therefore important to include as much information about the historical and geographical situation as possible. One aspect of the contextual method which might seem contradictory is therefore that, despite its aspiration for knowledge about mental and social conditions, it is heavily dependent on rich empirical evidence. The more information we have, the more correlations and connections or non-connections we can obtain. Notwithstanding the problems with the method, I see a possibility to explain Baltic ware as a cultural phenomenon with a contextual method as a point of departure. The context provides the explanation for the establishment, change, and dissolution of the tradition. It lies on two different geographical and historical levels in the interpretation process. The basic question for the study is similarity versus dissimilarity between Late Slavic and Scandinavian Baltic ware.

On the first level the context consists of Slavic countries and Scandinavia, and defined stylistic elements on ceramic vessels which make comparison possible. Here I study the varying external influence through the covariation between indigenous Late Viking Age pottery, imported Late Slavic forms, and Baltic ware.

On the next level the context consists of the regions in eastern Denmark and Sweden where Baltic ware occurs and the changes in the political and economic structure in the period from the end of the tenth century to roughly 1300. The covariation between the Baltic ware from the Scandinavian find spots comes into focus here. The aim of this is to find regional differences in the acceptance of the new tradition.

The study of these two geographical and historical areas can easily become static, however. How can one capture change more specifically, the historical dynamics, and still retain a contextual perspective where the specifically historical aspects and man as an active creator of material culture are part of the interpretation? If we are to understand Baltic ware as a phenomenon it is necessary to keep our gaze fixed on this. The changes that we can see in this ceramic tradition are connected to a complex system with other fields of social practice overlapping each other. To make a contextual interpretation of Baltic

¹⁵ Hodder 1986, pp. 139ff.

ware as a cultural phenomenon, the changes in commodity production, commodity exchange, urbanization, village formation, and cultural contacts must also constitute a moving backdrop. One can figuratively view my study of Baltic ware as gliding along a timeline where the forms of the pots are closest to the observer and the backdrop consists of other changes within the different geographical regions where the tradition is found. It is only when we grasp the social, economic, and political whole that we have a constantly changing context where one can understand how the transfer took place. Fundamental knowledge to make up the backdrop is derived from both written and archaeological sources. It represents a normal knowledge about what is conceivable or plausible based on what we assume we know about Scandinavia in the Early Middle Ages. Without this accepted backdrop, or basic knowledge about social practice through time, no profound interpretation can be made. One can present the changes that take place regionally and chronologically based on the independent archaeological source material, but the information about contrasts and similarities becomes sterile knowledge. In my opinion, the conclusions drawn from such work are not sufficiently exhaustive.

In terms of theory of science, the post-processual trend is a part of the idealistic historiography which puts qualitative interpretations before quantitative ones and diversity before general laws. Yet it is my experience from working on this study that generalizations can be made. It will be evident from the text that there is a clear connection between increased division of labour, specialization, and technical development of pottery production on the one hand and an increased degree of overlordship on the other. This can be read from the source material from the Danube to Staraya Ladoga, even though there are shifts in time. The chronological change is interesting for the interpretation of the arrival of Baltic ware in Scandinavia. I do not think that this observation is particularly controversial, but in the light of the post-processual school's denial of the value of generalizations, it can be important to state one's position. Yet another generalization which I make on a lower level is predictions, based on the shape of rims, of what Baltic ware from a particular region in Sweden should look like. Based on the consciously chosen attributes, one can with the aid of the findings of this study determine the origin of newly found pots and sometimes even date them, without knowing the context. I believe that this shows that it is possible to generalize about archaeological source material.

One of the criticisms that post-processual archaeologists level against both the advocates of cultural history and the New Archaeology was the use of analogies in the interpretation process.¹⁶ The former are accused of using peoples from low-technology societies as evolutionistic tableaux, and the latter are reproached for invoking direct explanations over cultural boundaries without regard for the connection to a geographical habitat and a specific time. The images one creates of the past become ahistorical and not culturally specific. Since we do not have direct contact with those who produced our source material we are forced to create possible models for how things in the past could have come into existence or been developed. If we cannot work with analogies here, our potential for interpretation is restricted. To resolve this, one way out may be to get as close in time and place as possible for the comparison.¹⁷ In my work I use analogies and comparisons at different levels. The generalization about the link between increased overlordship and specialization which I mentioned in the previous paragraph is really also an analogy when I apply it to Scandinavian circumstances. I make similar assumptions based on the social conditions that attended pottery production in medieval England and Poland. It is then not an analogy based on present-day societies, but on the interpretations of other scholars.

In creating basic knowledge and building up a contextual framework we must use all available source material. This statement is not generally accepted by everyone working with medieval history, since the advantages of written evidence over archaeological sources are emphasized. What has been written comes directly from the people of the time, so why use such hopelessly fragmented material as the archaeological evidence? A fundamental methodological problem for historical archaeology is therefore the relationship between the different bodies of source material and their possibilities and limitations in the work of answering the questions.¹⁸ In the present study, both written and archaeological sources will be used. Sometimes it can be tempting to find the answer in the written source material, which offers an explicit course in which individual events can easily be assumed to be the explanation for a

¹⁶ Hodder 1986, p. 144.

¹⁷ Näsman 1988; Andrén 1998, p. 156.

¹⁸ Andrén 1998.

phenomenon. Of course this can be the case, but the material culture that is the main source in this study concerns a level of society which rarely reaches the parchment of the chroniclers. The main focus of the account is on the variation of Baltic ware in time and place. At the same time it is necessary to undertake a second analytical step using the written sources to provide a knowledge of events and historical processes which may have affected the creation of the archaeological source material. The study of cultural identity is particularly dependent on the incorporation of more than one source in the interpretation process. In periods when the source material is limited to artefacts and biofacts, it is difficult to define groups with a shared identity. It would be a tempting intellectual experiment to exclude the written sources and place-names from the interpretation of the occurrence of Baltic ware in Scandinavia and view it solely as a key artefact for a prehistoric culture group. Nothing would then prevent the interpretation that the eastern Danish area was subjected to massive immigration around 1000. Simultaneously with a total change in the composition of household pottery there was a 'Europeanization' of the landscape of power with the establishment of towns, the restructuring of villages, and a complete break with the Arabian-based silver economy. The difficulty of seeing what was cause and what was effect in the process can mislead us into thinking that groups of ethnic Slavs, invading from the other side of the Baltic Sea, took over the territory. However, because we are in a time when written sources existed, we know that this was not the case.

The advantage of historical archaeology is that several different types of source material can supply knowledge which together clarifies the material and spiritual content of a culture. Most important is the fact that with these parts it is possible to find a definition based on how the studied group categorized itself, the chief criterion of cultural identification. Through the written sources we can also obtain a selection of contemporary names for such groups, and the attitudes to foreigners and alien things, albeit coloured by the topical politics of the time and classical models. The application of a contextual method has been considered particularly meaningful in times when texts existed, and sometimes it has been considered necessary to have such a combination to be able to work in this way at all.¹⁹

¹⁹ Hodder 1986, p. 141; Andrén 1988; Callmer 1995a, p. 39; Andrén 1998.

In the cultural-history tradition of historical archaeology, written sources are both a potential and a limitation.²⁰ Written and archaeological source material differ in their focus but can be combined in a cultural-history study by confronting the two sources. For my part, this means that I do not search for exact correlations between the pattern that occurs in the ceramic evidence and chronicles such as those of Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau, Arnold of Lübeck, Saxo, Snorri, or Thietmar of Merseburg. The distance between the social fields which the different sources reflect is too great. But when the different sources are juxtaposed they can initiate new ideas through both correlation and contrast. The quest for covariation or opposed courses of events can lead to circular reasoning, but it is still important for the interpretations. Erik Cinthio has drawn attention to the fact that in the Early Middle Ages we had a powerful political dynamic while the early black earthenware retained its monotonous forms.²¹ According to this view, there is thus little connection between Baltic ware and the socio-political situation. In this case it is the different degrees to which the pottery has been analysed that is the reason for the conclusion that there is a contrast, with relatively good knowledge of the political conditions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries versus the black hole of homogeneity that Baltic ware represents. The present study will show that the pottery acquires greater importance in the writing of history when it is analysed in search of contrasts and correlations within and between Scandinavia and Slavic areas. Then there is also a greater chance of correlating the information with the written sources and what we think we know about contacts during this period.²²

Apart from the potential that the written sources offer, I have also used scientific methods to obtain answers to certain questions. With the aid of clay mineralogical analysis it has been possible to determine provenance and reveal technological changes in pottery manufacture in the Early Middle Ages. It would be unscientific not to use every tool to solve the problems. But I would assert that in this case too a contextual method has been used. The selection was made with an awareness based on a preconception acquired from close contact with the source material. Contrasts in the composition and quality of the

²⁰ Andrén 1998, pp. 105ff.

²¹ Cinthio 1984, p. 60.

²² See the examples in Andrén 1998, pp. 164ff.

pottery ascertained by macroscopic assessment were important. The typological elements and the analogies with Slavic pottery were likewise crucial for the choice of sherds for the thin section analysis. In this way one can combine the good sides of both scientific and humanistic archaeological tradition.

THE HIDDEN TIES

A clear account of the theoretical point of departure is important for an understanding of the interpretations and the conclusions in this work. When medieval people and modern scholars have dealt with the Slavs, the basic outlook has not always been as explicitly declared. But also the step into the Slavic world needs a statement of fundamental perspectives. There is great potential to capture opinions reflected in contemporary texts and in archaeological and historical works from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The aim of this section is to draw attention to different attitudes to the Slavs which prevailed in the Middle Ages. Attitudes in both past and present have influenced the outlook on and interest in Slavic culture.

First it is important to have a conceptual and geographical definition of the peoples who affected Scandinavia. What does the designation Slavs stand for and where were they during the Early Middle Ages? The written culture of the Slavs had reached different levels of development in Europe, and nothing is recorded from their own point of view until, at the earliest, the tenth century in the northern parts of the continent. In the south where Slavic states developed earlier, such as Great Moravia and the Bulgarian empire, the situation was different. The assessment of them can therefore be tendentious.

The encounter between Slavs and other peoples created different forms of social interaction. Power relations and conscious or unconscious demarcations between the Slavs and their neighbours influenced this interaction. In certain areas, as in the state of Rus', Slavic culture became the norm for all the peoples, whether they were Scandinavians, Finno-Ugrians, or Balts. In Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and in Poland there was a struggle against several other interested parties. People there had to relate in different ways to Saxon dukes, Bohemian kings, and Russian princes. The German expansion to the east which set its stamp on twelfth-century relations limited the political and economic freedom of the Wends. The contemporary outlook on the Slavs was

shaped by these differing power relations, engendering stereotypes which survived for a long time.

The Slavs

Opinions about the early history of the Slavs are not homogeneous among scholars working with the question today. There is extensive discussion, sometimes with ideological overtones, about the origin of the Slavs and their spread over the European continent.²³ The differences of opinion are particularly evident on the matter of how far back Slavic culture can be followed in the linguistic, archaeological, and written source material.

The designation 'Slavs' is based on a linguistic definition, that the Slavs speak a Slavic language. According to earlier research, there was a distinct group of people with such a tradition primarily in an area north-east of the Carpathians.²⁴ Slavs may have existed within the *Cherniakhovo* culture, which was dominated by a Gothic element. This developed in the third to fifth centuries within a region corresponding to today's Ukraine and surrounding areas. A specifically Slavic material culture became more clearly articulated there, and in the fifth century it expanded towards the south-west, west, and north-east. The immediate reason for the change may be the Gothic breakdown in the face of the Huns' invasion from 375 to 450.²⁵ The expression of identity that emerged over a long time consisted of settlement patterns with sunken-floor huts, plain, undecorated pottery of Prague-Korčák type, and simple cremation graves.

When we today study cultural variation we are confronted with the problem of accepting old names for ethnic groups or creating our own. An important contribution to the solution of the problem can be obtained from the medieval people themselves, who enshrined their terms in text for people in later ages to interpret. The Slavs occur in the written sources for the first time in the sixth century, when they were described by outside observers. Byzantine texts mention *sklabhnoi* or *sklauhnoi*, terms which may be derived from an original Slavic name for themselves: *Slovene*.²⁶ A prevailing view is that the Slavs as an ethnic

²³ Goehrke 1992; Callmer 2000; Barford 2001; Curta 2001.

²⁴ Curta 2001, pp. 6ff.

²⁵ Barford 2001, p. 43.

²⁶ Goehrke 1992, p. 6.

group received their name from outside. Jordanes mentions *Sclaveni* and *Antes* as names of peoples which lived in an area bounded by the source rivers of the Wisła/Vistula, the lower Danube, and the middle Dnepr from the first half of the sixth century. Through a retrospective link to earlier classical authors' mentions of the ethnic group known as the *Venethi*, Jordanes took the origin of the Slavs further back in time.

Based on the encounter between the Byzantine Empire and the people on the lower Danube, the Romanian-American historian and archaeologist Florin Curta argues that the Slavs acquired their identity later than has previously been stated. His most important argument is that Jordanes' linkage of his contemporary people the *Sclaveni* and *Antes* with the earlier *Venethi* was a construction taken from earlier sources. According to Curta, an ethnic group named Slavs by contemporary sources did not emerge until the start of the sixth century. He points out that no older sources than those written under Emperor Justinian (527–565) mention Slavs.²⁷ He views the growth of a Slavic identity as an ethnification, triggered by Justinian's reinforcement of the northern front on the Danube in the middle of the sixth century. With a vigorous construction programme, the emperor wanted to keep the barbarians north of the river, shut out of the empire. Just after this measure the number of settlements north of the Danube grew. In connection with this there were social changes which could have been an expression of the ethnic identity that now emerged. Fibulae of a specific type became common and were used as a sign of shared belonging. At the same time, clearer leaders arose who may have emphasized a common myth and origin in order to unite the heterogeneous groups. According to Curta, then, the idea of a Slavic 'Urheimat' in the marshes between the rivers Prut and Pripet is an archaic diffusionistic explanatory model with no foundation in linguistic, written, or archaeological sources.

When we encounter the West Slavs on the south coast of the Baltic Sea and the East Slavs who had contact with that sea at the close of the tenth century, an extensive process had been going on for several centuries, reinforcing the internal community and also integrating other ethnic groups. Within the Slavic language group we can see the final result of a separation into three major cultures: West, East, and South Slavs. In Northern Europe at the time the division into West Slavs and East Slavs was primarily based on language differences. During the

²⁷ Curta 2001, p. 71.

period at the end of the ninth and the early tenth century the influence of different powers such as Great Moravia, Byzantium, and the Khazar state had the effect that cultural differences became clearer.²⁸ When the development towards increased overlordship gained momentum in today's Poland, Czechia, Ukraine, White Russia, and Russia, it led to a reinforcement of linguistic boundaries and communicative communities within the language areas. Towards the end of the tenth century and in the eleventh century the boundary between West Slavs and East Slavs was established. Further south in Bulgaria and the Balkans there were South Slavic language groups in close contact with the Byzantine Empire.

In the two culture areas in the north we find during this time a heterogeneous population who experienced different cultural and political fates.²⁹ We are not dealing with a uniform Slavic culture or even a political community. If we look at the differences in ethnic terms, we see that the cultural identity between the Elbe and Oder was built up around geographically demarcated tribal communities. In the west the Slavs were divided into tribes with strongholds and cult sites as their centres, with the names Wagrians, Obodrites, Polabians, Warnowians, Zirzipans, Wilzians, Ranians, Pomeranians, Luticians, Tollensians, and Redarians. At the end of the tenth century and in the eleventh century various tribes were amalgamated as part of power struggles. The most powerful were the Obodrites in the west, who were able to bring the Wagrians and Polabians into their sphere of interest, while the Luticians in east exerted a similar dominance over the Redarians, Tollensians, Kessinians, and Zirzipans. The latter two tribes found themselves at times under Obodrite supremacy. From the end of the tenth century the relationship of the Obodrite rulers to German and Danish princely houses was ambiguous. In the rebellions of 983 and 1066 the pagan league of the Luticians also included princes of Obodrite strongholds in their ranks. The Ranians had a special position among the Wendish tribes since they retained their own cultural identity, religion, and political system longest. It was not until the Danish conquest of Rügen in 1169 that their internal structure was broken. In

²⁸ Parczewski 1998.

²⁹ Dvornik 1962; Herrmann 1985 (1970), 1986; Goehrke 1992; Martin 1995; Franklin & Shepard 1996.

the area that would later be Poland under the Piasts there were Polane, Wislane, and Masovians.

Further east, in the burgeoning Kievan state, identity and the political geography, according to the Nestorian Chronicle, were initially based on tribes. In the south, around Kiev, there were Poliane, Derevlane, Dregovich, Volhynians, Ulich, Tiverians, Severiane, and Viatic. In the north the Slavic tribes who called themselves Krivichi and Slovenie established themselves. The expansion from the southern area on the Dnepr to the areas around lakes Ilmen and Ladoga and their rivers is difficult to capture. The view of the situation in the northern parts of Rus' and the discussion of the origin of the Slavs is highly infected by political opinions. The land of Novgorod was inhabited by several different Finno-Ugrian and Slavic population groups which clearly marked their identity right up until around the twelfth century. Although regional differences survived in the material culture, thinking in terms of tribes was quickly transformed in pace with the construction of new *pogosts* and central places. Already in the ninth century the area was moving towards an integration into larger coherent political units, assembled under one of the Rurikid princes. Around 1000 Vladimir Svyatoslavich united the heterogeneous population under himself and his sons. Development then proceeded towards a federation of principalities with sharper contours under Vladimir Monomakh a hundred years later.³⁰ The large and topographically varied area that became Rus' may have had its strength in the kin-based distribution of power. Instead of a community based on tribal solidarity, people were organized on the basis of towns where one of the Rurikids ruled.

The development in Rus' is interesting as an example of an assimilation of different cultural elements from Slavs, Scandinavians, Finno-Ugrians, and Balts into a Slavic-based urban culture. One can interpret this development in two ways. The dominance may have been caused by the repression of the other culture groups by military might or cultural chauvinism. The other explanation is more peaceful and based on several different causes. Why the Slavic identity finally dominated in this mixed area is explained by the historian Carsten Goehrke by several interacting factors.³¹ Firstly, the Slavic newcomers were numerous and arrived over a long period. The organization of this sparsely

³⁰ Martin 1995, p. 35.

³¹ Goehrke 1992, pp. 36ff.

populated area into overarching taxed regions as early as the ninth and tenth centuries and the assembly around an overlord reinforced the Slavic culture. This concentration of power continued during the establishment of the Kievan state. The cultural hegemony was further strengthened through the conversion to Christianity, which used the Slavic language in its liturgy at the same time as it was coming into use in the emergent written culture. Despite all this, the development towards a Slavic identity based on language, culture, and self-awareness was very late. Nor should we forget the Scandinavian element in the population structure.

Apart from these Slavic tribes living in the west and east there were a great many subgroups who sometime stand out in the sources as distinct units.

The tenth century saw the start of a process that led to different forms of overlordship among the West and East Slavs. In the west, Poland developed into a kingdom influenced by Bohemia and Moravia, while the Obodrites close to the German Empire and Denmark tried to build up a power base of their own. An East Slavic realm emerged with Kiev as the core in a country held together by large river systems with trading sites and towns as nodes in an otherwise impenetrable landscape. There was much more heterogeneity in Rus', with Novgorod as a powerful counter to the southern capital. The development towards larger states continued during the eleventh century, which had the consequence that conflicts of interest arose when ambitions collided. Obodrites, Wilzians, and Raniens were squeezed between other Slavic tribes, the Polish royal house, Germans, and Danes, and they did not manage to acquire political control of their own territory before the German expansion to the east started in the twelfth century. The Piasts succeeded in building up territorial dominance in large parts of present-day Poland. Conflicts then arose with the Rurikids in Rus', the Přemyslids in Bohemia, and the German emperor. It was through both conflict and peaceful exchange that people came into contact with other ethnic groups and created images of each other.

Alliances and wars in the south

Relations with the Slavs in the southern Baltic area alternated between mutual respect, acceptance, and warfare. In contemporary written sources we encounter these groups under the umbrella name of Wends. In the early feudal kingdoms there was a constantly changing power

game in which Saxons, Danes, Obodrites, and Swedes were aligned against each other. Marriage alliances, trade, and treaties were instruments which the kings used to varying extents. A particularly effective way to ensure that pacts would hold was to arrange marriages with the families of opponents or allies. Detailed studies of royal families are interesting if one regards marriage as a device in the ambition to acquire land and power over people. A distinct voice from the eleventh century is that of Adam of Bremen, who explains the ideas behind the strategic marriage policy of Knut (Knútr/Canute) the Great:

Canute received Aethelred's kingdom and married his wife named Imma, who was a sister of Count Richard of Normandy. The king of the Danes gave the latter his own sister, Margaret [Estrid], in marriage by way of alliance, and when the count repudiated her, Canute gave her to Duke Ulf of England and married this Ulf's sister to another duke, Godwin, because he shrewdly reckoned that the English and Normans would prove more faithful to the Danes through intermarriage.³²

This is how we should view the countless political pirouettes and amazing genealogies weaving together the interests of medieval power holders in the Baltic Sea area.

At the end of the tenth century and during the eleventh century the Danish royal house was closely allied to the Obodrite family of the Nakonids. The line originated from Nakon, known from written sources as the ruler of the Obodrites from his stronghold of Veligrad/Mecklenburg. He was compared in his days to the kings of Bulgaria, Bohemia, and Poland by the Arabian chronicler Ibrahim ibn Jakub, who visited the Slavic countries in 965. The Nakonids retained power over the area until 1129. The Wends with whom the Danes forged alliances thus came from a well-established line with a firm foundation in their own country. Several of the Wendish princes are designated in Latin as *rex*, 'king', but the most common Slavic title was *knez*, 'prince'.

Knez Mistivoi's daughter, whom Harald Gormsson married around 983, was just one of several bonds tying the two lands. The effects of this marriage were directly visible in the joint Danish-Obodrite attack on the German emperor's territories in South Jutland. Harald's son Sven (Sveinn/Sweyn) Forkbeard was part of the order of battle along

³² Adam of Bremen 1959.

with his uncle Mistivoi. An Obodrite knez named Gottskalk, probably related to the Danish royal family, accompanied Knut the Great on his conquest of England. When he and later his son Magnus the Good died, Gottskalk married Sven Estridsen's daughter Sigrid and became a zealous champion of the Christian faith in his country. The fateful year 1066 saw a counter-reaction to the German influence in the lands east of the Elbe. Gottskalk's effort to Christianize the tribes under his control was regarded as part of the new order, and the rising was given an ideological content by the old faith. He was killed and Sigrid fled with her son Henrik back to Denmark and her father Sven. It was not until 1093 that Henrik had grown and was able to conquer his hereditary land. After this the Obodrites expanded eastwards, supported by the family in Denmark and the German emperor.

The conflicts that subsequently arose between Knez Henrik and the Danish royal family were more due to the fact that he felt wronged in not having been allowed to share his mother's inheritance after her death on account of his uncle Niels. He thus attacked Denmark because of a dispute within the family, not because he was a Wendish pirate. Saxo writes: "But Gudskalk [Gottskalk] had gotten a son by Sigrid who was called Henrik, and Niels grossly cheated him out of his maternal inheritance".³³ Not until Knud Lavard as duke of Schleswig defeated the Obodrites militarily in 1115 was there a reconciliation within the family. This was the start of a period with many joint campaigns against the Ranians of Rügen, the last pagan outpost with any political influence. In 1129 the old Nakonid royal line died out with Knez Zwinike, and Knud Lavard was appointed knez over the Obodrites by the emperor Lothar II. This was politically wise since the emperor could take advantage of the fact that Knud was related to the Nakonid house. At the same time, he could be assured of a loyal vassal on his restless eastern borders. He spent a few years as a young man at Lothar's court when he was duke of the Saxons, and there he acquired the ideal of courtly chivalry. When Knud was murdered in 1131 the crown went back to two Obodrite leaders, Pribislaw and Niklot.

Throughout the period of these crusades we find Obodrites in changing constellations with Saxon dukes and Danish kings. It is perfectly clear that Henry the Lion used Obodrites, Wagrians, Ranians, and Pomeranians to exert pressure when the Danes opposed his policy. At

³³ Saxo 2000, p. 130.

sea the Saxon dukes had no navy corresponding to the Danish *leding*; in the battles mentioned in the chronicles their great strength is in mounted troops. The Wends, on the other hand, seem to have been skilled seamen, as is also shown by the archaeological finds of Slavic ships. Their attacks on the coasts of Denmark were a combination of retaliation and a strategy of attrition. But they also acted as Henry's vassals when, at his request, they supported Sven Grate in the civil war in the mid-twelfth century. With a Wendish navy behind him, Sven returned to Denmark in 1157 and reigned over Skåneland until his death in the same year.

The second most powerful political confederation on the south coast of the Baltic Sea coast comprised the Wilzians or Luticians. The first name had long been known and may have been Slavic, while the second was a German name for the same tribe. From a Scandinavian point of view it is easy to forget their role in the area, but in the capacity as a counter to the expansionist policies of Germans, Poles, and Obodrites, they were important.³⁴ Their core area was inland a little way from the coast, and their political thrusts were towards the south-west and south-east, but parts of the tribe lived in north-east Mecklenburg. The Wilzians, like the Obodrites, were known to the authors of the Frankish annals in the ninth century. In the conflict with the Carolingians they acted as a distinct unit, and the enmity may very well have engendered a stronger self-awareness. Their most important appearance on the historical scene came with the rising in 983 against the expanding German Empire. The Luticians seem to have organized themselves differently from the Obodrites living to the west. Instead of centralized princely power they aspired to a broad federation of local princes directly represented in decision making. The centre of the federation was Rethra or Reidegost, temple of the god Svarožič, where they stored the standard that they always carried into battle, and the god's white stallion. After the battle the standard always returned to Rethra and parts of the booty were offered to the god. The Wilzians exerted their greatest power from 983 until the second half of the following century. During this time they were a pagan-Slavic force which managed the diplomatic *tour de force* of both conquering major German possessions and uniting with the Germans against Poland. The breakup of the Lutician federation was mainly due to internal political tensions. What

³⁴ Herrmann 1985 (1970) pp. 261, 345ff; Fritze 1984.

the Ottonians, Salians, and Piasts did not succeed in doing, the Slavs themselves did in 1056/1057 during the 'Fraternal Wars'. Politically weakened, they were easy prey for German interests, and in 1069 Bishop Burchard of Halberstadt was able to conquer Rethra and return home riding on Svarožić's white horse. In 1093 Henrik Gottskalksson crushed the northern groups in the federation politically, but the tribe lived on during the twelfth century.

The Pomeranians pursued an independent policy between Polish and Danish kings and the German emperor. Since the days of Duke Mieszko, the area along the Oder and closest to the coast had been within the power sphere of the Piasts, but it was not converted to Christianity until Otto of Bamberg did so in 1128. The Danish king Niels and Poland's Bolesław Krzywousty (1102–1138) tried to expand into the area by means of a campaign in 1127. As part of the peace treaty, Magnus son of Niels married Rikissa, sister of the Polish prince, an important woman to whom we shall have reason to return in connection with the relationship to the Swedish royal house. In the last quarter of the twelfth century the unrest moved to the Pomeranian coast, where Demmin, Wolgast, and Szczecin were repeatedly subjected to Danish attacks. Here too, there seems to have been a power struggle between Henry the Lion and Valdemar the Great, which was concealed by the fact that Danes were fighting against Slavs. The Pomeranians were allied to the Saxon duke. When Danish ships were stranded in the River Dziwna on a raid against Kamien Pomorski, Knez Casimir of Pomerania brought along two Saxon archers who had been given to him by Henry. After years of suspicion and discontent with the distribution of the Wendish lands, a treaty was drawn up in 1177 using means that were stronger than seals on parchment. Valdemar's son Knud received Henry's daughter Gertrud as his wife, and the axes were hung on the wall.

Danish supremacy was seriously broken in 1227 with the battle at Bornhöved, when Valdemar Sejð, after having been captured, was forced to renounce all his fiefs except Rügen and Estonia to the Germans. The princely families in Denmark and Wendland, however, continued to unite through marriages. King Christopher I (1252–1259) married Margrethe Sambiria Sprænghest, daughter of Duke Sambor of Pomerania, and Christopher II (1319–1332) married Euphemia, daughter of Bogislav IV of Pomerania. Mutual interests initiated marriages across the Baltic Sea, as in the days of Mistivoi and Harald Gormsson. In political terms there was also continuity between princes from Rügen

and Pomeranian and Danish interests. As an individual, Erik of Pomerania (1381–1459), son of Duke Wartisław VII, combined the Slavic and Scandinavian heritage.

The interest of the Swedes (*Svear*) in the south Baltic Sea may be more difficult to understand. It is evident already in the early marriage alliances with Polish and Obodrite rulers.³⁵ Erik Segersäll (the Victorious) was married to Svietoslava, daughter of Duke Mieszko of Poland. Changes of name were common when someone married into a different ethnic group; in her new homeland she was given the name Gunhild. The reason why Erik looked for a wife in Poland seems to have been the schism with the Danish king Harald Gormsson. Denmark was the most expansive power in the Baltic in this period, throwing out negotiation feelers and staging real demonstrations of power in Viken (today's Oslo), the provinces of Götaland, and central Sweden. The expansion of the Jelling dynasty eastwards in Denmark required support in several camps. The Polish marriage can be viewed as a doorstopper against Harald, who was married into the Obodrite princely house. The front that Erik and Mieszko set up was countered by Harald and Mistivoi. The conflicts concerned, among other things, supremacy over Pomerania and the tribes further to the west, as Mieszko tried to expand towards the coast and over the Oder. Harald fled to Jónsborg/Wolin when his son Sven Forkbeard tried to pursue a political line of his own. The choice of refuge shows that he had a base there and consequently an interest in putting a stop to the Piast advances.

When Sven Forkbeard seized power after his father, contacts with the Swedes were improved from his point of view. Relations seem to have stabilized to the advantage of the Danish royal house. Sven managed to neutralize the relationship with the Piasts and the Swedes by marrying Svietoslava and arranging a marriage between Erik's son Olof and the Obodrite princess Estrid. Olof, later known as Skötkonung, had a concubine named Edla from the same area. The promises were fulfilled with the support of Olof, now king of the Swedes, against the Norwegian king Olaf Tryggvasson when they fought at Svolder. Soon after the death of the Swedish king, however, his son Anund pursued a completely different policy, aimed against Denmark.

³⁵ Gillingstam 1981; Sawyer 1991, pp. 51ff.; Duczko 1995.

Yet another contact between Sweden and the south Baltic Sea area was the marriage between Rikissa of Poland, whom we met above, and Sverker the Elder. This was her last marriage, having first been married to Magnus Nielsen of Denmark and then Volodar Glebovich of Minsk. With Sverker she had a son Burislev, called after her father Bolesław Krzywousty. His reign as king of Sweden was brief, since he fell in battle around 1170 against the strong man of the twelfth century, Knut Eriksson.

Family connections became really complicated when Rikissa's son Knud V by her Danish marriage with Magnus Nielsen, married one of Sverker the Elder's daughters from his earlier marriage to Ulfhild Håkonsdotter. Sverker thereby became stepfather to his son-in-law. Genealogically complex relationships like these were useful tools in medieval marriage policy. If a treaty was to be broken it was possible with the aid of the church to have a marriage annulled if the parties were too closely related to each other. Rules and restrictions on marriage were clearly described in ecclesiastical writings.

If we follow the testimony of the written sources about relations between the powers in the southern Baltic in the Early Middle Ages, we see that there does not appear to have been any decisive point in time for a qualitative breach in relations. Instead, power balances were constantly changing. Danes and Obodrites united against the German emperor in the late tenth century and the bonds were further strengthened with marriages in the following century. In the power struggle between different interests in Wagria and Mecklenburg, Danish kings supported the family with which they had blood ties. After the pagan and seemingly 'national' counter-reaction to German influence in 1066 Knez Henrik fought to regain his realm with a political base in his mother's Denmark. The struggle between Knud Lavard and Henrik Gottskalksson should be regarded as hunger for territory to bring under the plough and to tax, not an ethnic war. Both were related and felt they had the right of inheritance on their side. In the twelfth century the Wendish attacks on Denmark proceeded from tribes which were either allied with German dukes, or from dangerous political opponents such as the Raniens, or as a response to Danish assaults. Examples of the latter are the attacks by the vassals of the Saxon duke in Polish Pomerania. I wish to emphasize the importance of taking a nuanced view of the events in the southern Baltic area so that the Wendish attacks on Denmark can find their explanation. In the triangle drama between German, Wendish, and Danish

rulers, the German expansion eastwards and the 'southern expansion' from Denmark played a crucial part in the aggression. Without losing sight of the overall historical course of events, we must scrutinize every step that was taken with medieval political thinking in mind. Blood ties, land hunger, and power over people were the factors governing decisions, not Christian ethics or pagan aggression.

The outlook on the Slavs in the Ostsiedlung

The family connections that we have followed from the end of the tenth century were maintained throughout the eleventh century and they did not cease with the Danish crusades in the following century. The blood ties survived, and we must look at every person with power over subjects as one of several pieces in the game played for mastery over Slavic territory. The dividing line was not between Danes and Wends or Christians and pagans, but between allies and adversaries.

The greatest change came with the German expansion eastwards and the increasing attacks by pagan Wends against Denmark. In 1147 Saxons and Danes set off on the first crusade. The situation was different from that in the preceding two centuries, and the consequences had an effect on mutual relations. Immigration to the Slavic territories increased greatly under the aegis of German noble families. The clash between the new overlordship and the indigenous Slavic population in the area east of the Elbe has been described in various ways.³⁶ Some scholars emphasize the suppression of the Wends while others tone this down.

When German and Dutch peasants, under the protection of Saxon dukes and the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, moved east over the Elbe, they were not coming to unpopulated tracts. They were crossing an old cultural boundary which had existed for a long time. In the areas between different ethnic traditions, conflicts between peoples were expressed with a clarity not found in regions with a more homogeneous population.³⁷ The relations that developed were conditioned by the power balance maintained by the leading strata of society. Where the German settlers dominated, the original Slavic inhabitants were subject to special juridical and economic treatment. Noble Slavic families had a long tradition of intermarriage with the German and Danish

³⁶ Herrmann 1985 (1970); Gläser 1982; Bartlett 1993; Hill 1995.

³⁷ Bartlett 1993, pp. 197ff.

aristocracy. In these upper classes we can find relations of equality between Germans and Wends. For the ordinary population the situation was different.³⁸ In the area comprising today's Schleswig-Holstein and western Mecklenburg, a new German and Dutch population settled in the twelfth century. Slavic power centres like Starigard and Bucu acquired new overlords and were renamed Oldenburg and Lübeck. The towns became German bases in well-populated Slavic country.

With the changed life situation came a new judicial system. In the Middle Ages the laws did not cover a territory but an ethnic group. In Scandinavia this is not so clear since the inhabitants of the old provinces probably were a more ethnically homogeneous group. Not until the towns in the north acquired a contingent of German merchants and craftsmen as permanent inhabitants did the situation change, calling for new solutions. The border zones on the continent were faced with this problem at a very early stage. In the Wendish area, Wendish law was maintained during the twelfth century, side by side with the German law that applied to the colonizers. Slavs could obtain a different legal status through purchase or through a decision by the landowner that everyone in his *familia* should be judged according to the same law. Although this was changed in the thirteenth century so that the Wendish population came wholly under German law, the economic circumstances precluded full citizenship for the Slavs. The parcels of land available for them were small and gave poor yields. In the first decades of the colonization the Wends were pushed back from their original lands to poorer soil. German settlers took over the older tofts, which created special forms of segregated 'double villages' adjacent to each other. Wendish law gave no protection to the land ownership of the original population. Despite this, it is reckoned that the number of German and Slavic inhabitants in the countryside around 1300 was equally large.

When Slavs wished to sell their products in towns in the area, they were subjected to further discrimination. In a customs ordinance from Lübeck in the 1220s Wendish market visitors from the surrounding countryside were obliged to pay a higher toll than Germans. Moreover, visitors of Slavic origin paid a penny 'for their skin', an ethnically based tax. On the other hand, linen and hops were except from tolls, which stimulated Wendish peasants to engage in one-sided production.

³⁸ Gläser 1982.

The Slavic inhabitants in Lübeck were treated like their brothers and sisters in the countryside. Whereas Wends in the first century of the town could acquire burgher's rights, this became more difficult in the fourteenth century. For a short time (1351–1355) while the plague was rife, the authorities were eager to have the town populated. Soon, however, the number of inhabitants was stable again and the Hanseatic towns returned to a protectionist attitude in favour of the German craftsmen and merchants.

The activities that Wendish inhabitants of Lübeck could pursue were limited. Topographically they were assigned to special parts of the town where they were allowed to live. In the streets called Große and Kleine Kiesau and Langer and Weiter Lohberg, ghetto-like neighbourhoods formed in the vicinity of the lord's castle. Through a *Deutschtumsparagraph* in force since the start of the fourteenth century, those who could not prove their German origin were denied entrance to the town's craft guilds. Wendish inhabitants were obliged to carry on trades that were not of such economic interest that guilds were formed for them. We therefore find Slavs among fishermen and ferrymen. Similar rules existed in other towns. In Lüneburg all Slavs were excluded from the right to become burghers according to a council decision from 1409.³⁹ The bakers in Beeskow, Brandenburg, ruled that

Whoever wishes to be a member must bring proof to the councillors and the guildsmen that he is born of legitimate, upright German folk... No one of Wendish stock may be in the guild.⁴⁰

Thomas Hill has claimed that rules like these were not aimed against the Wends as an ethnic group but were an effect of protectionism within the guild, to stem immigration from the countryside.⁴¹ However, his argument is weakened by the fact that the ordinance explicitly states that Wends are to be excluded.

During those periods when it was in fact possible for Wends to become full members of the community, they were prevented from this by economic factors. The cost of purchasing full burgher's rights was high. Because they had no chance of earning a good income either in the countryside or in the town, they probably could not accumulate any capital. Although a few examples of social advancement can be

³⁹ Gläser 1982, p. 53.

⁴⁰ Bartlett 1993, p. 238.

⁴¹ Hill 1995, p. 99.

found in the written sources, the segregation that began in the twelfth century persisted throughout the Middle Ages.

Opinions differ as to why and how the assimilation took place. Thomas Hill would periodize the assimilation process, assuming a tripartite change. The first phase began in the mid-twelfth century and ended around 1200 when the Slavs were pressed back and separated from the immigrating German population. In this period the Wends were still a linguistic and cultural unit. In political terms there was a nobility who acted as spokesmen in dealings with the new lords. On the other hand, the Germans combated any expression of the old pre-Christian religion. In the second phase, which ran from about 1200 to the middle of the fourteenth century, the Slavs took part in the cultivation of new land and the establishment of new towns. They also lived together with the immigrating peasants and burghers. Integration was most obvious in the countryside, where the small numbers of newcomers reduced the income of the nobility, which led to a need for Slavs to prepare new land and increase tax revenue. The earlier model of double villages disappeared, and people lived together in communal settlements. Yet it is still possible to detect an economic difference since a Wendish peasant could own only six hectares of land while a German could have twice as much. The Slavic nobility were obliged to follow a policy of adaptation, and in this period their ethnic self-awareness vanished. The third and last phase started in the late medieval agrarian crisis in the mid-fourteenth century; there is no chronological boundary to the end of the phase. In the wake of the Black Death the urban and rural population fell, which meant that all hands were needed. The population structure soon regained its balance, however, and the *Deutschtumsparagraph* introduced back in the early fourteenth century was incorporated in more and more guild statutes. In other areas where Germans were in the minority there were similar rules of exclusion. The tendency to mutual racism between Slavs and Germans in Central Europe was widespread during the Late Middle Ages.⁴²

Hill argues that the discrimination was not ethnically conditioned but that the Wends were regarded as generally inferior and judicially weak in the towns because they were not burghers but subjects who had immigrated from the countryside. He stresses the positive features of

⁴² Bartlett 1993, pp. 236ff.

the assimilation process, whereby the Wends had the chance of social climbing by means of adaptation.

One may wonder whether a change of life situation was as easy to accomplish as Hill claims. We find a different view in Manfred Gläser, whose research findings have been cited above. Joachim Herrmann has a similar monologue on the fate of the Wends. In his handbook *Die Slawen in Deutschland* he presented the official stance of the old German Democratic Republic, where the Slavs exemplified the historical connections with other countries in the Eastern Bloc.⁴³ Unlike Hill's weak attempt to nuance the picture, there are clear examples in Herrmann's text of repression and devaluation of the Slavs. To begin with, the wars between Wends, and wars with Germans and Danes, had depopulated parts of the countryside and weakened the indigenous population. The chronicler Helmold of Bosau writes expressly that the Wends were expelled to be replaced with Germans.⁴⁴ In relation to the immigrant peasant population they were judicially and economically weak. Herrmann also believes that the chance of being adopted into urban circles during the establishment phase disappeared quickly. The mass of Slavs can be found in the lower strata of society, in both agrarian and urban settings.

A crucial step was taken when Wendish territory was directly occupied by German feudal lords. Then the Wends found themselves in an inferior political position. But not even the events that followed in the second half of the twelfth century in the *Ostsiedlung* can be regarded as ethnic cleansing. In the initial phase the border population was driven out and replaced by German peasants. Shortly afterwards the lords needed the Wendish inhabitants as well in order to make their investment in the war profitable. Hunger for land which could be taxed and the conviction that they were leading a crusade against pagans were the real political and ideological reasons for the subjugation. On the other hand, the subsequent discrimination is important for understanding how the outlook on the Slavs was shaped in the ensuing centuries. Since they belonged to an economically weak population group, they had no great chance of social advancement. A generalized view of Slavs as inferior people is easy to find in later texts. Their stigmatization survived for a long time. When some women on Fehmarn were

⁴³ Herrmann 1985 (1970), pp. 443ff.

⁴⁴ Helmold 1990, book I, p. 89.

accused of witchcraft in the seventeenth century they said that they had been with tinkers and Wends to learn the black art.⁴⁵ With the nationalist fervour in the nineteenth century it was easy to single out Slavic population remnants as inferiors.

From cultural integration to conflicts of interest in the east

During the Middle Ages the Swedish outlook on Russia was influenced by shared interests going back to the end of the eighth century and by the competition that arose much later in the struggle for hegemony in the eastern Baltic. Since there was no direct geographical contact, as in the case of Danes, Germans and Wends, power relations were not as unambiguously negative either. Instead it is the struggle for influence in the zone between Russia and Sweden that reveals when and how the relation was reshaped.⁴⁶

Up to the mid-twelfth century the political relations which the Swedes and Rus' had long maintained were very good. Vladimir Svyatoslavich seized power in Rus' at the end of the tenth century, with the aid of a Scandinavian army, which was then used to build up the kingdom. Scandinavian overlords took active part in the administration of the northern parts of Rus'. Vladimir's son Yaroslav married Olof Skötkonung's daughter Ingegerd, who received Staraya Ladoga and its hinterland as her morning gift, and a Swedish governor then controlled the town. In the opposite direction, the Swedes brought men from the east to occupy high offices. In 1070–1075 one Anund 'from Russia' (known in Swedish as 'Gårdske', from Gårdaríke or Garðaríki, the Norse name for Rus') is believed to have been king of central Sweden.

Less well known are the Danish links with Rus'. Knut the Great gave his sister Estrid to one of the sons of Vladimir the Holy, but he died not long afterwards and she was then married to a Norman noble, who soon cast her off.⁴⁷ She married for a third time to Ulf Jarl; this lasted longer, resulting in a son Sven, later king of Denmark for many years. As ruler and relative he then mediated the marriage between the English lord Harold Godwinson's daughter Gyda and Vladimir Monomakh, the last powerful prince of Rus'.

⁴⁵ Gläser 1982, p. 43.

⁴⁶ Christiansen 1980; Gallén & Lind 1991; Lind 1992; Martin 1995.

⁴⁷ Lind 1992.

Dynastic connections between Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Polish, and Russian royal families were evidently strong in the twelfth century as well. A network intricately linking the five royal houses proceeded from two couples: Inge the Elder's daughter Kristina who married Mstislav Vladimirovich, who was then ruling Novgorod, and Magnus Nielsen and the Polish princess Rikissa.⁴⁸ Ingeborg, daughter of the former, was married to Knud Lavard, and together they had a son Valdemar, a powerful ruler in Denmark in the second half of the twelfth century. Valdemar's earliest years are interesting. He was in all probability born at the court of his maternal grandfather Mstislav, grew up in Rus' with his mother's relatives, and he was called after his powerful great-grandfather. The naming practice suggests that Valdemar was considered to have a political future in Rus', especially in view of the murder of his father and the unrest prevailing in Denmark. This was not to be. Instead he became Denmark's first autocrat; with firm support from the church and the nobility he had his son crowned king after him. Links with other Slavic countries were reinforced through his marriage with Sofia, daughter of Volodar Glebovich of Minsk and the Polish princess Rikissa who had formerly been married to Magnus Nielsen. In this way he married a daughter of the wife of his father's slayer, who was at the same time half-sister of a rival claimant to the throne. One may wonder whether this was a way to end the hostility after the difficult years of civil war. To complicate matters further, Rikissa married Sverker the Elder, king of Sweden.

There were thus several threads criss-crossing and twined together in the political game where families kept a worried eye on opponents and smiled benevolently on presumptive allies. Not all can be related here. The account above tells us that Slavic-Scandinavian political connections had deep roots in internal strife. This involved people from the seemingly distant East Slavic culture area, in a complicated but understandable endeavour to achieve power.

That the twelfth-century connections were not just dynastic has been shown by the medieval historian John Lind in his survey of the Western European saints mentioned in an Orthodox prayer to the Holy Trinity.⁴⁹ Saint Magnus of Orkney, Knut the Holy, his brother Benedict, St Alban, Olaf the Holy, and St Botulf are invoked together with the

⁴⁸ Gillingstam 1981; Lind 1992, pp. 228ff.

⁴⁹ Lind 1992, pp. 238ff.

eastern Saints Boris and Gleb, Cyril and Methodius, along with about thirty other holy men and women. According to Lind, the western cult came to Rus' with the pregnant Ingeborg when her husband Knud Lavard rode to that fateful encounter in the forest at Haraldsted where his life ended. Cultural exchange at the religious level was not sensitive to the conflict between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox churches. Their traditions were still so interwoven that mental and emotional union was possible.

In the twelfth century this relation gradually changed. Segregation between Scandinavia and Rus' increased while dynastic links persisted. How could this contradictory process continue? In large measure it was because the earlier political structure in Rus' was being fragmented and power was transferred to towns with their hinterland, controlled by different princes in the Rurikid dynasty. After the death of Vladimir Monomakh in 1125 the principalities were based on the towns of Kiev, Chernigov, Pereyasavl Russky, Polotsk, Vladimir, Suzdal', Pereyasavl Zalessky, Novgorod, and later also Moscow. Marriages were contracted with individual principalities and not with a 'state' with the same extent as today's Russia.⁵⁰ The conflicts were aimed against Novgorod, which had been an independent republic since 1136. In Novgorod the role of the prince was purely military, and he was subordinate to the town council. We must thus free ourselves from today's image of the nation to be able to understand why war and marriage existed in parallel. A clear sign of a general separation in the collective awareness on the part of Novgorod, according to Lind, was that Scandinavians were given the alienating name of *nemtsi* at the end of the century.⁵¹ They were then enemies of the Orthodox faith and were placed under an umbrella term for Catholics. It was only then that the foundation was laid for the later mistrust of Novgorod and then Tsarist Russia.

Alliances and wars thus existed in parallel. The wars were chiefly waged against the rich Novgorod. A first case of Swedish aggression can be traced in the attack at sea against merchants in 1142, a skirmish that was normal for the period. Antagonism was heightened in the middle of the century with Erik the Holy's crusade against Finland in 1157 and the assault in 1164 on the stronghold in Ladoga. Animosity

⁵⁰ Lind 1992, p. 225.

⁵¹ Lind 1992, pp. 251f.



Fig. 1. The wealth of the wilderness (*erämaa*), which was so coveted by western lords. Novgorodians hunting squirrels and collecting honey. The man on the left is skinning an animal while his companion is aiming his wooden-headed arrow again. To the right a third man is cutting a hole in a tree to reach the honeycombs on the inside. Wax and honey were in great demand in Western Europe, where the candles in the churches constantly required new supplies of perishable material, as did brass casting. The picture from the Novgorod farers' pew in the church of St Nicholas, Stralsund, carved *c.* 1380, shows the western perception of hairstyles and dress in Rus'.

increased as the spheres of interest overlapped in the pursuit of natural resources. In the area on the Gulf of Finland the two powers met to fight over the wealth of the wilderness (*erämaa*), where furs were at the top of the list (fig. 1). The campaigns waged by Novgorod were aimed several times at the Tavasts and Estonians in the last two decades of the twelfth century. The intention was to regain mastery of these areas which had previously been in the town's power sphere. The Swedes strove to dominate Ladoga and the River Neva in order to gain control over the flow of goods from the east. In Finland there was a confrontation when both powers tried to achieve supremacy over the area. The struggle was waged using all available means. When we meet guests

from Novgorod in the written sources in the second half of the twelfth century it is as hostages in Schleswig, Nyköping, Torshälla, Sigtuna, and Visby, as part of the great political contest. Internment was a response to acts of war.

At first the struggle against Novgorod did not have an ideological foundation in the idea of the crusade. The missionary work of the Swedes was aimed at the peoples of Finland. A more expansive phase against the Orthodox church did not begin until 1222, when Honorius III prohibited the use of Orthodox ritual in countries where servants of the papal church had power.⁵² The pope's emissary William of Sabina was an energetic advocate of a crusade against Novgorod. On his arrival in Scandinavia during a second trip in 1237 he began to organize an attack on the east. In 1227 the Novgorodians, who were not otherwise keen missionaries, had sent priests to Karelia, who succeeded in converting people there. The conflict between the churches was given concrete expression in the first crusade against Novgorod in 1240, which came to an abrupt end through the victory of Prince Alexander Nevsky.

During the period up to the start of the fourteenth century there was an unstable political climate in Finland and the area around the Gulf of Finland. The greatest threat to Novgorod was the stronghold of Viborg, the base from which Torgils Knutsson attacked the lands of Novgorod in the period 1295 to 1314. The attempt to build a fortress at Keksholm on the west shore of Ladoga, and the more successful establishment of Landskrona at the present-day St Petersburg in 1299, led to conflict about where the border should run over the Karelian isthmus. The Peace of Nöteborg in 1323 brought a temporary balance in political power between the realms. The line the adversaries drew seems to have remained controversial throughout the Middle Ages. The Swedes repeated their attempts to establish themselves at the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland, but Magnus Eriksson's crusade against Karelia and the attack on Novgorod in 1348 were unsuccessful. The effect of the warfare that had been going on since the end of the twelfth century was that Sweden during the rest of the Middle Ages had a border with Russia where Viborg constituted the eastern outpost.

⁵² Christiansen 1980, p. 127.

A people with smokehouses and kvass

The transition from a cultural and political community which characterized relations between Rus' and the Swedes from the ninth century to the twelfth century and an expansive crusading policy in the subsequent period influenced people's evaluation of each other. We find a Swedish view of the East Slavs in *Erikskrönikan*, written in the 1320s with the aim of legitimating Magnus Eriksson's place on the throne. The text describes Torgils Knutsson's campaign of 1300 against Novgorod.⁵³ The image of the enemy in the chronicle is presented as a Catholic critique of the Orthodox 'heathens'. The Swedes of Uppland (*the upplenzko*) are repeatedly called *crisne* ('Christians'), the Karelians *hedningia* ('heathens'), and the Russians either *hedninga* or *rytza*. In the sentence *I häluite warda the ryza fägne at the crisno skulle swa mykin skade skee* ("In hell the Russians will rejoice that the Christians suffered such damage") the Orthodox believers are placed outside the Christian community and condemned to hell for their deeds. In one sequence Mats Kettilmundsson challenges the Russians to single combat, but gets no response from the enemy camp. The chronicler's verdict is that the Russians were *snödo hedna* ('vile pagans') who did not show the same courage.

The view of Russia as the enemy persisted for a long time. It is clear in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century conflict when Swedish armies reached as far as Novgorod and Russian troops penetrated Estonia, Livonia, and Karelia (figs. 2 and 3). During a conflict that flared in the 1570s the correspondence between Johan III and Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible was coloured by a heightened political tone. In the official letters, which are considered unique in Swedish history, the kings called each other by the most abusive personal insults. The tsar claimed that Russian rulers, according to old chronicles, had occupied Sweden, while Johan writes:

But if we had not heard that your father was grand duke of Russia, then we would have had reason to draw the conclusion that some monk or peasant had been your father, since you write with such ill manners, and that you had been brought up among peasants or other low people who know no honour.⁵⁴

⁵³ *Erikskrönikan* 1992.

⁵⁴ Rosén 1966, p. 69.



Fig. 2. In Olaus Magnus' *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* we meet Russian pirates who cunningly use light boats in order to travel quickly. "Nor are they satisfied with having stripped and despoiled them of their goods, but also, with their inborn cruelty, they take the men they have overcome by their cunning and busy themselves in throwing them, without distinction or discrimination, into the deep sea to be drowned." After Olaus Magnus 1998, vol. II, p. 529.



Fig. 3. The other side of the Russians' activity. Olaus Magnus describes the wisdom of the Russian merchants in that, like the pirates, they build light vessels to carry them over water obstacles. After Olaus Magnus 1998, vol. II, p. 535.

A persistent attitude to Russia, from the dominance of the Muscovites in the sixteenth century until the Cold War, was the fear of expansive Russian military power. At the same time, the situation was exacerbated by the authoritarian rule which weakened the people spiritually and ideologically. Using a negative counter-image in order to justify one's own aggression is common in political contexts. More interesting are the views put forward about the population as a whole, about the peasantry beyond the circle of the tsar. In 1974 Kari Tarkiainen published his thesis '*Vår Gamble Arffjende Ryssen*' where he analyses the view of the arch-enemy Russia in Sweden 1595–1621. We hear a voice from 1615 when Petrus Petrejus makes the following statement about the Russians in his *Regni Muschovitici Sciographia* (1615): "To sum up, the country is both good and fertile, but the people are coarse and rude ...".⁵⁵

Tarkiainen questions whether this negative image also affected other foreign peoples close to Sweden. He fails to find such opinions about Denmark and Poland at the same time. Instead the Swedish attitude fits very well into a general Western European outlook according to which the Russians as a people were considered to suffer from "...lack of will, drunkenness, immorality, cunning, and deception along with a coarse sense of humour".⁵⁶

The Russian noblemen too, that is, the social opponents in all conflicts, were deemed undeveloped and without civilized manners. The governor of Kexholm castle at the end of the sixteenth century, Lars Torstensson, declared that Swedish nobles "...sit in their beautiful stone houses and pleasant palaces, drinking wine and other costly drinks. On the other hand, the Russian Voivods sit in their smokehouses and drink kvass and water".⁵⁷

Tarkiainen says that he can detect a change in the period 1594–1621 as regards the Swedish view of the Russian 'national characteristics'. Despite the short time interval we notice an adjustment in the choice of words which reflects a contemporary change from Christian to more profane language, based on an infatuation with classical antiquity. Up to 1610 terms like 'unchristian' and 'pagan' were used of the Russians. These epithets may be described as the last outpost of the crusading

⁵⁵ Tarkiainen 1974, p. 32.

⁵⁶ Tarkiainen 1973, p. 52.

⁵⁷ Tarkiainen 1974, p. 38.

mentality which set its stamp on official relations from the start of the thirteenth century until the end of the fifteenth century. Under the influence of the general European interest in the classical ideals that emerged in the seventeenth century, the Russians instead started to earn designations like 'barbarians'.

Like the relations of the Danes with the Wends, Swedish-Russian relations were the result of pragmatism. We should get away from the anachronistic idea of nation states and instead look at the discontinuity of medieval political life. For a long time political ambitions stood or fell with individual princes. From the late eighth century encounters between Scandinavians and East Slavs recurred regularly. Integration between the royal houses and mutual trading interests can be followed until the end of the twelfth century. The constants in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Swedish-Russian relations seem to have been Novgorod's wealth which attracted Western European eyes, the confrontation when spheres of interest overlapped geographically, and the ideological differences formulated in Catholic and Orthodox belief. From the sixteenth century, East Slavic culture was deemed less civilized than western culture, while there was great hunger for the wealth of the area. The negative images that we find among Swedes at the time were built up to justify their own policies.

FROM 'SUBHUMANS' TO A PART OF SCANDINAVIA'S HISTORY

The heritage of the Middle Ages found its way into archaeological texts when it was established as a science. Kossinna's thesis about Aryan dominance over the Slavs is now well known. He was not the only one to have a negative attitude; it was firmly rooted in nationalist groups in broad geographical and social circles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What is less well known is that there has long been a tendency in the Slavic world to search for a shared past. Pan-Slavism in various guises shaped the political dream while archaeologists put forward results which proved that they had the same origin. Scholars looked for the *Urheimat* of the Slavs and for evidence that they had possessed a highly developed culture from an early stage, and their writings sometimes displayed the same admixture of chauvinism that we find in champions of Germanic supremacy.

How did Scandinavians relate to the Slavs? In the nineteenth century there seems to have been little interest in demarcating cultural groups and more in building up chronological-typological series. There was contact with Slavic colleagues, but the exchange was geared to methodology. At the start of the new century the culture of the Slavs was regarded as low and poorly articulated since it had not yielded any rich grave material or heroizing chronicles. Although these opinions were not expressed chauvinistically, it took time before a more balanced attitude to the early history of the neighbouring countries emerged. With the archaeological source material the discussion was renewed and Baltic ware became a frequently invoked group of artefacts in attempts to understand the scope of the relations. As the last section in this chapter I examine how the interpretations emerged and became established.

Ur-Slavs and the Pan-Slavic aspiration for a Slavic identity

The search for ancestors and their connection to contemporary national borders was part of a romantic and nationalistic perception of history in Europe. It was well suited to the ideological need for a community extending across class boundaries in a time of upheaval. Identity could be strengthened through a negative attitude to other groups than one's own. An idea like this was a good seedbed for a chauvinistic national archaeology when this entered the historical arena.

To understand how sensitive the question of the ethnic attribution of Baltic ware can be for colleagues in Slavic countries, it is necessary to provide a brief survey of the history of Slavic archaeology. This will focus on the view of Slavs, but it is not a complete review of theoretical development in Russia, Poland, and Germany.

In the history of scholarship, the Slavs have not always been viewed with negative eyes. At the start of the nineteenth century the German philosopher Johann Herder regarded the Slavic peoples as peaceful peasants who suffered under the brutal Germans. With the chauvinistic historiography at the end of the century, however, the Slavs were depicted as culturally inferior. In Germanic Europe this became a prevailing attitude in the early twentieth century, expressed in its most extreme form in archaeology by Gustaf Kossinna and Bolko von Richthofen. This dark side in the history of archaeology has attracted justified attention in self-critical retrospectives in the last two decades. Less well known are the paths taken by Slavic archaeology.

Archaeology in the Slavic countries followed the same development via romanticism to nationalism as in other countries, and it was coloured by issues in contemporary politics.⁵⁸ In the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries the focus was on classical remains, and ideals were chosen from the Roman and Greek heritage. In Poland people collected Roman coins and other artefacts from the period, and in Russia they were interested in the classical antiquities on the Black Sea and in contacts between the Mediterranean cultures and Scythian and Sarmatian tribes. Inspiration came from the histories written by classical authors. Early on, however, there was a desire to identify archaeological remains as traces of the ancestors of the local population. In the romantic tradition there was an endeavour to determine whether it was Celts, Germans, or Slavs that were responsible for monuments and artefacts. Of course, it was the political geography of the time that provided the framework for ascertaining which ethnic group left the finds. Among the Czechs in particular, a Slavic historical tradition was able to flourish, with surveys published as early as the 1830s. But it was the border zone between Germany and Poland that was to become the battlefield for ethnic attribution. Here both Germanic and Slavic remains clearly overlapped, which forced scholars to adopt stances which sought arguments in national emotions rather than empirical studies. Some steps were nevertheless taken towards serious archaeological scrutiny. As early as 1832 G.C.F. Lisch tried to distinguish Germanic and Slavic graves. The problem was that he regarded all large antiquities and those with rich grave goods, such as megalithic graves and Bronze Age barrows, as Germanic, while the simpler cremation graves with ceramic pots were Slavic. The reaction against viewing only the poor finds as Slavic came at once. The attitude was not ethnically stigmatizing. Lisch was the first to realize, in 1847, that the pottery decorated with lines and waves was of Slavic origin.

The romantic origin myths were accompanied by an emphasis on the noble past of one's own people. In several cases the historiography was hampered for political reasons. Poland was successively partitioned in the second of the half eighteenth century, and between 1795 and 1918 it was under Prussian, Russian, and Austrian rule. It was totally impossible to pursue a Slavic archaeology in the Prussian sector, whereas

⁵⁸ Sklenář 1983; Trigger 1989; Bursche & Taylor 1991; Dolukhanov 1995; Ręczkowski 1996; Shnirelman 1996; Lech 1999.

in the more open Austrian and Russian sectors research could be performed more freely. In Russia it was also possible to have an independent archaeology that was Slavic in character. In the first half of the nineteenth century archaeologists there had extended their sphere of interest from the classical and Byzantine remains to comprise old Russian finds as well. Archaeological efforts chiefly concerned graves. Many burial mounds were excavated around Lake Ladoga and around Moscow. In political terms the romanticized image of pre-Mongol Russia strengthened Moscow as the heir of the first Christian state, the fifteenth-century dream of the Third Rome, the rallying point for all Orthodox believers in the Slavic world.

In the wake of the national movement in the nineteenth century there were also attempts to achieve Slavic unity across the different countries. In Pan-Slavism the romantics found an ideology which emphasized the common past in language and history. Basic ideas like these had already circulated in South Slavic circles in the sixteenth century under the name of 'Illyrianism'.⁵⁹ Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes then lived under Turkish and Hungarian rule, with few opportunities to develop a national identity of their own. There were numerous problems with Pan-Slavism. National and hegemonic motives soon slipped into the ideological community. From the 1860s the Russians had argued that the East Slavs had originated in a local development with a high cultural standard and rich connections. Imperial Russia was the cultural and political mother of all Slavs. Polish archaeologists naturally took a different view. Another problem was that a closer look at the evidence brought the realization that Slavic peoples in the past had waged war on each other as violently as the Germanic peoples had done. Historically there was no unity to accompany the feudal expansionist policies of the princes, even though medieval rulers tended to invoke a shared language and origin in times of crisis.⁶⁰

An exponent of attempts to unite the Slavic past was the *art nouveau* artist Alfons Mucha (1860–1939). Between 1910 and 1928 he completed about twenty monumental paintings with motifs from the history of the Slavs. His aim was to give moral support for the future with images from the past displaying the contribution of the Slavs to culture, art, and freedom of religion. The works were Mucha's own gift to the

⁵⁹ Sklenář 1983, p. 66.

⁶⁰ Bartlett 1993, p. 202.

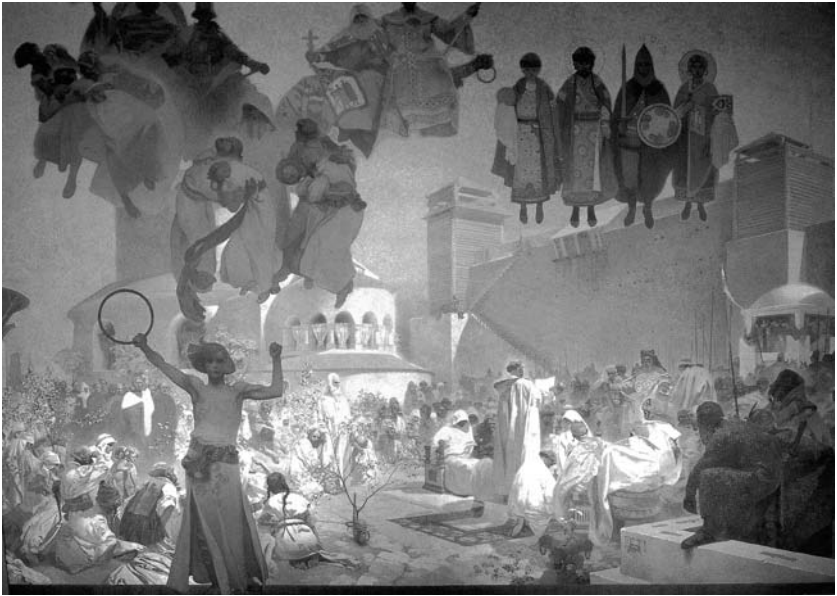


Fig. 4. One of the monumental paintings from Alfons Mucha's *The Slav Epic*. "The introduction of the Slavic liturgy: Praise the Lord in your native tongue." Methodius reads out the papal bull giving him and Cyril permission to continue their missionary work among the Slavs. The prince of Great Moravia, Svatoopluk, sits listening. At the top left is a group of terrified women, afraid to give up their old faith, being comforted by Cyril. Among the immortals can be seen the former ruler Rostislav, who invited the missionaries to come, and the patriarch of the Eastern Church. Further to the right are Boris of Bulgaria and Igor of Rus' with their wives, eager disseminators of the Christian faith. In the left foreground stands a youth with a circle held firmly in his hand. It symbolizes Slavic unity, which was more difficult to achieve in reality than in Mucha's dream of a Slavic future. Property of the City Gallery in Prague.

Pan-Slavist movement and above all to his native Czechoslovakia. On these gigantic canvases we see the primeval Slavic mother and pagan shrines, religious leaders, and political turning points (fig. 4). But he also chose to depict important battles in history. A problem arose here, since he was trying to emphasize the Slavic community. The paintings therefore do not portray battle scenes; instead we are shown the destruction and devastation after the battle. Meditation about the suffering was supposed to bring people to their senses. In his paintings of the peaceful life of the Slavs, Mucha was emphasizing the contrast with the Germanic infatuation with warriors, in the spirit of Herder. In two ways development overtook Alfons Mucha's dream. In art he

was a reminiscence of the nineteenth-century romantic ideal, while the modernistic artists were already creating new worlds on their canvases. In political terms the peaceful Slavs in the paintings and his own pacifism arose more from a romantic idea than from a conscious political movement. Mucha died and was buried in Prague during the German occupation.

With a scientific foundation in the romantic ideals of the nineteenth century, Lubor Niederle, a Czech archaeologist, published his work *Slovanské starožitnosti* (Slavic Antiquities) in eleven volumes between 1902 and 1925; it was also translated into French. Like Mucha, he was a residue of an earlier Pan-Slavist ideology.

As the attraction of the romantic school declined, a tendency towards more scientific investigation emerged. As in other countries, they tried to order the source material in types and chronologies. Excavations of fortifications between the Elbe and the Oder and typological studies of pottery from them had the result that the German archaeologist Rudolf Virchow in the 1870s and 1880s for the first time gave Slavic pottery a name. At two international archaeological congresses in Stockholm in 1874 and 1878 he presented evidence to show that pottery of *Burgwalltypus* was of Slavic origin. Virchow worked actively to combine the Germanic and Slavic views of the past. His background in a more anthropological tradition meant that he was interested in mankind as a historical phenomenon rather than in demarcating the different ethnic groups in culture-historical archaeology. Most archaeologists at the time still thought their most important task was to define and praise their own origin.

Ordering the archaeological remains that were considered to have been left by Germans and Slavs was thus an important item on the agenda. What we should not forget is that a similar situation prevailed at this time on the Polish-Russian border as on the Polish-German border.⁶¹ From the second half of the tenth century the kingdoms had held on to possessions there with varying degrees of success. An ethnic overlap could also be expected here, but between East Slavs and West Slavs and between Catholic and Orthodox belief. A large group of practising Jews lived in the area, and there was a big Baltic population in northern parts. Tensions were nevertheless not as serious as in the west, largely because ethnic awareness was not so strong.

⁶¹ Ręczkowski 1996, p. 201.

To sum up the ideological foundation in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, a specifically Slavic archaeology had its beginnings in the first half of the nineteenth century. Influenced by romanticism and later with an increasingly national tone, the question of the origin and culture of the Slavs acquired tremendous importance in the creation of an identity. This did not at first have such a clear territorial character, largely because of the political situation. During the period in question, for example, Poland did not exist as an independent nation, although Polish scholars could work within the boundaries of the Austrian Empire.

In pre-revolutionary Russia scholars grappled with roughly the same major issues as their colleagues further west. They were engaged in a common search for the primeval home of the Slavs, the extent of Slavic culture, the level of this culture, and connections with other peoples. One difference was the antagonism created by the archaeological remains in the border zone between Germany and Poland. No such problem existed in tsarist Russia. There archaeology instead served to glorify pre-Mongol Rus' and was used to repress non-Orthodox groups.⁶² In the areas colonized by the tsar there was a large population of practising Muslims, and Turkic, Siberian, and other groups were not permitted to build up a distinct national awareness.

To arms! Slavic archaeology in hot and cold wars

At the end of the nineteenth century there was a dividing line between a non-hegemonic romantic perception of the glory of one's own people and a chauvinistic nationalism. The first half of the new century saw the return of tones which had not been heard since the severe persecution of Slavs and Germans in the Late Middle Ages. Around 1900 the positions were already highly infected by national feelings. It is difficult to find a starting point, but Kossinna's speech at the German anthropological congress in Kassel in 1895 is held up as important.⁶³ There he chiefly attacked the interest in Celtic remains and emphasized that scholars should concentrate on the Germanic material. His continued scholarly work is well known. His pupils were active in popularizing the results and in debating with Slavic scholars. The theories were well suited to the chauvinistic German policy of expansion, but it was not

⁶² Shnirelman 1996, pp. 224f.

⁶³ Sklenář 1983, p. 147.

until the Third Reich invested heavily in archaeology that Kossinna's views had their real impact.

How did the Slavic-speaking archaeologists respond to this attack? According to Karel Sklenář, there was no expansionist chauvinism; there was instead an autochthonous trend. By explaining the ethnogenesis of the Slavs as a local development, scholars adopted a defensive stance *vis-à-vis* the views of the Germanic archaeologists.⁶⁴ In Central Europe the Slavic peoples had a high degree of independence and were socio-economically well developed—a poor seedbed for a nationalist archaeology. There was still a keen interest in the origin and subsequent cultural development of the Slavic peoples. Lubor Niederle's pupil Jan Eisner continued in his teacher's footsteps, but on the Slovak side. As regards theory, the Czech and Slovak archaeologists refrained from the *Siedlungsarchäologie* that characterized both German and Polish works.⁶⁵ In the divided Poland the situation was different, with increased political pressure from Germany. With Józef Kostrzewski's return to Poznań/Posen in 1914 there began a particularly intense debate about the ethnic attribution of archaeological remains.

One should bear in mind that the establishment of chauvinistic archaeology in Germany brought with it a sharp point aimed at all Slavic culture. "In all the writing on the subject the inevitable contrast to the German 'master race' was provided by the inferior Slavs".⁶⁶ Polish archaeologists worked in the shadow of a direct intellectual and cultural threat. Since Poznań was in the Prussian part of the partitioned Poland, conflict was heightened to the extreme. Kostrzewski's political purpose, however, was the same as that of many German archaeologists. As a former pupil of Kossinna's, his work was geared to showing the autochthonous development of the Slavs and highlighting the Polish identity. In this way he was as vociferous in his demands as his adversaries.

In the Third Reich the more anthropologically oriented archaeology that had existed as a branch of the subject became politically incorrect. An example of direct control was seen when Virchow's organization with this orientation lost its support, to be replaced by Kossinna's *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Vorgeschichte*. In the highly conscious use of the past in the

⁶⁴ Sklenář 1983, p. 149.

⁶⁵ Sklenář 1983, p. 150.

⁶⁶ Sklenář 1983, p. 159.

Nazi ideology there was no room for deviating interpretations. When the Polish and German opinions clashed, they were thus charged with national emotion and discontent aimed against the incorporation of one's own 'people' in an alien nation.

Since it was important to prove a historical justification for controlling a territory, periods without written sources were also brought in. Of particular importance was the Lausitz culture from the Late Bronze Age. Polish archaeologists argued that it was proto-Slavic, referring to cultural continuity up to the Early Roman Iron Age, when he claimed that classical sources mention Slavs for the first time. The Germans, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that this was not the case. Polish archaeologists used the discovery of Biskupin in 1933 as proof of the good qualities of their own culture, and the site became a centre for national sentiment.⁶⁷ The official image of the ethnic attribution of the Lausitz culture did not disappear until 1970. After the outbreak of the war in 1939 it was impossible to pursue archaeology openly in Poland. Once again the country was divided, this time between the German and the Soviet power blocs. A quarter of the archaeologists disappeared, and any tendency to mention Slavic culture was repressed.

When I. Borkovský managed to publish a book, in 1940, proving that the Prague type pottery dating from the period of migration of the peoples was Slav, and the earliest archaeological evidence of their presence in central Europe the publication was seized and destroyed. The ancient Slavs had no right to any culture whatever.⁶⁸

Instead of the negative attitude to Slavic cultural groups that had long flourished in the German-speaking areas, the first half of the twentieth century saw the development of a different outlook in the Soviet Union that was established in 1917. Soviet scholars drew attention as early as the 1920s to the expansionist German rhetoric among those archaeologists who worked with Kossinna's methods. The response to this threat was a search for roots to prove that East Slavs had settled early in the regions comprised by the new nation.

At the start of the Soviet state's existence, from 1917 to the end of the 1920s, it was stressed that ethnic differences were a good thing, and they were allowed to dictate the administrative division of the country. Control over the huge expanse of land was at first weak, and

⁶⁷ Piotrowska 1998.

⁶⁸ Sklenář 1983, pp. 62f.

the Bolshevik policy sought to win support from ethnic groups which had been repressed within tsarist Russia. For the first time since the overthrow of the tsar, an opportunity was seen to search for one's own local past. But the positive openings also laid the foundation for chauvinism. One effect was that history was written in nationalist terms. Viktor A. Shnirelman exemplified the ideas of the time with the archaeologist Lastovsky's view of the origin of his own people, the White Russians. According to him there were two early East Slavic states, Kievan Rus' with Scandinavian involvement, and an older state established by Krivichi, a tribe mentioned in the Nestorian Chronicle and the Novgorod Chronicle.

It was argued that only Kryvichs and Poles were purely Slavic in blood, whereas Czechs had an admixture of German blood, and Bulgarians of Mongol blood, while the worst situation was among the Russians who had the lion's share of Mongol blood.⁶⁹

The trend lasted a very short time and suffered a severe blow with the new political orientation in the 1930s, which combated ethnic rights and strove for a more orthodox communist policy. All distinctive regional features were toned down and dissent led to persecution.

Instead of migrations as explanations for changes in material culture, scholars favoured endogenous processes and migration was banned as an explanatory model.⁷⁰ The theoretical foundation was taken from the linguist and archaeologist Nikolai Marr (1864–1934), who believed that linguistic changes had their origin in the socio-economic organization of society. Culture-historical archaeology was replaced with socially oriented research based on the historical materialist view of man's different stages in history. Marr influenced Soviet archaeology from his position in the Academy of Sciences until the start of the 1940s, and in 1950 he was totally discredited in articles by Stalin.

Culture-historical archaeology had not completely disappeared from the intradisciplinary dialogue in the Soviet Union, and when Marr was criticized in the mid-1930s it became the main line in archaeology at the end of the succeeding decade. As a means of raising national awareness among the different peoples within the union, studies of migration, continuity, and cultural transfer were encouraged once again.⁷¹ It was

⁶⁹ Shnirelman 1996, p. 229.

⁷⁰ Trigger 1989, p. 224; Dolukhanov 1995, p. 331.

⁷¹ Bulkin *et al.* 1982, pp. 276f.

thus not just the Slavic heritage that was underlined; Finno-Ugrian, Turkic, Iranian, and Baltic peoples were also studied, albeit within the frontiers of the Soviet Union. Despite this, Shnirelman argues that it was the Slavic, and even more narrowly the Russian state and the Russian people that was the focus of interest.⁷² Migration was still treated with caution; the movements stayed within the nation.

During the period up to the 1950s, when only explanations invoking internal immigration were accepted, any interpretation was criticized if it involved Vikings or Goths and their presence in Russia. The ethnogenesis of the Slavs and the origin of the Russian state were instead top-priority research fields. During the war the Goths were viewed as a real threat since they could serve as a basis for historical demands from Germany. Scandinavian finds from the Viking Age were accepted but they were regarded as remains left by occasional traders passing through. If they had any part in the establishment of Rus' it was in the capacity of mercenaries who were quickly assimilated. The question of the Norsemen opened a nationalistic vein which continued to flow long after the Great Patriotic War was over.

From the start of the 1960s, in the prevailing political thaw, scholars began to interpret the presence of foreign objects as the result of long-distance migrations. There was now instead an emphasis on the peaceful coexistence between different nations within the Warsaw Pact and the fact that cultural and economic exchange with friendly regions were paralleled in prehistoric societies. With increased *détente*, this last limitation lost its political function, and by the end of the decade more long-distance contacts were accepted. At the same time, the Scandinavian element in Rus' was in focus once again on the basis of new excavations and publications. At the University of Leningrad the question was discussed openly, and in the 1970s it was brought into a general discussion about Viking Age urbanization in west and east.

From the formation of the Soviet Union in 1917, then, archaeology became an important part of the Bolsheviks' attempts to create a new type of society. If we look back at the development it is clear that interpretations could be fundamentally changed at intervals of just a few years. In an atmosphere like this it was difficult to arrive at a picture of the history of the Slavs based on empirical evidence. Political decisions were more important than anything else, and scholarship was

⁷² Shnirelman 1996, p. 233.

controlled from the very top, as when Stalin himself argued in print against Marr's autochthonous hypotheses.

By drawing attention to the shared past, the Soviet Union sought to acquire cultural legitimacy for the political dominance to which it aspired after peace came in 1945. With the emergence of the Soviet-dominated Eastern Bloc, the Pan-Slavic idea of Moscow as a centre could become a more or less voluntary reality. In Poland priority was attached to two themes which were supposed to strengthen national self-esteem: the origin of the Slavs and the growth of the Polish state.

With the search for the origin of the Slavs, Polish archaeologists resumed an old interest from the romantic and nationalist period in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The discussions and interpretations are too wide-ranging to be treated here. There is a rich corpus of literature on the history of scholarship in this field.⁷³

On the eve of the millennium of the Polish state in 1966 excavations were conducted on a huge scale in towns, monasteries, and castles, which allowed Polish archaeology to develop interdisciplinary projects very early.⁷⁴ According to Jacek Lech, the 'Millennium Project' should not just be viewed as a task imposed by the new socialist state. A yearning to understand the Polish past was firmly rooted in several different camps, everything from the Catholic church to the ruling party.⁷⁵ The borders that Poland acquired after the war had moved westwards in relation to those which had existed before 1939. Poland lost the ancient eastern parts to the Soviet Union, but was granted new western territories up to the Oder. In the new areas there was a need to investigate the historical links with the early Polish state. One can therefore regard the gigantic effort as both a national revival across political dividing lines and a communist Pan-Slavic reorientation. The first excavations started in 1948, primarily comprising early medieval strongholds, but also urban centres, agrarian settlements, and churches. At the same time, a large number of journals began publication.

With the new politics came an increased interest in the past, and Slavic archaeology was established as a separate discipline. One landmark

⁷³ Herrmann 1985 (1970); Goehrke 1992; Parczewski 1993; Lech 1998, pp. 100ff.; Barford 2001; Curta 2001.

⁷⁴ Bursche & Taylor 1991.

⁷⁵ Lech 1998, pp. 65ff.

was the publication of the periodical *Slavia Antiqua* in 1948, which was to serve as the unifying link. Yet another important goal was achieved in 1965 with the organization of the first meeting of the International Union for Slavic Archaeology in Warsaw. This was followed by others in Berlin in 1970, Bratislava in 1975, Sofia in 1980, Kiev in 1985, and most recently in Novgorod in 1996. The reports published after the conferences dealt with all aspects of Slavic culture from the earliest times until the Early Middle Ages. For a reader nowadays it is obvious that politics played a significant role. The introductions are weighed down with speeches of welcome and addresses by prominent party members. Looking backwards and from the outside it is difficult to assess how the political orientation of the work affected the empirical material and the interpretations of it. At any rate, it is inevitable that the extensive archaeological fieldwork and the presentation of the results created a rich databank for studies of the Early Middle Ages all over Eastern Central Europe. Through the publications it is also possible to make boundary-crossing interpretations of the Middle Ages, comprising Ottonian-Salian Germany, the Poland of the Piasts, the Byzantine Empire, Great Moravia, Bulgaria, and Rus'.

For obvious reasons, the glorification of the Germanic heritage ceased completely in Germany after the war. Kossinna's culture-historical paradigm was replaced by more neutral concepts in the west, while in the east archaeology ended up within the Marxist research field. As in Poland, archaeological and historical work was planned in accordance with the directives of the new state, but unlike their colleagues there, scholars could not unite in the study of a magnificent past. West Germany developed a form of archaeology with impressive know-how in interdisciplinary methods for settlements, source criticism, typology, and history of research.⁷⁶ Despite detailed knowledge of older research findings, theoretical awareness became of minor significance. In the German Democratic Republic state repression was even worse than in Poland, from an intellectual point of view. It was not appropriate to study Hanseatic towns or the Germanic Iron Age; instead there was a focus on Slavic remains, as a way of marking the new affiliation within the Warsaw Pact. This was admittedly continuing a long tradition, since the extent of Slavic settlement as far as the Elbe had long

⁷⁶ Härke 1991, pp. 202f.

been known through written sources and through the achievements of Götze, Lisch, and Virchow in the nineteenth century and those of Schuchardt and Unversagt in the twentieth century. Slavic pottery could be demarcated, and this source group was thoroughly studied in the German Democratic Republic. Among other things, Schuldt carried out detailed studies of strongholds and settlement sites within the framework of the new Germany.

Unlike the western parts of the divided country, the East German scholars produced synthesizing works. With the impressive handbook *Die Slawen in Deutschland* they assembled both the empirical knowledge and the power in one place.⁷⁷ But this was no culture-historical account. With a clear Marxist bottom-up perspective Herrmann says in the introduction:

Diese historische Realität war einerseits geprägt von Klassengegensätzen und Klassenkämpfen, von Klassenscheiden, die unabhängig von der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit verliefen. Die feudaladligen Oberschicht deutscher und slawischer Herkunft verständigte sich sehr rasch auf ihre Interessenübereinstimmung und handelte gemeinsam gegen die unteren Schichten der Bauern und Kossäten, der Smurden und Kmeten.⁷⁸

In the book Herrmann expressed the ideas of the new state and marked the bond with the Slavic sphere through the Sorbs, the Slavic-speaking culture group which still exists within the borders of Germany. Through Herrmann's auspices, two major popular books were published in the 1980s, bringing the Slavic culture and contacts with other peoples to life: *Wikinger und Slawen* and *Welt der Slawen*.⁷⁹

Although scholars in the newly formed Eastern Bloc had seen the consequences of Kossinna's view of ethnicity and archaeology, they continued to work according to his methods. The link with the past was still exploited politically to justify the existence of a nation. Instead of an elitist Germanic prehistory, they created the image of a Slavic past that was on the same cultural level as other neighbouring countries. These ideas were not completely new. Even before 1900 there were Pan-Slavic currents which focused on the Slavic cultural heritage. With the new political signals there was greater need for shared historical destinies,

⁷⁷ Herrmann 1985 (1970).

⁷⁸ Herrmann 1985 (1970), p. 6.

⁷⁹ Herrmann 1982, 1986.

but rejecting the link between culture groups, races, and nations which was a part of Kossinna's basic thinking. The chauvinistic elements led scholars in the Soviet Union to deny any Scandinavian influence in the foundation of Rus', and Polish archaeologists ignored Germanic finds which contradicted the image of homogeneous Slavic settlement. As losers in the war and under Soviet supervision, researchers in the German Democratic Republic focused on the Slavic heritage east of the Elbe. Even though these elements were replaced by more constructive foundations for discussions, especially after the political changes in the old Eastern Bloc, research is still geared in large measure to the search for the territories of archaeological cultures and their ethnic affiliation.⁸⁰

The antagonisms that existed between German and Polish archaeologists before the Second World War were partly due to the mixed population in the border zone between the countries, and rooted in the perception of ethnicity as an essential property. But the view of the Slavs as barbarians lacking culture has a wider geographical spread. The expansion of the South Slavs across the Balkans and their influence on political and cultural life has also been discussed in Byzantinology.⁸¹ In 597 Avar and Slavic warriors stormed Thessaloniki and continued down through present-day Greece. Towards the end of the century the Slavs on the mainland had reached far into the Peloponnese, where they reshaped the population structure during the next two centuries, and in the Greek islands they penetrated as far as Crete.

At the start of the nineteenth century Philhellenic intellectuals tried to achieve a uniform picture of the part of the Ottoman Empire that incorporated classical Hellas. In a critique of this, the German linguist J.P. Fallmerayer in 1830 published a work in which he described the population of Greece as "A population with Slavonic facial features and bow-shaped eyelashes and sharp features of Albanian mountain shepherds". Vehement protests were heard from the Greeks, who were trying to establish a political and ethnic identity for themselves during and after the war of liberation against the Turks. Some scholars denied that there had ever been Slavs in Byzantium, but they could not get away from the written sources that they themselves used. Thessaloniki

⁸⁰ Olsen & Kobylński 1991, p. 11.

⁸¹ Weithmann 1978; Fine 1983, pp. 59ff.

was described by a contemporary local source as a Byzantine island in a Slavic sea. There remained the Peloponnese. Greek scholars stuck to the view that no Slavs had settled there, but place-names (429 from the Peloponnese alone), numismatic finds (a lacuna between *c.* 650 and 820) and archaeological excavations with finds of Prague pottery and other vessels with clear decoration in wavy lines tell a different story. All in all, the empirical evidence unambiguously shows that Slavs settled throughout the Greek peninsula. They seem to have lived in the countryside while Byzantine enclaves persisted in certain fortified coastal cities which remained cultural centres. The rural population must have been a mixture of Slavic and Byzantine inhabitants, while a certain Slavic element must have existed in cities like Lacedaemon (successor to the classical Sparta), Isthmia, Argos, Tiryns, and Corinth. Slavic cooking pots have been found in these places.

After the re-Hellenization of the ninth century the culture became wholly Byzantine, although a cultural heritage was left by the Slavs. The groups which occupied the inaccessible Taygetos mountains around Lacedaemon preserved their distinctive cultural character. They refused to pay taxes, but they provided soldiers when the emperor needed them. Their activities can be followed long into the Middle Ages. In 1290 there is a record of them storming Kalavryta, and traces in written sources can be followed until the fifteenth century.

One can thus discern a reluctance to recognize Slavic culture as being on an equal footing with Byzantine culture in the establishment of the nation of Greece. The Slavs were depicted as unorganized peasants while the classical heritage was emphasized and polished up, and this orientalised part of Europe was made into the cradle of the continent. In the book *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* by A.N. Stratos, the author sneaks in a view which represents the Slavs as culturally passive, but still dangerous:

In the Western part of present-day Russia dwelt a rude and unorganised people, the Slavs.... The Slavs had no national unity or political organisation. They were a large mass of people who lived tribally under a patriarchal system.... They were not dangerous except when they had been conquered and subjected to warlike races. Then their great masses were used as a source of man-power.... They were used by the Avars as an infantry and naval force.⁸²

⁸² Stratos 1968.

In the marble-white Greek past that was built up after liberation from the Ottoman grasp, there was no room for this kind of people, and after the civil war of the 1940s the Greeks lived in a Slavophobic atmosphere since support for the partisans had come from Slavic countries beyond the borders to the north.

This look at the historical development of Slavic archaeology may give the impression that the politicization of the subject is a thing of the past. This is not the case, of course. It will therefore be interesting in the future to see how the Slavs are presented in archaeological literature. Already today there are tendencies to dissonance in certain areas. One is purely intradisciplinary; it concerns the organization of the institutions and forums for discussion established in the periods after 1918 and 1945. In the states of the old Eastern Bloc research on the Slavs was given top priority, but in the new political climate after the fall of the Berlin Wall there has been a decline in state interest and grants. The International Union for Slavic Archaeology had its last congress in Novgorod in 1996. It is too early to say whether the union can be maintained or if it has compromised itself too much to be able to function as a unifying link in European research. The focus on a special Slavic historiography has perhaps lost its function.

Another tendency concerns the character of research on the Slavs in the future. According to Włodzimierz Ręczowski, the state's interest in archaeology in Poland disappeared in the 1970s after the stabilization of relations with West Germany and the borders drawn after the Second World War were accepted at the Helsinki Conference in 1975.⁸³ Even if the old national interests vanish, old tendencies can acquire a new content. In Poland there was a celebration in 2000 of the millennium of the first encounter between the German Emperor Otto III and King Bolesław Chrobry in Gniezno. In April that year five presidents from Central European states met there, historians and an archaeologist discussed the events around 1000 on Polish television, and a book was published about German-Polish relations in the Early Middle Ages. Instead of national awareness of the origin of the state which the Polish millennial celebrations had concerned in 1966, the important thing now is cooperation between the two states.

⁸³ Ręczowski 1996, p. 210.

Because of the contradictory character of the empirical material, there are special areas which in the future will continue to be politically sensitive. The question of the origin of the Slavs has still not been resolved. This has led archaeologists to realize, with some resignation, that:

Despite all the years of research, our knowledge of the prehistory of the Slavs still contains a disproportionately large number of unanswered questions and dubious conclusions when compared with the effort invested.⁸⁴

The debate about the East Slavic expansion northwards has not been shelved; it has become topical once again with the liberation of the Baltic states. Questions about the ethnic origin of the long barrows (*dlinnye kurgany*) and the high barrows (*sopki*), and about how the Slavic population assimilated or was assimilated by the Baltic and Finnish tribes are still controversial.⁸⁵

Side by side with the playing down of specifically Slavic archaeology, it is now possible to study the interaction between different culture groups. In the united Germany the former DDR organization *Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie* has been replaced by the new *Forschungszentrum für Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas*. We may hope that the new political climate will not mean the end of research on the Slavs, but that they will be placed in a historical context in a more nuanced way, together with neighbouring regions. A research project which for many years has maintained a balanced view of relations between Slavs, Saxons, and Scandinavians is *Sonderforschungsbereich 17*, which was run in an exemplary fashion from Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel. Several Slavic strongholds and rural settlement sites have been excavated and published in the form of reports, dissertations, and popular books. Hopefully, interaction will be a topic for studies of this kind in the future in other parts of the Baltic region. In Scandinavian archaeology the fixation on a homogeneous Viking Age will be broken some time. Since the early twentieth century this old record has been played on repeat until the grooves have been worn down and the message has acquired an obscure quasi-nationalist character.

⁸⁴ Lech 1999, p. 105.

⁸⁵ Goehrke 1992, pp. 28ff.; Ligi 1993; Klejn 1994; Lebedev 1994; Pančenko *et al.* 1994.

After the Slavic pottery tradition attracted attention from Lisch in Germany in 1847, this source material was used in a heated discussion about ethnic attribution. That it is still an important and sensitive question is shown by an article from as recently as 1998, where the author dismisses Baltic ware as a concept and stresses the indisputable Slavic affiliation. The type of pottery is considered a misnomer since

...die 'baltische Keramik' (Baltic ware, Ostseeware) wie es scheint, ist ein irrtümlicher Ausdruck, weil ihre Herkunft ist schon bekannt und sie repräsentiert nicht die ganze baltische Zone. Ich fordere deshalb die Wiederherstellung der alten Bezeichnung benutzt durch Karlin—die 'baltisch-wendische' Keramik als näher für die Bezeichnung der slawisch-skandinavischen Kontakte.⁸⁶

This definition of Baltic ware would seriously limit the catchment area and lead to unproductive analyses. What this view reveals is that the question of a Slavic identity is still a delicate matter. It has therefore been necessary to provide this retrospective look at the conditions in which Slavic archaeology has been pursued. Differing findings and opinions can be interpreted in a negative way by colleagues in Slavic countries. It is therefore important both to build interpretations on well-analysed empirical material and to be theoretically aware of how cultural transfer may have taken place in early medieval society.

The view of the Slavs is intimately connected to the general development of scholarship and the view of ethnicity and cultural affiliation in European archaeology. From this we can discern two parallel lines. One consists of the *contemporary historical circumstances* which led to a stigmatization of the Slavs in the High and Late Middle Ages. We can include in this the German expansion to the east, the Danish crusading policy against the Wends, and the Swedish crusade against Finland and political conflicts with Novgorod. The second is associated with the *writing* of history. Out of the nineteenth-century aspiration for national identity was born a need to contrast oneself against other peoples. By glorifying their own nation's exploits through history, people passed judgement on the cultural quality of neighbouring areas. In this process the culture of the Slavs was deemed to have the lowest value. Scandinavia was not outside the discussions; it too was affected by the continental currents. The views put forward in the historical and archaeological literature

⁸⁶ Filipowiak 1998, p. 242.

from around 1900 onwards show that the negative attitude to the Slavs had roots here too.

“The poor Slavic culture ...”

The view of the Slavs in Scandinavian archaeological and historical research

In his book *Kung Valdemar och Bisp Absalon i fejd mot Venderne* from 1902, A.U. Bååth puts forward in his introduction an ideological message which clearly reveals his view of the Slavs:

Will the Slav or the Teuton triumph? This is a burning issue question from our own times. Between the two peoples there is a pronounced difference in temperature and culture, and within each people the optimists hope that it is their own distinctive culture that will emerge victorious from the contest, that their nation will gain world mastery. We North Teutons in Sweden do not belong to the optimists, however. In the last two centuries our clashes with the great power of Russia have always ended in such a way that we now wish for nothing better than to avoid new tensions with our strong neighbour.⁸⁷

Bååth represents the spirit of a time when a nationally minded outlook entailed demarcating cultures and rivalry between cultures. Although his text is a literary adaptation of Saxo, it includes an outlook on humankind which was generally prevalent at the turn of the century.

The Wends have been the subject of intensive study in Danish historical research. A partial explanation for the negative perception of the Wends permeating the texts is that Saxo Grammaticus left an eye-witness account of relations between Wends and Danes in the twelfth century. There they play the part of pirates and the tools used by the Saxon duke Henry the Lion in the power struggles in the area. Historians have at times toned down the connections that provided the foundation for a joint policy against the German expansion and accepted Saxo's propaganda text where Danish crusades against the south are justified as wars of defence.

According to Poul Grinder-Hansen, the Wendish presence in Denmark has attracted little attention, but implicit opinions can be discerned in publications of a survey nature.⁸⁸ Studies of Slavic-Danish connection have mainly been performed by historians, and are less frequent in

⁸⁷ Bååth 1902, p. 1.

⁸⁸ Grinder-Hansen 1983, pp. 6ff.

archaeology. He says that four phases can be identified, with opinions oscillating between positive and negative judgements.

The first phase involved a romantic tradition in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century which uncritically accepted Saxo's glorification of Absalon's and Valdemar's exploits against the Wendish menace, but which was also motivated by contemporary threats. The paganism of the Slavs made them particularly false, faithless, and cruel; merely by Christianizing them it was possible to change their temperament. As early as 1853, however, F. Schiern pointed out that there were Slavic place-names, for instance, on the Danish islands of Lolland and Falster.⁸⁹ Places ending in *-itse* and those with *Vinde-* as the first element are clearly connected to Slavic settlement, but the dynamism of the settlement process is difficult to capture because of the broad dating range. Briefly, they are believed to represent a Wendish settlement in Denmark from the tenth century until about 1100, thus before the recorded attacks on the coasts.⁹⁰ Anti-German sentiment after the loss of South Jutland in 1864 nourished the view that the piracy of the Wends was not so much due to their pagan nature as to Saxon political pressure. To survive they settled on south Danish islands and also commenced diplomatic relations with Danish royal dynasties.

In the second phase source criticism and a democratic outlook took over. Erik Arup writes in *Danmarks Historie* I from 1926 about the Wends in their historical context as one party among various political wills. The Slavs were under pressure from the Germans and started mounting plundering raids, but the sources just as often talk of the political structures interweaving regions. Arup regards Saxo's narrative as a way to glorify Valdemar and assemble the country around a sole king. In this phase other medieval source material was incorporated, showing that Denmark in the twelfth century was anything but impoverished by Wendish attacks. Certain coastal areas were exposed, it is true, but on the whole the century was a time of increased cultivation and construction of lavish churches.

The third phase followed in the 1970s, when source material other than written evidence was brought into the analyses and the focus was shifted to the time before the twelfth century, when peaceful coexistence prevailed. Once again, however, there was emphasis on the real

⁸⁹ Andersen 1982, pp. 19ff.; Grindler-Hansen 1983, pp. 39ff.

⁹⁰ Grindler-Hansen 1983, p. 45.

danger that the attacks constituted in that century. The many campaigns against the south were retaliation and self-defence, to allow cultivation in coastal areas. A bipartite division was proclaimed, with a friendly period and a hostile period.

The characteristic feature of the fourth and last phase, according to Gröndahl-Hansen, was that archaeological source material was brought into the texts about Danish-Wendish connections. He argues that the bias towards the written sources has had the result that the time before Saxo has seen less study. The Polish and German scholars Jan Źak, Lech Leciejewicz, and Joachim Herrmann were the main pioneers in this, but Else Roesdahl and Michael Andersen have stressed on several occasions the rich contacts that existed before the twelfth century.⁹¹

Here I would also like to include some archaeological works from Sweden which examine connections with the Wends and put them in a clearer chronological framework. The excavations of the medieval strata at Eketorp uncovered West Slavic knife sheath mounts which Mårten Stenberger published quickly.⁹² This is just a single act in the collection of knowledge about these relations, but it does show that attention has been focused in the right direction. Stenberger also invited several scholars from Eastern Europe to Öland, which made the Eketorp excavation into a channel for modern-day connections. Well-worked surveys of contacts with the Wends qualified the picture of the subject from the mid-1970s, with a periodization shedding light on the changing character of the contacts. From the eighth century we find a number of coastal settlements with seasonal trade along the coast of Skåne, on Bornholm, Gotland, and in Birka. West Slavic pottery of Feldberg and Fresendorf types circulated at these places, in small quantities but nevertheless as a significant element.⁹³ The amount increased in the ninth century and then fell again at the start of the following century. The pottery is a sign of regular personal presence for brief stays. Slightly later we find further evidence that Scandinavians and Slavs belonged to a common economic sphere. At the close of the tenth century and in the first half of the eleventh century hack silver was fragmented in the same way in eastern Denmark and the West Slavic area.⁹⁴ Hoard finds in Skåne also show a large number of artefacts of West Slavic

⁹¹ Roesdahl 1980; Andersen 1982.

⁹² Stenberger 1968.

⁹³ Callmer 1989.

⁹⁴ Hårdh 1976b, pp. 97f.; Hårdh 1996, pp. 171f.



Fig. 5. Louis Moe's picture of the Wends in an edition of Saxo Grammaticus from 1911. The Wends are portrayed to look distinctly like Russian serfs. Moe's pictures represent the contemporary perception of the Wends rather than the people who lived during the Middle Ages. In war situations, or as here in captivity, they wear tall fur hats and smocks. In western Slavic society the right to wear a beard was reserved for the higher clergy among the Wends. In *Sachsenspiegel* the ordinary peasants are always depicted barefaced. After Saxo Grammaticus 1911, Book XV, p. 284.

origin in the same phase. This is a sign of intensive interaction in trade during the period.

If we look back at the four phases in historiography we find that even in the first phase there were ambiguous findings, with both a negative and a more positive attitude represented (fig. 5). A better grasp of the dynamics and the changes accompanied the increase in source material. When archaeology gained a proper foothold it provided knowledge even about the times beyond Saxo's tendentious text.

There is growing awareness in Denmark today of Wendish finds, which are presented with increasing frequency in articles and reports. Yet there is still a division into an earlier friendly period and a later

hostile period starting in the twelfth century, and the view of the Wends is based on this division. In one of the most recent works about Danish-Wendish relations Tinna Damgaard-Sørensen claims that “Danes do not appear to have been particularly preoccupied with the Wends during the 11th century”.⁹⁵ Yet it is clear from the first section of this chapter that blood ties with the Nakonids were crucial for curbing German aspirations for power. The settlement on Lolland and Falster started during that century, and both the establishment of Baltic ware and the composition of silver hoards attest that both sides were eager to maintain close relations. We find the same thing in the written sources. One passage reveals Damgaard-Sørensen’s excessively generalizing perspective. “The Obodrite Rex Henrik Gotskalksøn carried on piracy along the Danish coast up to Schleswig and in the eastern reaches of Wendland the Pomeranians were stirring”.⁹⁶ Here Henrik’s demand for his maternal inheritance is portrayed as piracy and the Pomeranian reaction to Poland’s expansion is viewed as aggressive unrest. Such a simplified image of the Wends and the struggle for power in the southern Baltic Sea area continues the historical tradition that regards the West Slavic tribes as a homogeneous mass.

In the presentation of the historical course of events we see the same weakness as in the older works, which do not look for any contrasts within the Wendish bloc. They are regarded as one people with common interests, even though sources like Thietmar of Merseburg, Helmold of Bosau, Saxo, and Arnold of Lübeck show political rifts. If, instead of focusing so sharply on Danish-Wendish connections, scholars chose to study in greater detail the internal political situation between the different tribes on the south coast of the Baltic and the Saxon dukes, they could have obtained a new perspective on the actions *vis-à-vis* Denmark. Now Christian Obodrites are equated with pagans from Rügen and Polish Pomerania. The eastward expansion driven by German nobles and peasants is referred to, but the aggressive interest shown by Poland’s kings in the territory on the Baltic Sea is rarely considered. Reading the written sources is one aid to understanding the complexity of relations and explaining the roles played by the different actors.

⁹⁵ Damgaard-Sørensen 1991, p. 177.

⁹⁶ Damgaard-Sørensen 1991, p. 180.

A comment in the introduction to the Danish edition of *Jómsvíkinga saga* may symbolize the simplification of the West Slavic policies. As the reason why Harald Bluetooth fled to Jomsborg/Wolin after having been wounded in battle against his son Sven, the editors of the book state the following:

King Harald's flight to Wendland is not incomprehensible, for we know that King Harald was married to a Wendish princess, a marriage which seems to have been intended to consolidate relations between Denmark and Wendland, and we know that there was heavy Danish infiltration on the Baltic coast.⁹⁷

The historical events are brought together here in a confusing way. It is true that Harald married a Wendish princess. She was a confirmation of the Danish-Obodrite alliance against the Saxons and had a geographical placing in eastern Holstein and western Mecklenburg. It is far too imaginative to link the wedding with Wolin in Pomorze/Pomerania under the weak overlordship of the Piasts. Moreover, it is not true that there was heavy Danish infiltration on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea during this period. What is this supposed to have consisted of? Reciprocal raids and trading connections existed side by side, but Danish infiltration around the year 1000 requires a more exact definition.

The Danish presence was more like a form of integration, as we see if we look more carefully at the written sources. In Saxo we see Wolin at the end of the tenth century as Harald Bluetooth's creation and place of refuge. Another person who is credited with founding the town, according to *Jómsvíkinga saga*, is Pálna-Tóki, a man from Fyn. If we scrutinize the text it becomes clear that the political game was much more complicated. Under the threat of Tóki and his men on a plundering raid, the Polish king Bolesław I Chrobry (966–1025) invited him to negotiations.

The king added to the invitation an offer to give him a district of his country called Jóm, provided that he would settle there and defend his country and kingdom. Pálna-Tóki accepted the offer and he and his men settled there.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ *Jómsvíkingernes Saga* 1978, p. 20.

⁹⁸ *The Saga of the Jómsvíkings* 1962, p. 17.

Instead of a Scandinavian foundation, the information agrees with the archaeological and political picture of Pomerania at the end of the tenth century. The Piasts were expanding towards the coast at that time and needed allies without roots in the local power sphere. Tóki's appointment as Polish vassal is a parallel to that of Ganger-Hrólf in Normandy or Sven Estridsen's appointment of the Norwegian Finn Árnason as earl of Halland against Norwegian attacks.⁹⁹ Mercenaries from outside protected an exposed area of coast. The link is once again confirmed when Bolesław is called to Pálma-Tóki's deathbed to confer about the succession in Jónsborg/Wolin. This is followed by several other political intrigues between Tóki's successor Sigvaldi, Sven Forkbeard and Bolesław with negotiations about marriage and rights to parts of the realm of the Piasts. Here we must have reservations about the plausibility of the saga. The conclusion that Wolin may have existed as a Polish fief granted to Danish pirates for a time is nevertheless interesting.

For the twelfth century Grindler-Hansen claims that "The character of the Wends' behaviour, at least in the mid-twelfth century, is clear: They were primarily pirates".¹⁰⁰ Damgaard-Sørensen goes on to describe the twelfth-century Wends as a unit: "In 1135, the Wends attacked once again. Kongshelle, a prosperous town on the Norwegian coast, was destroyed".¹⁰¹ The attack on Sigurd Jerusalem-Farer's jewel is one of the many raids by the pagan Wends. But is it really true? Details about the course of the Wendish assaults also tell us something about the character of these raids. In the 1120s Pomeranian ships from Szczecin attacked the Danish coast and on 10 August 1135 Duke Ratibor assaulted the Norwegian town of Konungahella (now Kungahälla in Sweden). Events there can give a more qualified picture of the terrifying and pagan Slavs.

On the day before Saint Lawrence Mass, when high mass was being read, Réttibur, the king of the Wends, arrived at Konungahella with five hundred and fifty Wendish swift sailing vessels, and on every boat there were forty-four men and two horses. Dúnimiz was the name of the king's sister's son, and Únibur, that of a chieftain who headed a great part of the force.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Sturluson 1999, p. 812.

¹⁰⁰ Grindler-Hansen 1983, p. 89.

¹⁰¹ Damgaard-Sørensen 1991, p. 180.

¹⁰² Sturluson 1999, p. 726.

After the people had assembled and Ratibor's hird had defeated the merchants in the harbour, they burnt the town and the ships while the population fled to the fortress. The duke offered them safe passage twice but they refused. After tough fighting they were once again promised a safe passage. This time the offer was accepted, but the promise was not kept. Instead, many were killed, and the able-bodied people were taken off into slavery. A passage at the end of the events is particularly interesting.

Andréas the Priest gave Réttibur a crozier with silver ornaments, and to Dúnímiz, his sister's son, he gave a gold finger ring. For this reason they thought he was a man of influence in the town, and so honored him more than others.... King Réttibur gave Andréas the Priest the church and the shrine, the Holy Cross, the book *Plenarius*, and four clerks. But the heathens burned down the church and all the houses within the fort.¹⁰³

What can we read from these events? First of all, it is clear that Snorri knew about names and kin relationships among the assailants. He also assigned them different ranks. Another observation concerns the act on Andréas's part of bestowing a gift on the two most prominent persons in the company. The later response to this is that Ratibor returns the holy objects taken from the church and his nearest men are released. We are told here about acts of war in what was obviously a time of unrest. But the names and ranks of the adversaries are known and they are incorporated in a system of honour, with gifts bestowed and reciprocated. It is not wild barbarians storming Konungahella; the criticism that we detect is primarily that they were not Christians. But perhaps they were? Pomerania was converted by Otto of Bamberg in 1128, and when the crusaders from Denmark, Wendland, and Germany stood at the walls of Szczecin in 1147 they were surprised that the inhabitants set up a cross before the battle. After negotiations the armies left disconsolately, since they had been expecting rich plunder. Ratibor gave sure evidence of his conversion in Havelberg the following year in front of German nobles. He promised, as vassal of the emperor, to spread the Christian message to all his subjects. The explanation for the attack on Konungahella is not that he was a barbarian heathen. Instead he acted like other rulers around the Baltic Sea who increased their wealth by raiding. It is by scrutinizing the attacks in this way that

¹⁰³ Sturluson 1999, p. 729.

we can make progress methodologically in the study of connections in this period.

On the Swedish side there are some comments which reveal an image of the Slavs as a culturally inferior people. Georg Karlin, who studied 'Wendish-Baltic black earthenware' in 1923, noted that

The poor Slavic culture, which extended from down by the Black Sea northward to the Baltic Sea, and which towards the west followed the course of the Elbe, could not match its Germanic neighbours in metal-work, woodwork, or textile work.¹⁰⁴

The scholarly mentality remained at this level for a long time, as we glimpse from later texts. The historian Lauritz Weibull, despite his school of source criticism, wrote in *Scandia* 1947 about the eleventh century in the Baltic Sea area.

On the southern coast of the Baltic Sea there still lived purely Slavic tribes, a Wendish peasant population who cultivated their soil and pursued animal husbandry. No culture in a higher sense had reached them; the major trade bypassed them in the waters off the coasts. But on the other side of these Slavs lived the Saxons. They now made a breach in the belt of land between themselves and the Baltic Sea.¹⁰⁵

With a rhetorical turn in the text the German entrepreneurs are credited with a vitality not found in the passive Wendish peasants.

One should be cautious about interpreting these opinions as racist or chauvinistic. The idea that Slavic culture was poor because it lacked elevated crafts may be due to the fact that, in the early twentieth century, archaeological knowledge was largely based on the evidence of graves. Germanic cemeteries contained large numbers of splendid finds which were published and frequently discussed. The early Slavic culture groups in the seventh and eighth centuries cremated their dead and put few gifts in the graves. The pottery, one of the few sources of knowledge about the earliest Slavs, was at the same time handmade and simple. The contrast between Germanic and Slavic persisted until archaeologists started excavating the Slavs' settlements and urban centres. The majority of the excavations have been conducted since 1945.

¹⁰⁴ Karlin 1923, p. 149.

¹⁰⁵ Weibull 1947, p. 84.

In Sweden the image of the Slavs has taken a different chronological and geographical direction than in Denmark. Here the focus is instead on the age of greatness from the ninth to the eleventh century, with the journeys to the east as the main theme. The tradition is old, although the content and the interpretations have changed over time. While the Norsemen's exploits in Russia and Byzantium were part of an established and lively research discussion from the end of the nineteenth century, the Slavic influence on the Scandinavian cultural area was virtually neglected. T.J. Arne uttered the pessimistic comment in 1914 that

L'absence presque totale d'objets proprement slaves ... fait croire que les marchands slaves, avant le XI^e siècle et sans doute encore plus tard, ont joué un rôle fort insignifiant dans l'échange des produits entre les pays de la Baltique. En tout cas, pour ce qui regarde la Suède, la culture slave a toujours joué un rôle très peu important.¹⁰⁶

The problem of interpreting the cultural influence that made itself felt also includes forms and decoration on pottery, as Arne noted from Birka, Lund, and from graves in Södermanland and Uppland. He mentions that he saw similar pots in graves at Gnezdovo and south-east of Ladoga, but he believes that they are just as likely to have come from northern Germany. The Viking Age element of Finno-Ugrians, Slavs and 'Latvians' in Sweden he sees as a result of the slave trade that was so important for Scandinavian merchants.¹⁰⁷

The reluctance about trying to obtain knowledge of the Russian contacts was not just on the empirical level. Instead we must look at the political climate surrounding the view of the Slavs in Scandinavia, as has been suggested when it comes to the protracted conflict with Russia in early modern and more recent times. Even a culturally interested and widely travelled scholar like Arne chose to ignore the presence of Slavic objects in Scandinavia. Knowledgeable as he was in Russian archaeology, having travelled and excavated many times in that country, it should have been natural for him to ask *why* Slavic artefacts were found in Sweden. Together the texts by Karlin, Weibull, and Arne are

¹⁰⁶ 'The total absence of truly Slavic objects ... leads one to believe that the Slavic merchants, before the eleventh century and without doubt even later, played a highly insignificant role in the exchange of products between the countries on the Baltic Sea. In any case, as regards Sweden, Slavic culture has always played a very unimportant part'. Arne 1914, pp. 204f.

¹⁰⁷ Arne 1914, p. 230.

examples of an attitude to Slavic culture groups—whether conscious or unconscious—that was typical of their times.

The closer to the present we come, the vaguer these tendencies become. In *Det forntida Sverige* Stenberger talks about the Slavs in the Migration Period as “foot soldiers for the Avars”.¹⁰⁸ The negative attitude is no longer as obvious, and data like this can be found in the early medieval chronicles. Instead the implied values lie in the division of military roles, with the mounted troops assumed to be upper-class persons and the foot soldiers the common people. There is no archaeological evidence for any such distinction, and an ethnic division of labour like this in military contexts seems unlikely. This does not reflect negatively on Stenberger, however. His work on contacts with the Slavic area and his interest in Slavic culture have been mentioned above in connection with his studies of West Slavic knife sheath mounts. In *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit* Stenberger highlights the presence of Slavic ornaments among the finds and puts them into a historic context.¹⁰⁹

Swedish research and popular archaeological literature are full of information about the Viking Age travels to the east. East Slavic artefacts found in Scandinavia have attracted less attention from scholars. They are all aware of the importance of the connections and they put them in a context where Slavs and Scandinavians are subject to equal assessment. Many of the articles have been written in the last two decades, reflecting the easier accessibility of source material in Eastern Europe and the increased exchange in intellectual contacts.

Władysław Duczko, with his special studies of silversmithing in the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages, has shown that Slavic ornaments begin to occur here in hoard finds from the second half of the tenth century.¹¹⁰ The ornaments are from both West and East Slavic areas and testify to economic transactions rather than personal presence. Ingmar Jansson has examined imported and indigenous belt mounts, beads of cornelian and rock crystal, and many other artefact groups of oriental origin which may have been passed on by East Slavic intermediaries.¹¹¹ In his historical interpretation he believes that a profound cultural community between the Mälaren area and Rus’ is reflected in these finds. Jörn Staecker has investigated the conversion of Denmark and

¹⁰⁸ Stenberger 1964, p. 583.

¹⁰⁹ Stenberger 1947, 1958.

¹¹⁰ Duczko 1983, p. 336, 1985.

¹¹¹ Jansson 1987a, 1987b, 1989.

Sweden on the basis of crosses and crucifixes to ascertain the paths by which Christianity was introduced.¹¹² Among the finds there is a large number of pendant crosses and encolpia originating in Rus'. By mapping and analysing them he shows a concentration in the Mälaren area and Gotland which agrees with the known connections.

The strength of the research conducted by these scholars lies in the fact that they demonstrate the presence of Slavic artefacts in Scandinavia and put them in their historical context. They also give a good idea of the dynamic nature of the connections up to the end of the Viking Age, since great space is devoted to periodization. The concentration on the Viking Age is easy to understand in view of the fact that those who work with Slavic contacts are interested in the period up to 1050. Sometimes the chronological boundary is crossed, but prehistorians tend to stop there. It would be desirable if scholars extended their temporal framework so that medieval connections could also be explained. That could be a task for medieval archaeologists; instead of complaining about the boundaries, they themselves could continue the studies forward in time. But the problem is one of principle. Perhaps the academic division into prehistoric and historical archaeology should be abandoned and replaced by a distinction between periods with written evidence and periods without. The only limiting factor is the ability of the individual archaeologist to grasp all the knowledge of a specific topic or period in human history. This is extremely important for contextual archaeology. Questions can cross period divisions and dates. The solution for extending the perspective for research on the Slavs is thus not just in getting medieval archaeologists to treat the subject. Instead it is important to accept archaeology as a science in which questions, not periods, should guide research. The limitation lies solely in the character of the source materials and a conscious willingness in individuals and departments to assemble forces around certain sections in time.

Since the view of the Slavs in Scandinavian historical research is not explicitly negative today, my own contribution may be seen as an addition to rather than a sharp critique of the prevailing view. There are no concrete statements against the Slavic culture groups to repudiate.

¹¹² Staecker 1999.

What we need is an extension, a new building block, in the story of the contacts that existed in the past. I therefore want to bridge the artificial gap between the Viking Age and the Middle Ages in order to investigate the personal presence of Slavs within the borders of present-day Sweden, applying a long-term perspective. The text could equally well have been about Baltic or Finno-Ugrian contacts since they too have ended up in the shadow of the Vikings and the Hansa. My aim is to point out cracks in the homogeneous image of medieval Scandinavia by adding the piece representing the Slavic connections.

CONCLUSIONS

The power of the past ties our hands as modern-day researchers, and it does do in several ways. Methodological limitations which surround archaeology can in themselves be an impediment. But the heritage is not just archaeological and historical; it also comprises parts of the society that seemingly lie beyond the horizon of research. We cannot liberate ourselves from our own times or hide behind the false mask of objectivity in our work with archaeology. What we can do is to formulate our own views as clearly as possible and keep our minds open to criticism.

At the start of this chapter I gave an account of my own path to a basic scientific outlook grounded in archaeology as cultural history with contextual methodology as a concrete instrument for understanding the use of pottery in the past. I also highlighted some of the defects of the post-processual school. I deviate from the general trend of the school through a close relationship to the empirical evidence, analogies from the present day, a certain degree of generalization, and a critique of the politicization of archaeology. For the present study, the analytical methods for contextual archaeology involve examining Baltic ware over time against the background of the constantly changing socio-economic and political development. At the same time, there is a focus on contrasts in the source material instead of trying to find overall typologies. Only then is it possible to capture the dynamics and establish better conditions for detecting a personal Slavic presence in the ceramic tradition.

The medieval view of the Slavs was influenced by pragmatic politics and does not seem to have been ethnically conditioned. Constantly changing power constellations and intricate relations through marriages

between royal houses left no scope for any clear separation of Danes and Wends in an ethnic sense. An exception to this was the relationship between Wends and new German settlers, who confronted each other in the competition for land east of the Elbe. Relations were infected by judgements of the other side, and we find generalizations about the Wends as a people. The crusading policy from the middle of the twelfth century was to be the crucial turning point for the culture groups. For both the Wends and the Novgorodians, it meant stigmatization when Danes and Swedes used them as a counter-image in order to further their own purposes. The Scandinavian expansion towards the south and east found support in an ideology which justified warfare against pagan Wends and Orthodox heretics. In the early modern period a new form of criticism was levelled at the eastern neighbour, who was turned from a pagan into a barbarian in keeping with the passion for classical antiquity in the seventeenth century. The Wends assimilated German culture and almost entirely vanished as an ethnic group.

The negative image of the Slavs found in German historiography encountered opposition both in the golden years of romanticism and when nationally minded archaeology emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. Slavic historians and archaeologists were often defensive in their qualitative assessment of Germanic culture. The community that they sought in Pan-Slavism soon became a victim of political differences between Russia, which regarded itself as the natural centre, and other smaller Slavic states. Differences in the degree of political freedom made the movement more or less attractive. The lines followed by archaeology entailed a general search for the original home of the Slavic peoples and an emphasis on the high culture possessed by the Slavs. With the fall of the tsars in Russia, archaeology gradually became an important instrument of pragmatic Soviet policy. The rapid shifts within archaeology seem have had their origin more in whatever policy the Kremlin adopted for the day than in empirical studies. After the Second World War most of the Slavic countries were drawn into the Soviet power sphere and archaeology became a means to demonstrate the close cultural ties between the nations. With the fall of the Berlin Wall the conditions have changed once again, and we are likely to move towards a more balanced view of the history of Central and Northern Europe.

In Scandinavia there has been an interest in different Slavic areas for historical and geographical reasons. In Denmark the Wends were subject to changing interpretations from an early stage, regarded as

friendly or warlike pagans. As the archaeological source material has increased, the picture of the Wends in the written sources has become clearer. There is still a bipartite perception of the scope and character of the relations, a division which I think fails to correspond to the reality. Swedish archaeology has had its gaze directed at the East Slavs. There has been a fixation on the Viking Age travels, and right up to the 1970s there was meagre interest in Slavic finds in Scandinavia. On both sides there is now a greater interest and scholars are pointing out the importance of periodizing the contacts and bringing the political and cultural development of the entire Baltic Sea area into the analysis. To be able to understand the complexity of the relations, one's fundamental attitude to the past must be based on something similar to the internal understanding typical of ethnology and anthropology. We must try to think like the people in the past or at least empathize with their way of categorizing the world, translating the 'language' that their culture had. In concrete terms this means looking at marriages as alliances, political structures as rapidly passing phenomena associated with individuals with power, kings on shaky thrones dependent on other strong dynasties, ideologies which derive their language from religious sources—and we must regard decisions as being rational of the basis of the contemporary context. Only then can the human actors stand out from the mass of Vikings and Wends.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ENCOUNTER

This is not a book about pottery. This statement may seem surprising in view of the care that has been expended on the analysis and presentation of Baltic ware. But if we regard pottery as a material expression of abstract concepts, the attitude is less problematic. Together with the function as vessels for cooking and storage, pottery has other, more elusive meanings. In this text its role is as an indicator of interaction between Slavs and Scandinavians, a medium for studying cultural transfer. But before we can concentrate on the pottery in the next two chapters, we must secure the association between material culture and the social category of ethnic identity. This main chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is dealing with the history of the scholarly study of cultural identity and material culture. The second section is intended as a concrete elucidation of the main theme of the book, cultural transfer, from a theoretical and empirical point of view, with special focus on pottery.

It is obvious that the identification of different peoples has played a significant role for the construction of identities in the emerging modern nation states. We may question, however, whether it is appropriate to introduce ethnic categorization into medieval archaeology. One way to examine whether this is justified is to study the categorization used back then. We see from the example of the Lübeck area in the Middle Ages that people really were classified according to their origin. Here I shall try to substantiate the claim that such differences were noticed and were a part of the social practice in the Middle Ages and also left their mark on material culture.

The discussion of ethnicity and cultural identity has deep roots in archaeology. Since there already are histories of research on the topic, I shall concentrate on some trends and turning points in the view of ethnic categorization. It is important here to highlight today's archaeological dialogue. It would take too long to go through all the discussions that have been conducted and are still in progress. I therefore look

primarily at Scandinavian examples from the 1980s and 1990s and conclude by putting forward my own stance on the matter.

As an introduction to the next section about cultural transfer I show how the concept of style is used. In medieval archaeology the transfer of style has been equated with innovation and trade. But the acceptance of a new tradition takes place in several other ways and on terms dictated by people in the place of origin and by the recipients. The association between identity, style, and cultural transfer is important for understanding how an abstract concept can be translated into artefacts distributed outside their area of origin. This is where we find the point of contact with pottery. To be able to express what the style means and combine it with the empirical source material we need a typological method which can reveal contrasts and similarities. The basic conditions for such a typology are presented. The choice of style, that is, form and decoration along with the techniques of pottery production, is based on a culture-bound perception of what a pot should look like. The conditions for the manufacture of early medieval pottery serve as a backdrop for an understanding of how the transfer of Baltic ware from Slavs to Scandinavians may have taken place.

At the end of the chapter I combine the experiences of medieval ethnic categorization and today's view of cultural identity and transfer with pottery manufacture in early medieval society.

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

Ethnic categorization in the Middle Ages

Ever since the beginnings of archaeology people have tried to identify specific ethnic groups in the artefacts. It was presupposed that a clear contrast could be observed in the material culture between different geographical areas. Prehistoric archaeology works with these differences, while it is implicitly assumed that there is homogeneity in material culture with the coming of the Middle Ages. The period 1050–1550 is considered to have been relatively uniform in material terms, as the first adaptation to a general European tradition. The culture groups of prehistory seem to have disappeared as people were caught up in the civilizing process and the homogenization that arose in Christian European culture. However, if we look at how people were categorized in the Middle Ages we find groups which can very well be described as ethnic. Awareness of differences between peoples

existed throughout the Middle Ages. In the Baltic region, eastern Germany, Ireland, and the Iberian peninsula especially, people of different ethnic backgrounds came together. In areas where competition arose, the antagonisms became palpable and irreconcilable. Other regions distinguished themselves through their cultural diversity, usually rooted in a pragmatic political attitude. This was the case with the Umayyad Empire in today's Spain or the Byzantine Empire, and its successor, the Ottoman Empire. We also receive confirmation of cultural diversity via contemporary voices. A medieval chronicler named Regino of Prüm (c. 840–915) wrote around 900 that different nations “differ in origin, customs, language, and laws”.¹ He was following an old tradition deriving from the works of classical authors. The Romans' records of barbarians beyond the empire recur in the ethnographic observations of the Early Middle Ages.² As in other medieval chroniclers, there is a degree of stereotyped repetition in Regino. He nevertheless gives us access to the medieval way of thinking. How were Regino's concepts expressed in real life?

A person's origin was distinctly regional during the Middle Ages since his home district was the geographical unit that gave him a name when travelling on foreign soil. On a box for a set of weights found in Sigtuna in Sweden, the owner carved a message that he had been given it by a man from Samland or Semgallen in today's Latvia.³ Runic inscriptions testify to names designating people as inhabitants of Varend and Finnveden, two districts (*folkland*) in Småland, in the eleventh century.⁴ On the other hand, it is difficult to say how any sense of belonging was expressed emotionally. A district's own definition and sense of self, based on shared myths or historical tradition, was an expression of ties going back in time.

Customs give better potential for archaeology since Regino refers to some things that are accessible in the source material, such as clothing and jewellery. Pictures in *Sachsenspiegel*, a collection of Saxon laws from the thirteenth century, show Wends with short hairstyles and Saxons with long hair (fig. 6). Differences are also clear in the choice of garments, with the Wends wearing shorter kirtles and leggings. But there are examples from closer quarters. In Snorri Sturluson we

¹ Bartlett 1993, p. 197.

² Pohl 1998.

³ Flodérus 1941, pp. 47f.

⁴ Burström 1991, p. 57.



Fig. 6. Scene from the German law book *Sachsenspiegel*, the Heidelberg manuscript. To the left of the judge are two groups. To the far left we see a Wendish man with short hair, a short kirtle, and leggings. In front of him sits a Saxon man with long hair and a long kirtle. The group to their right shows a sitting Saxon man and a standing Wendish man. The two seated individuals have been caught red-handed with criminal intent and have been bound and taken before the judge. The manuscript reveals clear differences in customs to mark status and ethnic identity in order to clarify the judicial process. One should therefore be careful about assuming that such obvious distinctions existed in reality. After Koschorrek 1970, p. 128, folio 24r in the facsimile part. With permission by Insel Verlag and Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

find several observations about dress which people in the past found sufficiently interesting to relate. King Olaf the Gentle (*Óláfr kyrrí*, 1066–1093) is portrayed in a positive light as an innovator in many spheres. He is said to have changed the location of the high seat from the middle of the long side of the table to the end, where he also gave it an elevated position on a podium. He had stoves installed in rooms, founded towns and churches, and established several guilds. During his reign, Snorri says

...new fashions in dress made their appearance. Men wore ‘court-breeches’ laced tight around the legs, and some clasped gold rings around their ankles. They wore trailing gowns, laced with ribbons at the side, and sleeves five ells in length and so tight that they had to be laced with straps all the way up to the shoulders, and high shoes, embroidered all

over with white silk, and some with gold laces. And there were many other striking new fashions at that time.⁵

Of his son Magnus (1093–1103), Snorri writes:

It is told that when King Magnús returned from his expedition to the west he and many of his men for the most part had the manners and wore the clothes which were customary in the British Islands. They went bare-legged in the Street [of Kaupang] and had short kirtles and outer garments. Then people called him Magnus Barefoot or Barelegs.⁶

Another direct descendant was Harald Gilli. He was accepted as the son of Magnus Barefoot because he walked, at the request of his brother Sigurd Jerusalem-farer, on nine red-hot ploughshares to prove his kinship. It is interesting that he was the fruit of Magnus's liaison with a woman in Ireland and had grown up there. It is said that he "most often wore the Irish costume with short and light clothes".⁷ He was wearing an 'Irish hat' when he turned up to race against his half-brother Magnus, the latter on horseback and Harald on foot.

In the first two Norwegian examples it is evident that the innovations were worn by travellers from the upper stratum of society to mark their social status rather than a change of ethnic identity. Harald Gilli, by contrast, continued to wear his Irish garments even in Norway. Yet adopting such practices need not have been free of political implications. Wearing English dress at the end of the eleventh century testifies to important allies to the west. Garments selected for political reasons are also mentioned in another well-known source. When the Danish duke Knud Lavard came to the wedding of Magnus Nielsen and Rikissa in Ribe around 1130 wearing Saxon dress, this provoked criticism from Prince Henrik Skadelår (fig. 7). Saxo writes:

Here Knud now appeared in Saxon costume, much more finely dressed than the others, and at the sight of this the envy welled up in Henrik, who could not stand splendid foreign clothes. They ended up quarrelling, and Henrik exclaimed that purple would never be able to protect Knud from swords, to which Knud replied that Henrik was not a bit safer in his sheepskins—an elegant mockery of Henrik's peasant manners, and a nicer way to retort to the sarcasm about his magnificent dress than

⁵ Sturluson 1999, p. 665.

⁶ Sturluson 1999, p. 681.

⁷ Sturluson 1999, p. 708.



Fig. 7. Louis Moe's illustration of the meeting between Henrik and Knut in Ribe. Knut's choice of dress expressed a political message which was understood by Henrik. After Saxo Grammaticus 1911, Book XIII, p. 65.

threats or invective. When he himself was criticized for following foreign fashions, he was perfectly content to be able to answer with a sarcastic remark about the country's own dress.⁸

In another place Saxo says that Knud Lavard had a "predilection for the Saxons and their culture".⁹ The choice of clothes was particularly pointed since Knut in 1129 had been crowned by the German Emperor Lothar as *knez* or king of the Obodrites, to secure the German Empire against Slavic rebellion. Since 1115 he had been Danish governor of Schleswig, thus occupying a dual role which could be misinterpreted. In Henrik's mockery we can thus detect a veiled critique of Knud for being too loyal a vassal of the German emperor, a dangerous trend for a self-assertive Danish royal house. Later on the custom of wearing foreign dress was more widespread and not so explicitly politicized. Arnold of Lübeck writes around 1200 that

⁸ Saxo 2000, p. 141.

⁹ Saxo 2000, p. 148.

...the Danes, by living so long beside the Teutons, have gradually learnt to adopt their customs and habits in both their costume and their weapons ...not only in scarlet, pied, and squirrel skins and furs, but even in purple and linen.¹⁰

Before this they would have worn sailor's costume because of their close connection with ships, but in Arnold's time they changed their manner of dress because the Scanian herring fishery had made them rich.

The categorization of people in the Middle Ages was also evidently done on the basis of language. In the biblically shaped world-view, differences in language and hostility between peoples were believed to have been caused by the Tower of Babel.¹¹ Before this act of arrogance all people shared the same language; after the destruction of the tower people were divided. In the Middle Ages, languages covered wide areas and were not used to distinguish small ethnic groups. Scandinavians were recognizable because they spoke 'the Danish tongue', a term comprising dialectal variants of Norse. We find ethnic favouritism in King Erik Ejegod's dictate that visitors who spoke 'the Danish tongue' could stay free of charge and receive "wine in plenty to drink" in the pilgrims' shelter he founded in Piacenza in 1103.¹²

References to languages and peoples changed over long periods of time. A clear example is a group of strangers who were important to the Russians; through their contact with Novgorod they are known in the *First Novgorod Chronicle*.¹³ The term *nemtsi* was not used to any great extent before the end of the twelfth century. The root meaning of the word *nem* is 'dumb'; *nemtsi* thus represent a group of people who speak an incomprehensible language. After hard fighting had started when the crusading movement reached the Baltic region in the mid-twelfth century, the definition was changed. Russians called all Christians of the Roman Catholic faith *nemtsi*. Based on the idea that one can only talk to God in Church Slavic, these people could not converse with Him. The term *nemtsi* acquired a religious sense which could be interpreted as 'those without contact with God', including Swedes, Danes, Tavasts, and others subject to the Roman Catholic church. Later in the Middle Ages the meaning of the word was restricted to Germans, the sense it still has today in Russia and Poland.

¹⁰ Arnold of Lübeck, 1885, p. 92.

¹¹ Bartlett 1993, p. 198; Pohl 1998, pp. 22f.

¹² *Knytlinge saga* 1977, p. 104.

¹³ Lind 1981, pp. 165ff.

Linguistic differences can be found in written sources from Scandinavia. The Norwegian king's son Harald Gilli, whom we met above, found it difficult to speak his father's language. "The Norwegian speech was hard for him to master, he often hesitated for words, and many ridiculed him for that".¹⁴ We are not told how well he finally mastered the Norse language, but it was necessary for his ambitions to power. For people in those days eloquence was one of the highest skills, along with generosity. To build up a loyal network required both rhetorical knowledge and wealth.

For many reasons language cannot alone demarcate an ethnic group. A language could be spoken over a large area and could be learnt to facilitate communication between people. This is particularly obvious and important in border zones and for people moving between different ethnic groups.

Legal jurisdiction was a third sphere where ethnic identity became visible. The early medieval perception of justice, according to which a person had rights as a Goth, a Roman, or a Frank, continued to exist in the High and Late Middle Ages. Inhabitants or travellers in the border zone between Prussia, Pomerania, and Poland could thus be tried according different judicial systems based on ethnic origin.¹⁵ One could buy the right to German jurisdiction and thus partly change identity. In Scandinavia, where special juridical interests did not become relevant until German burghers settled permanently in the towns, a person was tried within the jurisdictional province where he lived. There was discrimination against people from other provinces, but it was not based on ethnicity.

Apart from the examples of observations of distinctive cultural features made by Scandinavians, foreigners are also mentioned as inhabitants of medieval towns in written sources. The first clear signs of the presence of foreign craftsmen in Danish towns can be found on coins struck by English minters in the Danish kingdom. In Lund we find Godwine in the service of Sven Forkbeard just before 1000, and in the new century more English minters came to the town. Names like Alfward, Leofwine, and Leofnoth are stamped on the silver, and Eadrinc was able to carve his name in runes on a comb. In the struggles for the throne in the fol-

¹⁴ Sturluson 1999, p. 708.

¹⁵ Bartlett 1993, p. 205.

lowing century, German know-how was used in various ways. Accounts of the battle at Foteviken in 1134 mention the contribution of mounted German troops as one of the decisive reasons for Erik Emune's victory over Niels. Erik needed modern technology to build a catapult to destroy the opponents' stronghold outside Roskilde. Saxo mentions that German craftsmen living in the episcopal town were called to assist. The king's half-brother Harald Kesja, who was on the side of the rival King Niels, took bloody vengeance on the German burghers in Roskilde because of their collaboration with Erik in the battle for Sjælland. An interesting passage in the story suggests that at least one of them was a shoemaker. When Harald Kesja had the executioner cut off the tips of the Germans' noses in revenge, one of them was excepted: "he should go free because he was learned".¹⁶ Since he was thought to be a man of book learning, he was asked to say grace. He then admitted that it was "sewing he had learnt, not prayers". The man was released on account of his ingenious manoeuvre.

Despite the vivid descriptions in the written sources it is difficult to periodize them for incorporation in diachronic studies. Occasional passages inform us that the towns were settings where guests were welcome. On the other hand, it is difficult to combine the details into an all-round chronological pictures since the records are selective.

There has been criticism of the excessively literal use of classical and early medieval descriptions of peoples.¹⁷ The distinctions are there, sometimes described in detail, but we modern-day readers should consider the contexts in which it was important to use them. Sometimes dress was an ethnic indicator, while at other times it was associated more with social hierarchy. Regino's classification of how peoples differ is nevertheless worth noting. It is obvious that, as in other centuries, people were aware of differences in customs and language. Peoples around the Baltic Sea who are today designated Finno-Ugrians, Balts, and Slavs satisfy all the criteria for such a definition. Distinctive features on costume jewellery and weaponry are particularly obvious. Both archaeological and written sources show that foreigners were present for long periods in Scandinavian towns in the eleventh and twelfth

¹⁶ Saxo 2000, p. 161.

¹⁷ Pohl 1998, p. 19.

centuries, even before the winter settlers proper shivered through a whole cold season in the north while waiting for the ice to thaw.

To avoid getting stuck in diffusionist models where artefacts themselves seem to move over the map, we must find the reasons why foreign objects occur outside the core areas and whether they functioned as ethnic signals. When culture-historical archaeologists put the dots on their maps they all too rarely took into consideration the social conditions surrounding the objects. To be able to understand the association between artefacts and cultural identity, the theoretical basis of the interpretations must be explicit.

Race, tribe, and ethnic identity

Research on ethnicity or cultural identity is intimately associated with the culture-historical school in archaeology. The subject was part of the construction of nations in Europe in the nineteenth century and persisted in an increasingly chauvinistic form in the following century. Archaeologists' quests for defined ethnic groups were closely connected to political goals. The legitimation of national borders, or justification for extending them, has been sought in a past where the origin, language, and geographical limits of old cultures were equated with present-day nations. When we study ethnicity we should bear in mind, that, whether or not the intention was to foster ethnic conflict, archaeological assumptions have been transformed into executioners' weapons.

In Scandinavia there was need for national legitimation as early as the seventeenth century. The antiquarian work pursued by Johannes Buræus (1568–1652) and Ole Worm (1588–1654) was an explicit endeavour to accumulate knowledge on behalf of their monarchs. Runic stones and megalithic graves were the most conspicuous monuments, and they were invoked as evidence of Swedish or Danish lordship at the time when they were built. A more sophisticated but no less nationalist trend swept archaeology in the nineteenth century. Archaeology as a science had now acquired a more distinct identity and passed from collecting antiquities and curiosities to a science influenced by an evolutionist and diffusionist outlook.¹⁸ It was at the end of that century that culture-historical archaeology developed and interest grew in questions concerning differences between material remains of early cultures and

¹⁸ Trigger 1989, p. 109.

the link between these and ethnic affiliation. The link seems to have been made by several scholars in this period, independently of each other.¹⁹ The contrasts between material remains also engendered a need within the discipline for archaeologists to arrange objects in local typologies and chronologies.

The quest for ancestors and their linkage to contemporary nations was part of the historiography of many countries, corresponding well to the ideological need for community across class boundaries in a time of upheaval. Several of the new nation states, such as Germany and Italy, needed a common past to unite the heterogeneous remains of a feudal Europe. It is through the nineteenth-century romantic perception of history that we should understand the concept of 'people' that was now born. When this 'softer' form of chauvinism developed into a more nationalist ideology, a harsher tone was adopted to surrounding countries. It was important to defend homogeneity, and any mixture was viewed as a deviation which had to be corrected, sometimes by all available means. The terms used when talking about a people were often purely biological: the birth of a people (ethnogenesis), its growth, flourishing, and decay. But there was a great difference in the view of how the community was founded. The two definitions of national community may be described as 'judicial' as in France or 'congenital' as in Germany. While the French since the revolution in 1789 defined citizenship on the basis of the individual's acceptance of the laws applying to everyone living within the borders of the nation, and to some extent in terms of language, the Germans had the idea of *Blut und Boden*, that is, genetic origin and geographical unity. Later on the German attitude meant that the propaganda phrase *Heim ins Reich* could be used to annex areas where there were German-speaking minorities, as in the Sudetenland and Śląsk/Silesia.

The man who developed the theories and methods was Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931), partly based on works in ethnology and geography by Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1901). Ratzel believed that diffusion created culture areas with a similar artefact composition, adjacent to other areas of a different character.²⁰ Differences in traditions meant that people strove to retain their distinctive features. Assimilation was not on the theoretical agenda. In the colonies the Europeans moreover

¹⁹ Trigger 1989, pp. 161ff.

²⁰ Trigger 1989, p. 151.

had contemporary examples of contrasts in social development, which in some cases led to ideas that there had been qualitative differences between people in history, based on race. Gustaf Kossinna was thus not alone in his views, but with his basic nationalist attitude as expressed in *Die Herkunft der Germanen* in 1911 evaluative elements were incorporated, which made the Germanic peoples an Indo-European master race from which all culture had proceeded.²¹ Kossinna's basic idea in his *Siedlungsarchäologie* was that people, race, language, culture, and state were inseparable. The continuity of material culture was also an ethnic continuity, and by charting the distribution of artefacts he thought he could find areas where specific tribes had lived. In addition, he saw racial differences in these culture groups, making a distinction between *Kulturvölker* and *Naturvölker*, the latter being culturally unproductive. The Germans had the least admixture with other peoples, and their racial purity made them an Indo-European élite. To this ideological superstructure he connected the right to the territories which the Germans were known to have cultivated since time immemorial.²² Slavs and other peoples at a 'lower stage of development' could be expelled from their territories by archaeological arguments.

Despite its political message, Gustaf Kossinna's *Siedlungsarchäologie* survived in both Eastern and Western Europe after the Second World War, but without the racist elements. Herbert Jankuhn tried to establish the term *Siedlungskammern* as a designation for topographically closed spaces with empty zones between them.²³ The areas were assumed to have a set of similar artefacts and other shared material expressions. The groups that could be observed through this division were called 'archaeological cultures', which was really just a circumlocution for ethnic groupings. Both terms presuppose a 'people' as the basis of the analysis. Jankuhn's attempt to carry on the methodology should be viewed in the light of his role before and during the war.²⁴ Between 1941 and 1944 he was responsible for the German '*Ahnenerbe*' on the eastern front, conducted excavations and sent important finds west to the homeland. According to his own statement, his task was scientifically neutral, merely performed under the protection of the SS. If we look at his activities in detail we see a different picture. As early as 1936

²¹ Kossinna 1911.

²² Shennan 1989a, p. 8; Trigger 1989, pp. 165ff; Veit 1989, p. 39.

²³ Jankuhn 1977.

²⁴ Hufen 1998.

Jankuhn was working for '*Ahnenerbe*' and with his excavation of the 'Viking town' of Haithabu he had a prominent position as a researcher of the Germanic past. In 1941, on the eve of the attack on the Soviet Union, he declared three personal scholarly goals for the operation. The first concerned studies of Viking contacts with Ukraine, the second was to investigate the kingdom of the Goths in south Russia, and the third was to study the 'Indo-Germanization' of the area during the Stone Age. His role as an ideologist should thus not be played down, and it explains his attitude after the war, which had been drained of its ideological content because of the new political situation.

In attempts to improve the methodology, archaeologists after the war began to separate the different source materials to avoid arriving at erroneous conclusions through circular argument. This is most clearly expressed in the book *Völkern zwischen Germanen und Kelten*, where the German scholars Hachmann, Kossack, and Kuhn combined archaeology, history, and philology in a study of a landscape in the Rhineland with their point of departure formulated as "*Getrennt marschieren, zusammen kämpfen*".²⁵ By performing separate investigations of archaeological and written sources and river-names, it was believed that it would be possible to discern errors in the synthesis where discrepancies between the sources served as warning signals. The method was called 'regressive purification', a separate, exclusive, and overarching analysis of each area before comparison with the others could be attempted. As proof that the method worked, they claimed to have identified a people which could not be derived from either the provincial Roman or the Celtic culture.

Despite the efforts to eliminate Kossinna from culture-historical archaeology, these scholars ended up in the same boat. The basic view was still that a historically known ethnic group could be found in a collection of archaeological material, the presumption being that there were objective cultural features which were characteristic. Consequently, changes were still explained in terms such as migration, colonization, conquest, and assimilation.

In the English-speaking part of the world, people were not interested in questions of cultural identity to any great extent. Gordon Childe's work piecing together prehistoric cultures in Europe in the late 1920s and 1930s proceeded from the same assumptions as Kossinna, albeit

²⁵ Hachmann *et al.* 1962.

without his chauvinism. Right up until the 1950s archaeologists tried to work like Childe. By choosing delimited groups of artefacts which were believed to designate a culture one could, as the second step, study the interaction between cultures.²⁶ It is important to point out here that archaeologists who followed this programme did not equate a 'people' with an archaeological culture.

In the 1960s there was a change in the view of why different cultural behaviours arose and persisted. An ecological outlook took the upper hand and differences between groups were explained as the application of different adaptive systems which left their mark in the material culture.²⁷ Under the wings of processual archaeology the focus was shifted even more distinctly to how ecological changes affected cultures.

Through time the ideological content paled:

Traditional European archaeologists take a concern with cultures as self-evidently of importance, and use them as the basis of much routine archaeological activity. In doing so they have largely lost sight of the origins of the 'culture' concept in the romantic nationalism of the 19th century, and have taken their definition as a simple matter of inductive pattern recognition.²⁸

James Deetz, in his book *Invitation to Archaeology* from 1967, gave clear insight into how processualists managed to transform the politically coloured culture-historical perspective into a scientifically observable behaviour pattern influenced by environmental stress. He used behaviour levels in his attempt to explain different artefact patterns and avoided ethnic application by using the terminology of the behavioural sciences. "After all, what is culture if not that patterned behavior characteristic of the human animal?"²⁹ Instead of tradition it was ecology and social behaviour that guided the choice of artefacts. He represented a static view which did not presuppose any interaction between groups and worked, in principle, with the same theoretical base as Ratzel. When culture groups had reached their maximum and bordered on other traditions, the diffusion stopped and was replaced by consolidation of their own identity.

²⁶ Trigger 1989, p. 172.

²⁷ Olsen & Kobylinski 1991, p. 10.

²⁸ Shennan 1989a, p. 9.

²⁹ Deetz 1967, p. 105.

When cultural history was considered to lack theoretical interest and to be unscientific, culture also disappeared as an overarching concept in archaeology.³⁰ Instead nature entered the stage as the shaper of people's lives. Through adaptation, resource utilization, and social stress, humans became a pawn in a game of behaviours to survive or maximize the power of the group, the tribe, the chieftdom, or the state. The role of material culture in the creation of an identity was reduced. It was not until the start of the 1970s that the word ethnicity appeared in anthropological and soon after that archaeological texts with a new theoretical base which toned down the cultural content of identity in favour of the social content.

From essentialism to subjectivism—a historical reorientation

In order not to bypass the important discussion that preceded the reorientation in archaeology, it is necessary to look at two sister disciplines. The shift in history and anthropology had major consequences for the way in which archaeologists came to perceive differences in material culture. While the anthropological discussion is well represented in the dialogue with archaeology, the historians' dilemma with ethnic identification has been presented in less detail. The problem is obviously connected to the difficulty of bridging the gap between Anglo-Saxon and German scientific traditions. In the USA and the UK the anthropological perspective has a firm foothold, while scholars in German-speaking countries lean more towards historical sources. It is therefore not surprising that Siân Jones's book *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* from 1997 does not contain a single title from the very rich Central European discussion in history from the early 1960s onwards.

Parallel to the archaeological discussion of cultures and peoples, historians were faced with similar problems. Because of the subject's written source material the focus was on the early chroniclers' definitions of the peoples around them and the masses of people migrating here and there. The groups described were assumed to be uniform. The Goths were perceived as a group with a shared language, costume, religion, and ideology. The problem was that ethnicity was viewed as an objectively observable phenomenon. The definition was difficult to get away from since the classical authors themselves proceeded from the

³⁰ Trigger 1989, pp. 294ff.; Burström 1991, pp. 16ff.; Jones 1997, pp. 26ff.

same assumption. Historians were thus trapped in the mentality both of their own theoretical point of departure and of the unambiguous naming of distinct peoples in the sources.

The new perspective came from the German-language area. Reinhard Wenskus reacted against the old view in his book *Stammesbildung und Verfassung*, where he studied early medieval identity creation.³¹ This work laid the foundation for a new interdisciplinary outlook to explain ethnic belonging in the Early Middle Ages. Instead of being demarcated objective units, the groups consisted of a core, *Traditionskern*, which bore the common identity. These tradition-bearers had a high social status as leaders and bound people to them through a sense of group affiliation, *Wir-Gefühl*, an ability to think in terms of 'us and them'. The belief in a common origin was the second criterion for participation in the community. Within the group there were opportunities for social mobility, a particularly useful instrument for stimulating individuals to do their best. A conscious or unconscious endogamy was followed by the lower-ranking social groups, while the requirements of realpolitik meant that marriages outside 'the tribe' were practised by the rulers. This had the effect that a *Friedensgemeinschaft* was expanded, a community of peace guaranteeing the existence of the tribe'.

The idea of the situational character of identity put forward by Wenskus was fundamental for the continued discussion. It has been successively refined and clarified. Subsequent works include Patrick Geary's somewhat divergent view of when situational ethnicity disappeared. Unlike Wenskus, he argues that subjective identity was retained even after people in the Migration Period had created territorial supremacy and ended the pilgrimage of power.³²

The shift in historiography resulted in several important texts with different applications. One of the major examples is Wolfram's *Die Geschichte der Goten*, which deals with the Goths from a multi-ethnic perspective, and Pohl's *Die Awaren*, which came nine years later.³³ Wolfram claims in a different work that there is a general rule (*Faustregel*) determining whether a community is to emerge within a group.³⁴ Wenskus assumed that a core of magnates from a group that came together outside the empire bore the common tradition. This,

³¹ Wenskus 1961.

³² Geary 1983, p. 22.

³³ Wolfram 1979; Pohl 1988.

³⁴ Wolfram 1985.

according to Wolfram, was characterized by a tripartite myth which contained the memory of a great deed, such as a hazardous journey or a victory over a dangerous enemy, a change in cultic practice as a result of this, and the existence of an enemy as an external menace holding 'the tribe' together. In Central Europe these works have led to the formation of a school, with a number of scholars pursuing similar analyses based on the same concepts. A distinct homogenization of the discussion is expressed in the conferences concerned with ethnogenesis in the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages, organized on the initiative of Herwig Wolfram and Walter Pohl.³⁵

The establishment of an identity should not be regarded as static. After a 'tribe' has taken on clearer contours, the process of development continues based on the requirements dictated by new encounters. The chronological context changed the meaning of the names of peoples recorded in written sources. The historian Dick Harrison has tried to clarify what was meant by the designation Langobard in the seventh and eighth centuries in Italy.³⁶ The example is interesting for archaeologists since settlement patterns and the changing use of artefacts in the identification process are highlighted. The relativism of the ethnic concept is divided by Harrison into two levels. He demonstrates how the term Langobard in the eighth century differed greatly from what it had meant in the seventh century, and he shows that ethnicity as a concept had less analytical value in the eighth century. In the first case one can see great differences in the seventh century between the Langobards and the Latin population as regards language, naming practices, artefact types, ornamentation, and settlement patterns, differences which can be described as ethnic. When he goes on to study conditions in the eighth century, the differences in these spheres have been erased in favour of mutual integration, and the differences reflect more of a socio-economic stratification. In the tenth century identity as a Langobard was once again important under pressure from the Byzantine expansion in southern Italy. The Langobard language was extinct, but it was revived as a symbol of political community *vis-à-vis* the conquerors. Being a Langobard was no longer a matter of belonging to a distinct economic sphere, and the affiliation was once again important for cultural identity, albeit with a different content.

³⁵ Friesinger & Daim 1990; Wolfram & Pohl 1990.

³⁶ Harrison 1993, 1994.

Among the *gentes* of the Migration Period there were some with a greater power of attraction than others. In the written sources we also find the names of peoples which were vague and sometimes disappeared, presumably absorbed in some other victorious political unit, the only one passed on to modern readers by the chroniclers. The Slavs emerge as an ethnic group in the fifth century, an example of an indistinct group in both the written and the archaeological source material. A characteristic of those who belonged to this identity was that they developed a way of life which did not emphasize the role of warriors in society.³⁷ Because they did not correspond to the Roman expectations of 'barbarians' as warlike tribes suitable to use to protect the frontier—a role which the Germanic tribes filled so well—they were not in a state of dependence on the empire. The Slavs were warlike enough, as the western parts of Byzantium certainly found out in the sixth century, but without the extrovert warrior ideology of the Germans. The poor visibility of early Slavic culture from the fifth to the eighth centuries is due to the mortuary tradition, with a dearth of grave goods and cremation of the dead. Up to the end of the seventh century, small square houses with sunken floors and a smoke-oven were one of the few shared cultural features.³⁸ The Slavs were also very receptive to new members of the group. Peter Heather has pointed out that in *Strategicon*, by the Byzantine chronicler Mauricius, they are said to show no interest in maintaining territorial borders against other peoples.³⁹ They allowed prisoners to become full members of the group if they wished, after a year's captivity. When the Slavs appeared with more distinct contours they had adopted Avar and Byzantine material culture in a politically conditioned acculturation process from the end of the 6th century A.D.⁴⁰

A clear bias in historical research is the emphasis on political rather than cultural meaning. Identity becomes extremely situational and stresses the benefits of personal gain through flexibility. Cultural identity becomes a utilitarian concept, with incentives which sometimes feel anachronistic. As a tendency opposed to a political maximization of one's relations there was the will to retain one's identity, and the reluctance of the victorious 'traditional core' of strong kindreds to

³⁷ Pohl 1991, pp. 45ff.

³⁸ Kobylński 1989, p. 309; Kobylński 1994, pp. 20ff.

³⁹ Heather 1998, p. 110.

⁴⁰ Curta 2001.

incorporate certain groups. The Heruli who are recorded in writing in the period from 200 to c. 560 were firmly rooted in their common myth of a Scandinavian origin.⁴¹ As late as the sixth century they brought their rulers from Scandinavia and did not content themselves with those who merely claimed or accepted a Scandinavian origin. The difficulty of adapting to a more flexible identity perhaps made it hard both for the Heruli themselves and for other groups who wanted to become Heruli to be assimilated.

In the 1990s some scholars criticized the explanatory model put forward by Wenskus, and later Wolfram, for how ethnic identity was created in the Early Middle Ages. One criticism concerns the weakness of using a single model for the creation of tribal community, while another questions the ideological background in the studies of Germanic tribes.⁴²

Charles Bowlus criticizes the one-sided, unreflecting adoption of Wenskus's and Wolfram's mould for identity. The first point concerns the concept of ethnogenesis, which he regards as a linguistic mongrel with a Greek first element and a Latin ending. The content is moreover confusing, since the meaning is 'birth of a nation', thus a link between ethnic group and nation, which Wolfram has tried to avoid. To get away from this unfortunate etymology Wolfram has introduced the term *origo gentis*, the origin of a tribe, as a synonym of German *Stammesbildung*.⁴³ Bowlus does not accept this equation since the origin of a tribe is not the same as the actual development process. These fine differences may seem like hair-splitting, but concepts guide our thoughts. The terms affect whether it is a fixed event in time one is studying or a protracted process. The second point concerns the written sources and their authors, which according to Bowlus have not been sufficiently scrutinized. Several of the tribes studied by scholars had no chronicler of their own; they were viewed from the outside. There has not been sufficient stress on the historical context in which the various chronicles were produced and their purpose. It is possible that power relations at the time when a chronicle was written had a greater impact on the content than has previously been assumed. The élite at the time dictated what became the official 'tribal history'. The third critical point

⁴¹ Hedeager 1997, p. 62.

⁴² Bowlus 1995; Goffart 1995.

⁴³ Wolfram 1990.

hits right at the heart of Wenskus's and Wolfram's *Faustregel* for *Stammesbildung*. With the Bajuvari as examples, Bowlus shows that none of the criteria for the cohesion of the group can be found among them.⁴⁴ The conclusion we should draw from this is that we ought not to get stuck in stereotyped models but be contextually aware.

The model seems to work fairly well for 'Germanic' *Wanderstämme*, Goths and Lombards, but only if we believe that Cassiodorus, Jordanes and Paul the Deacon were simply redactors of barbarian traditions and do not allow for other motives on the part of these authors.⁴⁵

Walter Goffart's critique is actually harsher since he attacks the theoretical core in studies of Germanic groups in the Migration Period. He argues that present-day scholars carry assumptions based on historiography from the 1930s with hidden ideological undertones.

Between 'sacral kingship', ancient nobility, and the New Constitutional History, a redesigned system has come into being detailing the comprehensive 'contribution' of the early Germans to medieval Europe. To hear some commentators, medieval symbols of kingship and such Christian ceremonies as coronations superseded freedom as the commodity that the forests of primitive Germania exported to the future.⁴⁶

Political implications of gathering around a *Führer* are obvious. Propagandists in the Third Reich made as much as they could out of this. Wenskus rescued the concept of a traditional core and its bearers by transposing the community from one based on blood to one based on myths and values. According to Goffart, however, the basic assumptions about the significance of the aristocracy have not disappeared with this important contribution to the understanding of ethnic organization. He also believes that a link is far too hastily established between the historical course of the Germanic migrations and Scandinavian sources, for example the *Edda* and medieval chronicles which came into being much later. The persistent idea that the Germanic tribes were the predecessors of today's Germans makes research difficult. Both then and now the composition was more heterogeneous than is supposed. Goffart advocates greater source criticism and awareness that there are blank spots in research on the Germanic-speaking groups.

⁴⁴ Bowlus 1995, p. 160.

⁴⁵ Bowlus 1995, pp. 163ff.

⁴⁶ Goffart 1995, p. 11.

According to the school that started with the works of Wenskus about the Germanic *gentes*, it is clear that ethnicity was a historical construction comprising several different 'peoples' with their affiliation determined by political practice. There was a shift within this scholarly orientation from an objective definition of the concept to a subjective one. The groups' own choices constituted the framework for affiliation. According to Patrick Geary, there are two important reasons why historians should take an interest in the subject even though the categorization is more complex than was formerly believed.⁴⁷ One is that it is certain that contemporary social groups were defined in ethnic terms in the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages. The other is that there is a great need to qualify the nationalistic and chauvinistic stereotypes that still live in the minds of scholars and laymen alike. Instead of limiting our potential to continue working with the concept, time and place are crucial for an analysis. For this we as archaeologists must be aware of the discussion being carried on by historians. Not all ethnic groups can be squeezed into Wenskus's and Wolfram's model of *Stammesbildung*, and the epistemological foundation of the studies is being critically scrutinized. Awareness of the historical context then and now is also important for getting close to a possible picture of what happened.

Cultural and ethnic identity—anthropological renewal

After the renewed attempts in archaeology during the 1950s and 1960s to develop methods for distinguishing ethnic groups on the basis of written and archaeological sources, scholars were treading water. The historians' advances seem to have gone unnoticed by archaeologists at the time. New inspiration came instead from anthropologists who began to take an interest in the concept of ethnicity at the end of the 1960s and the start of the 1970s. The opposition between the concepts of 'culture', 'society', and 'tribe' and what was observed in the field situation contributed to a theoretical and methodological reorientation.⁴⁸ The formulation of the concept of ethnicity was also associated with a new awareness that had been aroused in post-colonial countries. The change in terminology from 'tribe' to 'ethnic group' was actively used in the building of the new nations because the older term was felt to be ethnocentrically derogatory. At the same time, an essentialist view of

⁴⁷ Geary 1983, p. 17.

⁴⁸ Jones 1997, p. 51.

cultural identity was retained, as an objectively observable culture group which could be defined by set criteria. The ultimate consequence of this was the creation of new political antagonisms which broke down the artificial borders drawn by the colonial powers, since the same 'people' could end up on either side of the national border.

New life was breathed into the discussion by the anthropologist Fredrik Barth with his book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* from 1969, which was to start a school.⁴⁹ Before this work appeared, anthropologists were geared to functionalism and concentrated on what happened within rather than between groups. It was nevertheless believed that isolation reinforced the internal group identity and that cultural differences were therefore emphasized. Barth's main thesis was instead that ethnic distinctions become justified and important through intensive contacts with others. Cultural differences persist, and are even reinforced, in encounters with groups competing for the same resources despite intensive exchange and mobility between them. By creating a mentality with 'us and them' as the foundation, an opportunity is created for separation in material culture. The division is most clearly evident in two spheres of culture: striking details of dress or lifestyle signalling where one belongs, and the evaluation of social behaviour.⁵⁰ Of Barth's two main points for the identification of ethnic groups, one is of greater interest to archaeologists. When we find jewellery, mountings, houses, and economic systems we can study whether they differ from those in surrounding regions and ask whether they are generally spread within the group or were part of an active separation process *vis-à-vis* other groups; is what we see in the source material an expression of cultural or ethnic identity? Most important is Barth's experience that ethnic identity cannot be defined on the basis of its cultural content but on the basis of social organization. Ethnicity is a way to organize cultural differences where identity is self-assumed or imposed from outside. This presupposes an active process, unlike an attitude that views ethnicity as passively received and natural. People are regarded as actors instead of passive bearers, which forces archaeologists to switch from collecting cultural objects in order to define groups, to study instead the process of which the objects were a part.

⁴⁹ Barth 1969.

⁵⁰ Barth 1969, p. 14.

The distinction between *cultural identity* and *ethnic identity*, however, poses new problems for archaeology. Cultural identity is the life-pattern that an individual ascribes himself, an internal individual- or group-dynamic identity. Ethnic identity, on the other hand, is associated solely with the activation of elements within this life-pattern in relations with other people whom you perceive as different or who perceive you as different. In anthropology and ethnology it is possible to make such a distinction by means of interviews where people themselves are allowed to speak. Archaeology, with the span of time between the researcher and the people being studied, has to work with artefacts and physical structures. Instead of an in-depth interview intended to define individuals' cultural identity, our only recourse is to demarcate cultural areas. We know from experience that they are always diffuse and do not directly reflect an ethnic identity. At the same time, the distinction is a necessary and fruitful means to get away from the dots on the culture-historical maps.

Barth's new approach encountered criticism after its presentation and the first decade's applications. The most important contribution was that he emphasized that interaction, rather than seclusion, created community within the group. The focus was also shifted from identity being essential to being viewed as a social construction. His successors have underlined economic competition as the primary reason why people highlight a common culture *vis-à-vis* others. Like the historians who followed Wenskus's assumptions, anthropologists became instrumentally oriented as a result of Barth's thesis. Ethnic identity became situational, based on a maximization of material assets. Critical voices among anthropologists claim that he underestimated power relations in the interaction. Barth's own research on the drawing of boundaries between Pathan and Baluchi in Pakistan and Afghanistan is considered to fail on that point.⁵¹ Others have argued that the model concentrates too much on boundaries created by encounters and think instead that the creation and maintenance of an ethnic identity originates in the family.⁵² A genealogical model can explain the rise of identity where it is not possible to observe boundary drawing with ensuing strong identity. It also gives a clearer indication of how it can continue to be maintained. Barth himself has retraced his steps and qualified his views.

⁵¹ Banks 1996, p. 16.

⁵² Roosens 1996, pp. 81ff.

Although his model came into general use it was primarily adjusted to the question of why people actually change their identity.⁵³ One of the more important experiences, according to Barth himself, is a deconstruction of the concept of culture, a constant reappraisal of how identity is constructed in a dynamic social process.

In the last three decades two main trends have been opposed in anthropological research, showing that the belief in the existence of an original ethnic identity did not disappear with Barth's theses.⁵⁴ According to one view, there is a *primordial* ethnic identity to which one is born. The community consists of blood ties, kinship, religion, and culture. According to the other, ethnicity is situational or *instrumental*, a part of how individuals and groups strive for social survival or search for advantages. Identity is maintained for special purposes. Similar dichotomies have been set up with terms such as 'objectivist' and 'subjectivist', or an *etic* (classified from without) and *emic* (expressed from within) definition of ethnic identity. Siân Jones, in her detailed analysis of research in archaeology, has demonstrated attempts to combine the two approaches.⁵⁵ Joining them is a way to accept the wealth of variation in how identity is maintained. We cannot do without either of them if we really want to stress the dynamic nature of the categorization. Sometimes it can be based on shared kinship or origin, as pointed out in the criticism of Barth's heavy focus on boundaries as ethnically distinguishing, and sometimes it is on an operative, situational level. "Primordial ethnicity could therefore be considered to be of or in their hearts, while instrumental ethnicity could be considered to be in their heads".⁵⁶

Where does anthropology stand today in the view of cultural identity? Since the end of the 1960s the predominant stance has been that ethnic identity should be defined from within, that is, accepting the studied group's self-definition. Barth's thesis that boundaries arise in relation to other ethnic groups lives on with certain modifications. Most important is the knowledge of how power relations influence the interaction. The view that the categorization is dynamic and situational likewise survives. Today's tendencies can be perceived as slightly alien to archaeologists. Interest is focused on nationalism, emigration,

⁵³ Barth 1996, p. 11.

⁵⁴ Olsen & Kobylinski 1991, p. 21; Banks 1996, p. 39; Jones 1997, pp. 65ff.

⁵⁵ Jones 1997, pp. 79ff.

⁵⁶ Banks 1996, p. 185.

assimilation issues, post-colonial groupings, and ethnification as a consequence of colonies achieving independence, and the disintegration of the Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe. The examples are geared to the present, which leads to problems for archaeologists if we search for theoretical models for ethnic identity as a process.

The difference is particularly obvious for archaeologists who wish to work with a contextual method. Since anthropologists take their examples of processes from today's societies, they emphasize the political content, the desire to create community, and the situational application. Archaeologists have seized on contemporary findings and claimed that

...we have to understand the phenomenon of ethnicity itself and particularly we have to develop a theory of relationships between ethnic consciousness and material culture. We believe that this task can be achieved *only by observing living communities*.⁵⁷

I question whether this is the only way to an understanding of cultural identity, especially bearing in mind how often the historical context is held up as crucial for practice. Analogies which are far removed in time and place have limited value as evidence and can scarcely be used to provide ideas about how ethnicity functioned in a specific historical setting. At best they can display diversity and possibilities in the organization of cultural and ethnic identity. Instead historical archaeology offers a way out of the dilemma in the encounter between iconographic, textual, and archaeological source material.

The relation of archaeology to history and anthropology is ambiguous. Through a dialogue with these subjects archaeologists can learn about present-day cultures in order to understand social processes and how identity is created. The negative side of the borrowed idea is the difficulty of using analogies from societies far apart in time and place. One can see how the view of ethnicity in archaeology, whatever the theoretical foundation, has become worryingly homogeneous because of this. The topic has attracted interest in processual archaeology, which is now inspired by questions concerning human thought from a cognitive perspective. Categorization in groups is part of the human need to organize the chaotic world around us and is therefore interesting. In

⁵⁷ Olsen & Kobylński 1991, p. 23, my italics.

post-processual archaeology identities as a research field are an integral part of the quest for socially active people in the past. There seems to be a consensus about rejecting a primordial outlook. In texts from both these traditions ethnic identity is instead an abstract social categorization comprised in an instrumental way of thinking. In works that follow this line of thought, jewellery and clothes signal affiliation in encounters. The objects may also have been used in interaction to reduce social antagonisms. Other interpretations are that economic stress creates the need for identification *vis-à-vis* others and that political aims are achieved with a change of identity. Despite the improved understanding of how ethnic identity functions, however, not all the answers can be found in an instrumental approach. Siân Jones has shown the shortcomings, and claims that it ignores the cultural and psychological elements and reduces ethnic identity to the political mobilization of interest groups.⁵⁸ Without wholly renouncing the use of historical and anthropological models to understand the past, I think that we should be more careful about becoming dependent on neighbouring disciplines when forming theories about cultural identity.

Four questions for archaeologists

Contrition after the political effects of the culture-historical school, together with knowledge gained from written sources and anthropological studies, paved the way for a new view of cultural identity in archaeology which has left its mark on texts produced in the last two decades. Unfortunately, there is still no published survey of ethnicity studies in Scandinavia. The history of research shows a split into different fields. The present survey therefore cannot be considered complete; it is mainly thematic and focused on periods for which it is possible to combine archaeological and written sources.

In Scandinavia interest in the 1980s and 1990s has mainly been concentrated on four areas:

- *The problem of the historical definition of peoples*
- *Distinguishing culture groups through the archaeological sources*
- *Interaction between distinct culture groups*
- *Highlighting the political consequences of the ethnicity concept*

⁵⁸ Jones 1997, pp. 76ff.

Researchers who have dealt with the topic of cultural identity based on Scandinavian source material can be placed in one or more of these categories.

The problem of the historical definition of peoples

The search for the names of peoples in the written sources can be found in Johan Callmer, who has examined Jordanes' division of southern and south-western Scandinavia into different peoples and kingdoms.⁵⁹ The main aim of his work is to find geographical settlement concentrations above the village level which may correspond to political interest groupings. In his introduction he shows the varying size of the geographical units that may correspond to Jordanes' categories. Although he thinks that the groups had self-chosen names and self-definitions which distinguished them from other adjacent groups, Callmer avoids categorizing them in ethnic terms. Instead he presents them as territorial political units.

Inspired by Wenskus, Wolfram, Geary, and Harrison, Thomas Wallerström has undertaken a close-up study of the names of different 'peoples' in Norrland and Finland in the Middle Ages.⁶⁰ Names such as Kvens, Tjuds, Karelians, Kyllings, Bjarmians, and Varangians give the impression that they were borne by distinct ethnic groups. Wallerström shows that they were instead terms imposed from outside, often with a disparaging meaning. From this it also follows that the same persons had several names, each defined by different actors. The categorization was dependent on the different power groupings competing for supremacy in Fenno-Scandinavia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Representatives of Norwegian magnates' families, fur dealers, and tax collectors from Novgorod and the expanding kingdom of the Swedes in the Mälaren valley competed for the wealth of the forests. Almost all the names denote groups of people who took part in resource utilization in the area, and they disappeared when power relations stabilized. What was left was the Saami, who had existed as a culture group before the expansion, but then with the denigratory name of Lapps given them by the Scandinavians.

Lotte Hedeager has examined the discussion that was frequent in the early twentieth century about the peoples of the Migration Period on the

⁵⁹ Callmer 1991.

⁶⁰ Wallerström 1995, 1997.

continent and their links with Scandinavia.⁶¹ The sources are myths, sagas, and chronicles, making it a study of written history, with gold bracteates and animal ornamentation as secondary elements. Hedeager searches for the roots of the Old Norse conceptual world and takes up a very clear stance in favour of a situational cultural identity. Myths played a significant role for political affiliation and ways of life.

Distinguishing culture groups through the archaeological sources

Distinguishing groups with a shared material culture in time and place is a classical aim in the study of the past and the core of culture-historical archaeology. In periods without written sources the search for cultural identity is a task of considerable difficulty. The lack of important internal and external names for the group makes work in historical archaeology problematic. In this survey I have selected examples of groups distinguished with the aid of artefacts or structures such as houses or graves, above all in the Iron Age and the Middle Ages. Purely topographical divisions according to which settlement concentrations are perceived as signs of a greater general density are not included in the survey.

The Iron Age is a period in which research on cultural identity has taken on a special profile. The source material consists of topographical units in the form of settled areas which are then linked to theories about the development of societies into chiefdoms and kingdoms. As a rule the ethnic discussion or the cultural content in the accumulations is toned down in favour of the purely political content.

Åke Hyenstrand's classic work *Fasta förnlämningar och arkeologiska regioner* is a natural point of departure for demarcation studies in Scandinavia. Based on a working document published in 1979, he refines the pattern of settlement areas and larger conglomerates of settlement with the aid of the results of landscape inventories.⁶² His work has resulted in studies of smaller regions and an overall view of the organization of prehistoric society.

Jytte Ringtved, in a study of regions in Jutland in the Late Roman Iron Age and Migration Period, has focused on the historical context for the interpretation.⁶³ Based on a rich array of sources in the form of artefacts, structures, stylistic variation, and artefact combinations in

⁶¹ Hedeager 1997.

⁶² Hyenstrand 1984.

⁶³ Ringtved 1988.

graves, she discerns a dividing line between northern Jutland and the central and southern parts of the peninsula. In the preceding period, the Early Roman Iron Age, there was a larger number of groupings in the same area, where there was great homogeneity afterwards. Ringtved takes this as a sign that we can follow over time a gradual decrease in competition in Jutland, with a diminishing need to mark group identity. Her own study focuses on the specific interval between these periods, which influences her interpretation of the archaeological observations. She concentrates on the decrease in the need to mark identity, which coincides with a larger supply of available land or a population decline and the territorialization of power in increasingly large regions, along with the decreased significance of the kindred in political organization.

Mats Burström uses just one category of source in his study of the demarcation of societies in the Småland interior in the Late Iron Age.⁶⁴ Based on the spatial distribution and external form of graves he makes a territorial division which coincides with the early medieval lands of Finnveden, Njudung, and Varend. Dissimilarities between the graves are signs of regional or, in Burström's terms, 'territorial' variation, emerging in the different settlement areas. The well-exposed graves were used to legitimate an identity under pressure from the expanding royal power in the Danish and Swedish kingdoms.⁶⁵ The people in these settlement areas deliberately marked a cultural identity *vis-à-vis* foreign influence. The territories with the shared identity acquired a new organizational form as *lands* in the Early Middle Ages. The critique of Burström's work has concerned his view of the cemeteries in the territories as homogeneous. Martin Hansson argues that the source material can give other results using a different method.⁶⁶ He believes that the differences in the external form of the graves are not so clearly distributed among the three lands as Burström claims. Instead of quantifying individual grave types it is important to look at the wealth of variation and the dominant type in each cemetery. The pattern then appearing shows that Varend has a multifaceted mortuary ritual, while that in Finnveden and Njudung is more uniform. Hansson associates this with an identity in the local community rather than a manifestation against

⁶⁴ Burström 1991.

⁶⁵ Burström 1991, pp. 142ff.

⁶⁶ Hansson 1998.

outside powers. In Barth's terms one could say that this is cultural as opposed to ethnic identity.

Johan Callmer's article from 1991, which was mentioned in connection with the identification of different people, also includes hypotheses and results concerning the division and demarcation of social aggregations.⁶⁷ Callmer's methodology is inspired by studies of political organization in England, where the Tribal Hidage from the late seventh century has been correlated with archaeological sources.⁶⁸ Using the names of judicial districts (*herred* and *syssel*) from medieval Jutland in the west to Blekinge in the east, combined with archaeologically attested settlement, he claims to find demarcated political units of varying dignity. Some of them were topographically cohesive while others belonged socially and politically to a larger area which spread over any such limits. In the old Danish province of Skåne he says that several central settlement areas crystallized, with the south-west as the strongest unifying force.

Charlotte Fabech has developed the study of regional relations in Skåne during the Late Iron Age on the basis of artefacts and sources in historical geography.⁶⁹ Her findings seem to show a division of the province into two parts, with a south-western part which may have been an original central settlement area and a north-eastern part which was not integrated into the Danish kingdom until late. The boundary between the two areas was an important divide, but it also functioned as a contact zone between them. She places great emphasis on the situation in the Migration Period, with rich finds in central Skåne, in the border zone between the two regions. During the Late Iron Age there was a development towards increased overlordship which—through competition or assimilation—concentrated power in fewer places.

Mats Anglert's study of the development of lordship in ecclesiastic contexts in the Early Middle Ages brings the topographical division further on in time.⁷⁰ The Christianization of the province followed a different chronological course because the king was later in establishing his power in the north-east. Anglert's examples show that there was not even a uniform kingdom after the Jelling dynasty had expanded eastwards. The problems that Danish kings encountered with regional

⁶⁷ Callmer 1991.

⁶⁸ Davies & Vierck 1974.

⁶⁹ Fabech 1993.

⁷⁰ Anglert 1995.

power groupings are likewise a recurrent theme in sagas and histories written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Fabech and Ringtved, in their joint introduction to the volume of symposium papers *Samfundsorganisation og regional variation: Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid*, have expressed their view of regional variation and the reasons behind it.⁷¹ In the text they say that the ideology reflected in the material culture played a part in the shaping of identity and power. Yet this insight is not explicitly integrated in their subsequent description of what regionality consisted of. Instead they hold up natural conditions and topography along with political development as mechanisms of variation.

Distinctive cultural features can arise as an adaptation to the region, while variation at other times should be regarded as a consequence of social and political circumstances or in relation to source-critical problems.⁷²

This contribution indicates two theoretical approaches to the description of Iron Age society: one neo-evolutionist and one historical. The ideological side of variation in the form of cultural identity in shared myths and traditions is not amplified in the introduction or in the other papers presented to the symposium. Imported finds, graves as social indicators, the function of gold in the period, and political organization are examined in detail, often from a processual perspective, although isolated examples deviate from this pattern. Anthropological experience or ethnic identity as an element in political practice have no impact on the narratives about living patterns in the period. As a whole the volume stands firmly in the processual archaeological research tradition, while simultaneously pointing the way forward towards a tendency that also takes into consideration the mental side of regionality.

In an article in the same book Per Ramqvist adopts a holistic approach to what he calls the 'petty kingdoms' of central Norrland and their relation to adjacent areas in present-day Norway and Finland.⁷³ For him too, the point of departure for regional division is primarily topographical, but he adds a cultural element to the analysis.

Prehistoric societies ought to be able to display distinctive local features in the material remains which distinguish them from one another. What must be crucial in such an analysis is the expressions of culture which are

⁷¹ Fabech & Ringtved 1991.

⁷² Fabech & Ringtved 1991, p. 7.

⁷³ Ramqvist 1991.

closest to human beings and their immediate way of life. This concerns such relatively *everyday phenomena* as building practices, household conditions such as ceramic tradition, and also religious matters as expressed in mortuary customs.⁷⁴

The topic is developed and then used in his analysis of links with southern Österbotten and Trøndelag. Ramqvist is not explicitly inspired by an anthropological perspective on ethnicity but he nevertheless applies one partially. Instead it is the experiences from continental history of Germanic social and political organization that provide the basis for a model of society, albeit without reference to the ethnic discussion that has been going on since the 1960s. His account is therefore both topographical and culture-historical.

Like Ramqvist, Fredrik Svanberg pays attention to the cultural content in regional divisions. With Halland, Skåne, and Blekinge (Skåneland) as his geographical area, he undertakes an in-depth study of mortuary practice and imported objects in order to define small areas.⁷⁵ He juxtaposes the term ‘regionality’ with ‘individuality’ so that the cultural differences will not be viewed as part of a larger unit, a given centre. According to him, uniformity has become the norm for the view of Viking Age political organization. “This is because a ‘nation-state model’ has dominated the view of bygone human communities. A model like this is hopelessly anachronistic in a Viking Age context”.⁷⁶ Instead he advocates a ‘cultural geography’ which gives greater consideration to details in the way of expressing oneself in mortuary practice and dress.

One of the most important findings of Svanberg’s work is the division of eastern Denmark into smaller culture areas. According to the model for the territorial development of power presented by the project ‘From Tribe to State’, regions increased in size during the Viking Age. Cultural differences decreased with the spread of lordship. That this was not the case in Skåneland is obvious from the graves, the combination of finds in them, from dress, weapons, and external connections. In addition, he argues that there were more than two major regions, one in the west and south-west and one in the north-east, as stressed by Callmer and Fabech. Svanberg distinguishes four large areas and

⁷⁴ Ramqvist 1991, p. 306, my emphasis.

⁷⁵ Svanberg 1999, 2003.

⁷⁶ Svanberg 1999, p. 19.

suggests that there were also some smaller ones. His conclusions do not lead to any clear definition of what the material culture expresses. Terms like 'cultural groups' and 'communities' are coined.⁷⁷ With his highly critical attitude to earlier regional studies he finds it difficult to make his deconstruction conceptually operative. He firmly denies that the 'communities' expressed any subjective or ethnic identity, nor any political federation. Instead they represent one of several dimensions in a life-pattern. The relativization of social organization weakens his presentation, since we need an interpretative framework in order to proceed in our analyses. Fredrik Svanberg's contribution to the debate about the significance of regionality is nevertheless important as a critique of assumed proto-states in studies of the organization of society in the Iron Age.

A tendency in the extensive literature dealing with the territorialization of power in the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages is that ethnic terms are kept outside the interpretations. Only Ringtved and Svanberg discuss the cultural content of the separate regions they identified in Jutland and Skåne. Why is this categorization avoided? Compared with the continental discussion of identity in the Roman Iron Age and Early Middle Ages, scholars in the Scandinavian camp seem less inclined to talk in terms of ethnic groups. I do not mean by this that we should go back to the older essential definition of identity, but instead take up the concept as a cultural phenomenon. The reason is that there may have been a connection between political structure and material life-patterns. Points of contact and signals of identity reveal a conscious desire for segregation or assimilation. Little details can provide associations explaining overall organization. In this way an ethnic perspective can add a further dimension to research on Iron Age society.⁷⁸ In continental contents it is clear that myths of origin and customs played a significant part, and were even crucial, on the political stage.⁷⁹ Knud Lavard's choice of costume for the wedding in Ribe was one such signal.

Ulf Näsman has presented some interesting summaries of research into Iron Age regions, with the theory and method influenced by a

⁷⁷ Svanberg 1999, p. 131.

⁷⁸ Svanberg 1999, p. 133.

⁷⁹ Geary 1983, p. 24.

continental European tradition.⁸⁰ He is one of the few scholars working on regions in the Late Iron Age who brings the word ethnicity into his texts. Sometimes he also speaks of ethnogenesis, a term used frequently by historians on the continent. It is good that Näsman underlines the importance of using 'historical ethnography' instead of evolutionistic anthropological models in attempts to clarify variation and the accumulation of power.⁸¹ Based on written data about the organization of Visigothic society in the fourth century, he draws analogies with archaeologically known facts about the Sîntana de Mureş culture, which is regarded as the archaeological expression of that political grouping. For the second stage he then draws analogies between it and contemporary Scandinavian Iron Age society. In the central part of the text he discusses what, in my opinion, was the real problem with research in the 1980s and early 1990s: the relationship between archaeological regions and political territories.⁸² Even if we can define a common tradition within a group on the basis of the archaeological source material, this is not synonymous with a 'political/ethnic' unit. The level or size of regions moreover varies, and overlaps occur depending on which groups of artefacts or structures are highlighted. This is the classical problem with attempts to demarcate 'cultures'.

There is a conceptual contradiction about translating lordship into territories. An important experience of historical archaeology is that power is wielded by individuals, not institutions. Instead of topographical units we should envisage lordship as points of influence in districts where personal connections between important families or powerful people are the basis for mastery. This challenges the view that there is a direct link between a demarcated settlement area and political supremacy. Too strong a concentration on central functions, political regions, and power can lead to a modernistic narrative about Iron Age society. The studies contain a teleological view of the development of power towards today's state supremacy. Under the level of maps hatched with topographical units and dotted with farms and cemeteries, the picture is regrettably drained of the cultural patterns that constituted the material content of a settlement area.

⁸⁰ Näsman 1988, 1991, 1993.

⁸¹ Näsman 1988, p. 136.

⁸² Näsman 1991, pp. 324ff.

A sense of belonging need not have been territorially conditioned either. A mental structuring of space regardless of where one is as a person is a powerful sign that cultural identity is more closely tied to individuals and groups than to demarcated 'nations'. Neil Price broadens the perspective on demarcation by investigating culturally bound ways of ordering the world spatially.⁸³ In two articles he examines the Scandinavian perception of space in the organization of buildings in England and Iceland and the placing of graves in the sacred landscape around Staraya Ladoga. Despite his highly critical assessment of the potential to draw conclusions about ethnic identity from material culture, Price extends the limits in an innovative way. He claims to have found a basic Scandinavian structure in the division of buildings which was common to Iceland, the Danelaw, and other Norse colonies. In contrast he says that Anglo-Saxon houses are divided differently, which reinforces the impression that we are dealing with two distinct structures in the immediate social environment. A mental structuring of space can also be discerned in the east. With the movement that the Volkhov offered on the route in towards the central parts of Rus', travellers passed through a social landscape in which different ethnic groups expressed their presence in differing burial customs. The weakness of his analysis is that a diachronic perspective is lacking, since the graves were only roughly contemporary, as Price himself actually points out.⁸⁴ With spatial and landscape analysis we come close to the way people gave meaning to their surroundings. In certain cases Price believes that this can be ethnically conditioned.

Interaction between distinct culture groups

Barth's thesis that it is contact between people that reinforces the need for identity has had the result that interaction is a part of ethnicity studies. Interaction is a comprehensive topic in all periods, but I shall concentrate here on the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages in order to have a manageable time limit. The concept also tends to be fluid, since interaction is often synonymous with politics and commodity exchange. The following references are therefore merely examples rather than an exhaustive survey of research.

⁸³ Price 1994, 1998.

⁸⁴ Price 1998, p. 50.

Ingmar Jansson has stressed in several important works the connections with the Baltic lands and Russia in the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages.⁸⁵ Above all it is the importance of the Scandinavian migration to Russia that he emphasizes. Instead of being merely geared to interregional trade, it was as members of the Russian princely retinue, the *družina*, that Scandinavians contributed to state formation. There they acted both as administrators of the emerging kingdom and as warriors.

Johan Callmer deals with Slavic connection with Scandinavia and variants of interaction in two texts where he defines ethnically distinct areas in the vicinity of the Baltic Sea and he links different actors.⁸⁶ His article "Interaction between Ethnical Groups in the Baltic Region in the Late Iron Age" in particular is methodologically important. He stresses there that the increased interest in the late 1980s and 1990s is based on a new political situation resulting from the changes in the east. Interaction can be used to study long processes in history and to obtain a grasp of the phenomenon both specifically and generally. He categorizes the links as socially integrating and non-integrating. In the first category he places encounters and negotiations, family ties, exchange, reciprocal tributes and accepted colonization. In the other category we find war, plunder, negative tribute obligations, and aggressive colonization. With examples from many areas around the Baltic Sea he argues that the socially integrated interaction is the kind that is easier to document archaeologically.

In the same publication Bożena Wyszomirska-Werbart goes back to the Migration Period in the search for cultural contacts.⁸⁷ A contact zone between Baltic groups in Mazovia and the maritime district of Suwałki, Pomorze/Pomerania and southern Scandinavia is very clear at this time. Shared types of jewellery, burial rituals, ornamentation, and women's objects were developed in mutual exchange.

In Scandinavian archaeology the question of Saami settlement and cultural diffusion has revealed the difficulties of research into cultural and ethnic identity. The basic circumstances of the cultural contacts are known today and largely accepted. Those maintained between Saami and Finno-Ugrian, Baltic, and Slavic peoples in the east were particu-

⁸⁵ Jansson 1987a, 1987b, 1989.

⁸⁶ Callmer 1989, 1992a.

⁸⁷ Wyszomirska-Werbart 1992.

larly obvious from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries.⁸⁸ Parallel to the pressure from the expanding Swedes in the Mälaren region, northern Scandinavia was taxed by representatives from Novgorod. There was a shift in relations which can be traced through the origin of artefacts in the Saami hoards and votive finds.⁸⁹ In the Viking Age, particularly noticeably at the end of the tenth century, a smaller number came from Finland, the eastern Baltic, Gotland, Russia, and the Near East. These contacts were reinforced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when there was a quantitative increase. The variation in the composition decreased in the thirteenth century when most objects came from Russia. In the first half of the fourteenth century the proportion of external objects fell and a typical Saami stylistic tradition developed as a relict of the eastern influence. Karelian connections are considered to have been the most important for the transfer in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although this brief outline of development may be accepted today, there are many differing views of when and how a Saami identity emerged.

The origin and culture of the Saami and the relation between them and the colonists tilling the agrarian settlements have been on the agenda since the 1970s. In Norway archaeology has played an important part in a modern dialogue about the cultural past of the country. There the debate has also been politically charged, in contrast to the more low-key discussion in Sweden. Moreover, the Norwegian research environment has been an important stimulus for studies of Saami culture in the other Scandinavian countries. The political consequences of Saami studies will be touched on below, but the aspect concerning ethnogenesis and interaction belongs here.

Inger Zachrisson has studied the culture of the Saami in Sweden since 1973.⁹⁰ In two research surveys she has presented the emergence of today's view of the Saami in a Scandinavian perspective.⁹¹ From the middle of the nineteenth century until today, she says that opinions about the origin of the Saami have varied. In the first half of the century it was believed that the Saami were the original population of Scandinavia. According to the advocates of this hypothesis they were descendants of the Arctic Stone Age culture, pushed by a group coming

⁸⁸ Zachrisson 1988; Wallerström 1995, 1997; Bågenholm 1996; Hansen 1996.

⁸⁹ Zachrisson 1984.

⁹⁰ Zachrisson 1973, 1976, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1997.

⁹¹ Zachrisson 1993, 1997.

from the south. At the turn of the century this was countered by a diffusionist belief that the Saami had immigrated to Scandinavia from the north or east, no earlier than the sixth century B.C. Earlier peoples in the north were presumed to be offshoots of more southerly Stone Age cultures. Discussions continued between these two standpoints, and it was not until 1980 that a break was made. Under the influence of Barth, the archaeologist Povl Simonsen propounded the thesis that Saami identity had emerged as a local process about 2,000 years ago; why and how this happened became more important than pointing out the direction of immigration.⁹² The circle was closed with this return to the view that had prevailed before mid-century. To it has been added new knowledge about cultivation and the domestication of livestock among hunter-gatherer groups in the area. An internal development is now contrasted with the older view that agriculture was introduced from the south.

Although this new approach changed the fundamental conditions for how Saami identity should be understood, there are today several interpretations of when ethnification took place. Simonsen's dating of the break-point for Saami identity a few centuries B.C. has encountered resistance from Knut Odner, who believes that ethnification can be traced back to the Early Roman Iron Age, and from Bjørnar Olsen, who claims to be able to see a Saami identity as a slow process among hunter-gatherer groups in northern Scandinavia in the second and first millennia B.C.⁹³ In his case it is not the southern influence that the groups of hunters related to, but agrarian settlements in today's Russia.

Great effort has been expended to demonstrate the presence of the Saami in central Scandinavia. The participants in 'Sörsamiska Projektet' a project which has been running since 1984, has proved that there were Saami in Jämtland and Härjedalen in Sweden and Hedmark in Norway. The aim was indeed to find evidence of a larger interface between hunter-gatherers and farmers than has previously been claimed by historians in both countries.

A dissenting voice in the debate about Saami identity is that of Evert Baudou, who believes that a cultural boundary arose and was then

⁹² Simonsen 1979.

⁹³ Odner 1983, Olsen 1984.

maintained from *c.* 1000 B.C. until today.⁹⁴ With reference to Barth's thesis that the stressed situation created separate cultural spheres, he sees a dividing line between a north-east culture characterized by Ananjino bronzes and asbestos ware of the Säräisniemi 2 type (Saami) and the south Scandinavian Bronze Age culture to the south (North Germanic). The patterns of culture should be perceived as an internal development since Baudou thinks that the Saami identity did not arise through the immigration of a group of foreign people. The gap was retained due to lack of communication and an orientation to different economies. He sees a Saami presence south of the Jämtland-Ångermanland boundary as isolated examples of temporary mobility and interaction.

Today there are three views of how the historical situation we see in Norrland arose.⁹⁵ Advocates of the first view claim that there is a fixed cultural boundary between north and south through northern Jämtland and northern Ångermanland. The second emphasizes continuity in the area, with hunter-gatherers and farmers living in symbiosis, with the former culture having to give way steadily to a sedentary way of life; advocates of this view do not take into consideration the cultural process involved in the change, and the concept of ethnicity is avoided. Finally, there is a development of the continuity hypothesis but with the distinct influence of anthropological theory concerning ethnic processes and with an interdisciplinary focus.

The different stances in Saami research show that there are different interpretations of how today's differences arose. The polarizations in the discussion are a guarantee that the subject is still under debate. As a touchstone for studies of cultural identity it is extremely important. It is also one of the few areas crossing the boundary constructed between Iron Age and Middle Ages in Scandinavian archaeology. The reason may be that the Saami are still perceived as such a distinct ethnic group today and thus fall within the framework of an anthropological and ethnological research paradigm. Even in medieval archaeology they are decidedly different from the presumed homogeneous Christian culture in northern Europe. I claim that there are several other ethnic groups which can be studied in relation to concepts such as foreignness, cultural interaction, cultural transfer, and assimilation. If we look

⁹⁴ Baudou 1988, p. 20.

⁹⁵ Zachrisson 1997, pp. 33ff.

at research in continental Europe, the cultural effects of political and social processes are an obvious part of the results.⁹⁶

Highlighting the political consequences of the ethnicity concept

Research on the Saami offers a natural transition to the fourth and last trend that has prevailed in Scandinavia in the 1980s and 1990s. The politicization of archaeology becomes particularly clear in a field like cultural identity.

Ethnocentrism in Norwegian archaeology as regards the view of the national identity is one of the topics in the discussion of the Saami.⁹⁷ This could also be transferred to Sweden. An interesting thing about the discussion of Saami identity, especially their presence in central Scandinavia and the political consequences of commitment, is that it highlights so clearly the question of what cultural identity is and how we should act ethically as archaeologists when a contemporary situation of stress is brought up. Saami identity is as hard to define as that of any other group. Here those who argue that the Saami have an ancient right to their lands sometimes find themselves in conflict with themselves when in their definition of cultural identity they assert its subjective and dynamic content while at the same time using arguments in defence of the Saami which give the impression that their identity is static and unchanging. If it is the interaction between farming and hunting/reindeer-herding groups that is the main trend of the ethnic *process* of which they are part, why can one not see today's change as a continuation of it and accept shifts in the economies? If the differences that we have been able to see for centuries are a social construction, should there then be an aboriginal population which can claim the right to land on historical grounds? These questions are deliberately provocative, but they challenge the commitment. Why is it so important to stress a Saami presence as far south as possible? The aim of 'Sörsamiska Projektet' is to make visible the Saami aspect of Scandinavian history, and this is very important, but there is a topical political dimension which is formulated in a vague and unscientific way in the practice of archaeology. How does the transition from conscious archaeology to contemporary politics take place? In the argumentation I miss the absence of an attitude to the question of the Fourth

⁹⁶ Bartlett 1993.

⁹⁷ Schanche & Olsen 1985.

World which is actually the core of such a transfer. The connection with the use of essential cultural identity in post-colonial states is obvious. The tentative findings of archaeology do not have to be brought into a debate concerning the character of power today, nor the right to a past. It is one matter to draw attention to a minority or a region within a nation that is portrayed in an excessively homogeneous way, and this is indeed one of the aims of the present work. My objective is to display the complexity and diversity of our history. Leo Klejn says that an archaeological definition of cultures

...is plainly of no significance, be it moral, political or legal, for defining the rights of any population. The latter are solely dependent on recent international affairs, contemporary agreements between states, and the established system of international jurisprudence.⁹⁸

In order not to use the same historical arguments about 'ancient' rights as nationalists and separatists do, archaeologists can act within modern democracy as political individuals. The arguments against driving the Saami away from their livelihood and their culture can best be taken from the discussion of the relation between the state and the individual, between the right to live the life one has chosen as a group *vis-à-vis* other special interests. History and archaeology can help us to *understand* why the situation looks as it does today from a long-term perspective, but they do not provide arguments.

We will find more ethical problems of this kind as new nations are constructed. In the struggle for power in today's society it is important that we as archaeologists stress the limitations of scholarship, whatever our personal stance. This is not to declare the objectivity of science and let ourselves be used indirectly by those in power. Instead it is our experience of the way the image of the past was exploited during the twentieth century to degrade, maim, and execute people that should give pause for thought. Archaeological findings are not the tools by which such exploitation of the past can be prevented, but the assertion of the freedom of research and the principles of international law.

An awareness of the political dimension of archaeology is highly important. As archaeologists we create pictures of the past which are used and abused for purposes which we could never foresee. It is therefore necessary to point out that our findings are tentative and

⁹⁸ Klejn 1994, p. 87.

to observe how our own interpretations are used outside professional circles. In contexts where research findings are politicized, I believe it is important to show the outlook on humanity and the scientific foundation on which this is done. The wholeness of the chain or argumentation should be so strong that other readers can accept the results as plausible. I reject the politicization of archaeology whereby we take an active party-political stance or are forced to provide justification for legal and political decisions. This is especially obvious in the issue of the right of the Saami to their land, where the common law that is invoked is, in my opinion, sufficient and a stronger argument than archaeological interpretations. These have varied greatly in the 150 years when the cultures of Fenno-Scandinavia have been defined, and the view we have today is just one among many. Inger Zachrisson writes: "Current archaeological research on the Saami past is characterized by conflicting hypotheses and a paucity of archaeological data, especially from the period 300/400–1000 A.D."⁹⁹ It is important to draw attention to source criticism in this way when asked by either side to declare an opinion in modern-day judicial or political cases. We should not hesitate to point out that archaeology is a humanistic discipline which cannot present a truth about the past that is viable enough to serve as a basis for decision making today.

Where does Scandinavian archaeology stand in relation to the new international orientation? The four areas that I have chosen as examples of studies of cultural and ethnic identity all give more or less vague references to the problem area. Only Saami studies uses the concept of ethnicity explicitly. Iron Age research remains in an interpretative structure which underlines political regionalization. Effort is concentrated on finding a political structure, a community of interest preceding the states. The content is settlement history, and we act at a level worthy of a general with maps rolled out on the table before us. I have not considered the Middle Ages in my survey above, simply because there are no studies on the topic, unless we include research on the Saami. This is a period when a homogeneous common Christian culture is implicitly thought to prevail, and when trade connections are adduced as an explanation for cultural change. Of the four fields, in

⁹⁹ Zachrisson 1993, p. 173.

my opinion the interaction between adjacent culture groups is most interesting for studying cultural and ethnic identity. To be able to do so requires that archaeologists reintroduce the concept of culture as a part of the research process, since encounters can be detected in the material culture.

To be able to translate the political/ethnic 'community' into cultural terms it is necessary to make gradual improvements in the conditions for an interpretation. Firstly, we should conduct an explicit discussion of the difference between cultural and ethnic identity in relation to the geographical and historical context we are studying. Accumulating knowledge presupposes that the next step is to distinguish actors so that we see their interaction, not just as topographic entities. Instead we must expend energy on clarifying the regional divisions observable through the material culture in the form of artefacts and life-patterns via more or less distinct culture areas. As the third step we can then study which parts of culture were part of an ethnic strategy in the interaction. One strength of archaeology is its ability to show how life-patterns were maintained and what they looked like through the physical remains. In urban archaeological research we have acquired knowledge about the political and socio-economic background of the towns. Now it is a matter of filling this framework with people and showing the great regional and chronological differences that characterized urban life. In the same way, the geographically demarcated regions constitute a framework for more detailed studies of the distinctive features of the material culture. Herein lies the key to studies of the interaction between them, one aspect of the regional division which has fallen by the wayside.

The need to reintroduce the cultural content of the concept of ethnic identity may seem contradictory, since Barth managed to break the culture-historical tradition and replace it with a social explanation. But this gives only the instrumental premise for how ethnicity is produced. We are left with a vacuum as regards how the way of life was delineated in material terms and how it was reproduced. For archaeologists it is both natural and rewarding to fill this with a cultural content, to bring together ethnicity as an abstract category with material culture. The difference with respect to the older tradition of cultural history is that we now regard identity not as objectively given, but as an expression of a conscious choice in a historical context. This makes the aspect of time more important than was formerly the case. It is our task to open

new methodological channels between theory and artefacts. Style can become relevant once again as the cement bonding abstract concepts with empirical source material, as I try to show in the next section.

The conclusion that I believe it is possible to draw from the thematic presentation of studies of cultural and ethnic identity in Scandinavia in the 1980s and 1990s is that we would gain from bringing this social category into our work more explicitly. In research on the Iron Age and Middle Ages in particular, this can lead to a greater understanding of changing and persisting cultural patterns. An expansion beyond theoretical models with an instrumental orientation may prove rewarding, so that the perspective also comprises low-key identity creation, such as the reproduction of identity within the group. For the time from the eleventh century onwards, it would be interesting to study regional variation in dress, patterns of consumption, and the design of buildings parallel to the emergence of supraregional power. The hypothetical explanation of the establishment, development, and extinction of Baltic ware which I present in this book is an attempt in that direction.

Conspicuous signals and low-key communication

With the renewal in history and above all anthropology, the concept of culture came back into archaeology, but now as an expression of a social dimension. Based on the examples that we find in these two disciplines, we can assume that ethnic identity must be distinguished from spatial variation in artefact composition. Instead it is subjective, with a group of people who make up a nucleus claiming a common origin. If we accept this, the quest for ethnic identity in archaeology seems like a difficult task since we do not have access to people's self-definitions. Written documents do not help us to any great extent either, since it was the ancient and medieval authors who labelled their objects of study, not the observed people who named themselves.

Apart from the aspects of source criticism, studies of archaeological material have been characterized by a limited perspective on the process. After ethnic identity was established as a subjective social category, archaeologists began to translate the anthropologists' experiences of living cultures to the silent source material. Barth's theses had a profound impact, and numerous studies have been devoted to the search for ethnic idioms, parts of the material culture which were assumed to have been able to function for communicative purposes.

Texts have been filled with weapons, graves, and ornaments proclaiming their affiliation over the ages. At the same time, archaeology tended to be incorporated in a processual outlook since ethnicity is regarded as instrumental in the competition between groups. The consequence is that scholars have underlined the communicative character of ethnic identity for people in the past, who used it to maintain or extend their influence within an ecological niche. A competitive situation is believed to create a need to display clearly where one belongs when interacting with others. We find this model in many of the Scandinavian works produced in the 1970s and 1980s, from both processual and post-processual perspectives.¹⁰⁰

But what positions does archaeology adopt today if we want to work with this social category? Three programmatic works show in detail the way towards today's view and the possibilities facing us.¹⁰¹ To a large extent, the history of archaeology as a science coincides with that of anthropology as presented above. It is only with artefacts that we get at distinctive features that can be called archaeological. In the quest for the relation between material culture and cultural and ethnic identity, archaeology needs both a new theoretical orientation and empirical practice in order to develop.

The new theoretical orientation has been geared to the relationship between structure and process, with roots in sociological action theory. If we cannot delimit cultural identity objectively, if it is instead subjectively flexible with varying modes of material expression, we must take this into consideration. Like other disciplines with their point of departure in a theory of culture, archaeology has been faced with the problem of what constitutes stable content and change. That is why Bourdieu's theory of social practice and Giddens's structuration theory have been introduced as possible models.¹⁰² Despite differences between them, they indicate that there is no opposition between the unconscious action of everyday life (the structure) and cultural change (the process). According to their view, humans are not closed, we act *vis-à-vis* this external influence based on past experience which is

¹⁰⁰ Håland 1977; Kleppe 1977; Odner 1983; Olsen 1985; Olsen & Kobylinski 1991, pp. 17ff.

¹⁰¹ Shennan 1989a; Olsen & Kobylinski 1991; Jones 1997.

¹⁰² Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984; Jones 1997, pp. 87ff.

constituted through collective and individual practice. Bourdieu's term for a pattern of action incorporated in the individual is *habitus*. Traditions are not closed rooms; they are included in a continuous process in which people take active part. Certain innovations are not accepted at all, others partly, and some entirely. Irrespective of the impact a new tradition has, it will become a part of the dialogue between the collective and the individual. By using this perspective for an analysis based on human agency, it is possible, according to Siân Jones, to integrate a *primordial* and an *instrumental* view of ethnicity.¹⁰³ Through *habitus* the individual is assigned a life-pattern which is perceived as 'natural' or 'original', while the need for change within the group may be seen as an instrumental response to direct stimulus.

Empirical practice has shifted from defining cultures with the aid of individual artefacts to studying interaction between groups which do not in themselves have distinct demarcations in the material culture. Siân Jones says that we should work in a way that

...focuses on people's consciousness of ethnicity and the reproduction and transformation of transient expressions of cultural difference in the context of particular historical structures which impinge on human experience and condition social action.¹⁰⁴

Simplified explanations are nevertheless still present in hypotheses and analyses. Archaeologists seem to be caught in Barth's and Wobst's ideas about how ethnicity arises and is communicated. There is a particularly clear link to Wobst, who argued in his classical work about ethnic signals that groups of objects which are used in domestic settings, including cooking pots, do not carry any information about group affiliation.¹⁰⁵ But interaction is not just dependent on clear signals which are activated in times of economic stress. In archaeological literature about ethnicity, a more low-key form of internal identification seems interesting for an understanding of how Baltic ware was established as a new tradition. Fully comparable with this are two examples from the internal life of households, where the weakness of Wobst's hypothesis is also underlined. The studies refer to internal communication and concern the innermost part of the household: the hearth and the area around it.

¹⁰³ Jones 1997, p. 91.

¹⁰⁴ Jones 1997, p. 140.

¹⁰⁵ Wobst 1977, p. 328.

Among a group of people in northern Cameroun called the Bulahay, cooking and storage pots are decorated, even though they are kept in a closed environment where they get covered with fat and soot.¹⁰⁶ Although they do not signal anything to individuals outside the Bulahay group, the pots are given well-considered forms and decoration which are a part of the internal dialogue with the ancestors and themselves. In his ethno-archaeological study of ethnicity in Africa, Ian Hodder showed how material culture is one of the expressions used to maintain boundaries.¹⁰⁷ An experience that is not stressed so often is the placing of hearths in the closed domestic environment. In the Baringo district of Kenya fireplaces were built in different parts of the home depending on which ethnic group one belonged to. This means that even the inner world is brought into the definition of identity.

The two examples show that, even though pottery or spatial disposition do not directly need to be ethnic idioms, they are charged with meaning as part of a cultural identity. We can perceive them as a physical expression of a *primordial identity*. By extension, they can take on a different meaning in a changed situation when interaction with strangers increases. Here it is methodologically important to distinguish between mobile and immobile structures or objects, since hearths are less mobile than pots. Even though a socially constructed room can be established on a new settlement site, the transfer of domestic goods is certainly possible through travels and marriage. But what is required if meaning is to be shifted from being internal to being activated in an encounter is that the contacts take on a more permanent character. This is even more important if an assimilation of the new tradition takes place. Change requires people and encounters.

How have I been influenced by the state of research and my own experiences? In texts written by scholars who have expended energy on studying the topic, the important theoretical discussion of what ethnicity tends to dominate. The number of examples of different interpretations of the categorization is constantly growing in anthropological and sociological literature. This experience has been carried into archaeology, but the few concrete applications make up a tiny

¹⁰⁶ Sterner 1989.

¹⁰⁷ Hodder 1982.

proportion of all that is written. Since ethnic identity is so contextually conditioned, we need more.

In the broad research field of ethnicity, my interest is focused on cultural transfer. When archaeologists observe similarities between the foreign element and artefacts in an external core area, there are several possible explanations as to how the transfer took place. What I lack in the dialogue is studies of interaction between different culture groups in the Middle Ages. This is the niche in which my contribution should be considered. It is only here that I think I am able to formulate my own view of how we can work with cultural and ethnic identity, expressed in the following four points:

- *Contextual method*
- *Cultural identity as a medieval social category*
- *Cultural identity as an expression of structures and processes*
- *Power relations as a background to cultural identity*

Contextual method

It follows from the contextual method presented in the section ‘Perspective and method—the itinerary of an archaeologist’ in Chapter 1 that I proceed from the assumption that people in the past actively used material culture to define their identity. To avoid confusion with other forms of social identity, the sense of belonging should go beyond affiliation based on gender, age, or position in the social hierarchy. A sense of belonging together must have been expressed in material form, even if this need not mean that artefacts or ways of life necessarily were outward signals of belonging. The distinction between cultural and ethnic identity is thus crucial. Which artefacts or symbols became important ethnic markers in contacts with others is not predetermined or essential. Since the outcome of such relations is dependent on time and place, we must be open to multiple forms of expression. Because the historical context decides which parts of material culture are active in the creation of a cultural identity, one and the same group of objects can vary in significance over time. Consequently, it is necessary in a contextual analysis to take into account style, time, and place.

Cultural identity as a medieval social category

People were attentive to their cultural identity and acted it out in the Middle Ages. In the written sources we find evidence that material

culture was significant for definition. The parts of the life-pattern that became ethnically charged varied through time and place. We should be aware, however, that the literary traditions of classical and early medieval texts may have provided a norm for later sources. It is essential to scrutinize these critically in order to determine whether the categorization is a contemporary phenomenon or a rhetorical reference to earlier works.

In Scandinavian archaeology the topic has been reserved for prehistoric periods, if we disregard Saami-Germanic interaction. By highlighting this form of social identity in the period after the Iron Age as well, we can increase our understanding of the processes that shaped the differing material culture in Scandinavia.

Cultural identity as an expression of structures and processes

The culture-historical view of peoples as capable of objective demarcation by means of a few artefacts is no longer tenable. Cultural identity is a social category with a cultural content which arises on the level of the individual through internalization in childhood. This can be developed into an ethnic identity in the encounter with other groups. Since the interaction changes over time, identity is both structure and process. In many cases ethnification takes place in the wake of the contacts. People choose or are assigned an identity as individuals and groups.

Although Barth's model has borne fruit, it lacks aspects concerning the emergence of cultural identity where there is no external pressure or where interest groups in competition for resources within the community use the *Wir-Gefühl* to conceal social antagonisms. The categorization may also have had a more profound existential meaning for bygone people. Cultural identity therefore also includes the tacit transfer of knowledge which is perceived as correct within the group and is passed on by means of internalization from birth onwards. In Indonesia a form of behaviour is explained as being *adat*, custom. People thereby refer to tradition and a common origin, albeit not a myth, for their life-pattern. In the same way, the Scandinavian and Slavic *adat* could be contrasted without any competition between them existing. By working only with Barth's model we lose the perspective on a more low-key form of cultural identity. The tacit transfer within the group was needed to strengthen community across boundaries of gender, age, and social class. Barth calls his communicative signals *overt* and available for public display. We should also reckon with concealed signals which

were readable and reinforced identity solely within the group. This may be compared with a Japanese woman's kimono which is discreet in colour and strictly cut, but only on the outside; on the inside it is embroidered with rich erotic motifs intended exclusively for the woman's partner. In Japanese culture the hidden message is reinforced by the external simplicity. For a person who knows nothing about the choice of motif, the clash between outward simplicity and is what concealed on the inside takes on a palpable charge. In communication between people it means that that, the plainer a kimono is, the more erotic the content can be.

The point of contact with the prevailing view of cultural identity as subjective and contextual is obvious. Without knowledge of the code, the kimono remains an internal Japanese cultural expression which is regarded by foreign observers as aesthetically monotonous. The consequence of this for our methodology is that we too should look for concealed, introvert signals when we study the phenomenon of cultural identity. Medieval household pottery did not have the same charge as a kimono, but the meaning is the same. In its place in closed storerooms and hearths it was not exposed to the gaze of strangers. The message of the pots could nevertheless have been important for group identity.

It is necessary to abandon an old-fashioned essentialist view of cultural identity, but paradoxically it is just as necessary to retain such an attitude in order to understand how it was passed on and reproduced. The older idea that it was part of a biological, innate, static structure does not withstand critical scrutiny. Instead what is of interest is the acceptance of identity as *primordial* in a psychological sense and as a *habitus*. Roosens' interesting genealogical explanation of the reproduction of an identity alongside boundary drawing and competition invites us to a dialogue about how traditions survive.¹⁰⁸ Stephen Shennan has stressed the importance of nearness for the transfer of tacit knowledge, since imitation rather than learning predominates in socially intimate relations.¹⁰⁹ A potter does not tell his daughter or son how a pot should be made. By personally following the whole process from extracting the raw material from a clay deposit to taking the finished pot out of the kiln, the child can see and remember what is right. For Baltic ware this

¹⁰⁸ Roosens 1996.

¹⁰⁹ Shennan 1991a, p. 34.

means, in concrete terms, that I investigate whether it functioned as a distinct ethnic marker or was transferred in a more discreet way.

Power relations as a background to cultural identity

Other aspects in the mainstream of ethnicity studies likewise need to be reappraised. The assertion of the relative and situational character of identity is largely due to the fact that examples are taken from today's anthropological research. A basic attitude like this should not lead to total relativism as regards the creation of ethnic self-perception. Instead, the time and place associated with the studied subject are of the utmost importance. The situational self-definitions of the Migration Period, intended to maximize political prestige, show little correspondence with the power situation in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Shared Danish-Obodrite interests at the end of the tenth century and in the first half of the eleventh century depended on an equal relationship. This changed through time. It was difficult for an individual to switch from Slavic to Germanic identity in the Lübeck area after the German expansion to the east. A switch in the opposite direction must have been viewed as undesirable because of the stigmatization to which the Slavs were subjected. The relation between Swedes and the inhabitants of northern Rus' underwent a similar process. Judging by these examples, a highly flexible attitude at the individual level would have been impossible to accept.

Because the discussion of cultural identity has been interdisciplinary, we have today better knowledge of this type of categorization of human social organization in the past. Archaeologists, however, have a tendency to lag behind in the debate, as is clear from the fact that we are still doing research on boundaries and not so much on interaction, looking for ethnic signals rather than the tacit transfer of identity. This does not mean that archaeology should concern itself solely with cultural identity and low-key cultural transfer. The heritage of Wenskus and Barth is important, but we archaeologists must take part in the development of the theoretical models instead of waiting for anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians to do it for us. The renewal in history and anthropology has in large measure been due to the dissonance created between models and practical fieldwork. I am convinced that a conscious theory and method in dialogue with the archaeological source material in a historical context can lead to positive feedback for the

discussion with the other disciplines. The sources do not speak to us, but they are a corrective which creates a positive inertia when we test the theories.

CULTURAL TRANSFER

Style and cultural transfer

In the search for social categories in archaeological source material we must pin down the parts of material culture which reveal affiliation. For gender studies this can mean trying to find artefacts and combinations of objects which can be linked as unambiguously as possible to one sex. If instead we want to examine the encounter between different ethnic traditions we are faced with similar tasks. The self-definition of an ethnic group must have concrete expressions in order to be operative in an archaeological context. But cultural identity is associated with mental conceptions and not embodied directly in specific artefacts. Unlike gender studies, where knowledge of a gendered division of labour through analogies and tentative relations in the source material, and the covariation of gender-identified skeletons with sets of artefacts in graves can be analytical tools, ethnicity studies face more difficult problems. We can perhaps demarcate the special set of artefacts belonging to a group of people, but we are at the same time uncertain about which parts of the set were used actively in the structuring of identity. In the discussion of ethnicity in archaeology, the question of style is one way out of the dilemma. If we can link a stylistic tradition to an ethnic group it is possible to make progress with studies of interaction. The central significance of the concept of style is due to its being the only tool available if we want to combine the evidently subtle self-definition with archaeological practice.

What then is style? In art history we are accustomed to formulating a definition of a work of art in terms of a ready-made concept of style. Although individual objects can cause debate, there is generally consensus about what rococo or baroque are, or cubism and impressionism. If we regard pictures or forms outside the European norm, however, these concepts are of little use. It is particularly when we come to arts and crafts from cultures in the Third World that the European concept of style is useless. The same applies to objects from prehistoric and medieval societies.

Another fundamental problem is that style can scarcely be defined according to objective criteria. The observer must nevertheless express his subjective assessment in some way. To understand and describe a style it is necessary to make a selection from the information borne by the object or the picture. The style is not concealed in the artefact; the observer decides which attributes and what relationship between them is meaningful. Just as ethnicity is not essential, style cannot be said to be something existing outside or above the social context. The concept can be defined thus:

...style is a description of a polythetic set of similar but varying attributes in a group of artifacts, ...the presence of which can only be explained by the history of the artifacts, ...namely, common descent from an archaeologically identifiable artifact-production system in a particular state or states.¹¹⁰

Style thus always tells us something about a relationship to at least one other object with which it constitutes a community in time and place. Contemporaneity and spatial contact are not required since style can be used to refer or allude to other times and places. Classicist sculptures were produced in eighteenth-century Sweden when artists' flirtation with the Roman and Greek aesthetical ideals created an art beyond Hellenistic Greece or Imperial Rome. What the late Nordic replicas of the earlier models shows us, however, is that there was a relationship between the past and the present. It is an allusion to a rich past whose aesthetic ideals were translated into reproductions. Style thus says something about the social context in which production takes place. We can compare this with the written sources that tell us about events in the tenth century but are relevant for how thirteenth-century writers regarded the past. As regards domestic pottery, the subject studied in this work, we may assume that similar styles also have close spatial and temporal bonds.

In archaeology the concept of style has been discussed intensively since the 1970s onwards. There are some surveys with special reference to archaeology, which makes it unnecessary to present a complete review here.¹¹¹ Culture-historical archaeologists assumed that the style of sets

¹¹⁰ Davis 1990, p. 19.

¹¹¹ Conkey & Hastorf 1990; Jones 1997, pp. 106ff.; Vandkilde 2000.

of artefacts was the morphological expression of a homogeneous group of people. Style was something inherent in the objects, and scholars concentrated on arranging them in chronological typologies. This tradition accumulated a large amount of knowledge about the wealth of variation in material culture, but there was little discussion of the social background to the diversity.

In the 1960s style acquired fresh significance in the New Archaeology, when the concept was used in attempts to divide the source material into apprehensible analytical blocks where forms and attributes were given a passive role in the enculturation process within a group.¹¹² In the subsequent three decades the discussion suffered the same dichotomization as the one on ethnic identity. As with the search for arguments that ethnicity is either primordial or constructed, there was a bipartite division of stylistic variation and function. These ideas were based on a separation of the artistic side of handicraft from the practical function. For pottery this could mean that the form was regarded as functional while the decoration signalled various forms of belonging.

Archaeologists soon saw the limitations of dividing the attributes of artefacts into function and style. Thanks to work in American anthropological research the discussion of style was set on a more fruitful course.¹¹³ A functional orientation was still partly retained, with communication between people held up as the primary duty of style. At the same time, there was an endeavour to achieve a clearer division between the intentional and unintentional use of forms and decorations. Terms like *emblemic* versus *assertive style* were applied by Polly Wiessner, and James Sackett's *iconologic style* and *isochrestic variation* expressed a similar approach. Behind Wiessner's first term are concealed clear signals of ethnic identity, while the second comprises individual stylistic choices. By his first term Sackett meant a style which carries conscious information for manipulative purposes. *Isochrestic variation*, on the other hand, results from a culturally conditioned choice based on an infinite number of possible alternative forms, a choice which is not directly associated with any external communication. Isochrestic variation can become significant for interaction in a specific context, it does not automatically emit ethnic signals. The difference between Wiessner's and Sackett's approaches concerned intentionality. The

¹¹² Jones 1997, pp. 110ff.

¹¹³ Wobst 1977; Sackett 1977, 1990; Wiessner 1983, 1989.

question was whether all stylistic choices either signalled affiliation or were passive expressions of an individual person's choice. The *overt signals* in Barth's ethnographic studies can be recognized in the way artefacts are regarded. Sackett criticizes the dichotomization between function and style, although he does not completely abandon it. The discussion between him and Wiessner has had the favourable outcome that the concept of style has been brought into the social sphere. Style is no longer viewed as something resting in the artefacts; it is in contact with the construction of meaning in interpersonal relations and it is activated when necessary.

It is important to point out the relation to the discussion of style in the 1970s and 1980s since the post-processual perspective, more explicitly than in other spheres, has inherited experiences of the link between material culture and social practice from this.¹¹⁴ Yet differences are quickly evident on close examination. Since no artefacts or styles carry ethnic signals in themselves, the contexts in which they are used are crucial for their meaning. The contextual view of culture stresses that all physical remains are involved in the creation and transformation of life-patterns. It is therefore necessary to study the connection between form, decoration, and cultural identity in specific historical and social contexts.¹¹⁵ Only then is it possible to understand the process that affected choices in the society at the time.

How to define and verbalize style if there are not already fixed concepts is a problem. In the introduction to this section I mentioned the consensus that exists about the term rococo, to take one example. When it comes to Baltic ware, however, the definition is imprecise. There is instead a mild chaos, with chronological and typological differences. The problem is similar to that faced by art historians when they study plastic art from so-called 'primitive' cultures. African art displays just as many significant stylistic features as impressionism ever did. The difference is that the former is less explicit in its stylistic conventions.¹¹⁶ Workshops and traditions are in fact just as easy to discern among African or Balinese sculptures as in works from nineteenth-century Europe.

¹¹⁴ Vandkilde 2000, p. 8.

¹¹⁵ Jones 1997, p. 125.

¹¹⁶ Vansina 1984, pp. 78ff.

The link between African art and Baltic ware may seem far-fetched. However, if we look at the aims of stylistic or morphological studies, it becomes clearer. Morphological analysis seeks to describe the appearance of objects and determine to what extent they differ from other closely related styles. There is a clear difference between an indigenous pot from a Viking Age tradition and a pot of Baltic type. Finding syntheses or hybrids within groups of ware calls for higher standards of method and perception, but it must be done since it is the nucleus of my attempt to understand how a Slavic ceramic style was adopted in Scandinavia.

For African art Olbrechts established a schema for stylistic studies which takes into consideration four different levels of similarity-difference.¹¹⁷ In this way one can formulate a description which can be used for comparisons:

- *decorative and applied details*
- *spatial placing of elements*
- *proportions*
- *sculptural details*

This perspective can be applied to pottery, with the elements of which the body of the pot consists: rim, shoulder, body, and base. The problem with stylistic studies is that they always involve a large degree of subjectivity. To get away from an excessively subjective assessment or too crude a concept of style, the methods used must be clearly described. The application of Olbrechts' general rules for stylistic studies to concrete pottery research can be done in several stages, each of which increases the accuracy of the description of the pots.

Traditions in the study of cooking vessels of simple household pottery are strongly represented in countries which have had and still have a Slavic population. Those who have inspired me in my studies are chiefly Andrzej Buko and Torsten Kempke. Both developed a practice for studies of form through their analyses of the pottery from Sandomierz and Starigard/Oldenburg respectively.¹¹⁸ In his work with the pottery from Starigard/Oldenburg, Kempke refined a method of analysis which has

¹¹⁷ Olbrechts 1959, pp. 29ff.

¹¹⁸ Buko 1981, 1990; Kempke 1984.

been gradually developed in different guises by other scholars.¹¹⁹ The basic idea in his work was that most assemblages of material are so fragmented that an analysis of form based on intact pots is impossible. Instead this level was a part of the analysis to the extent that vessel bodies could be reconstructed, but the main emphasis was on the shape of the rim. He seized on particularities in their form and compiled the details in *Randformen* (rim forms) designated by numbers.¹²⁰ Variations were noted in the shape of vessels, in the length, direction, inside, and edge of the rims. Vessels with the same properties were placed together as one *Randform*. The method is good for general comparisons between large complexes of pottery from different find places, for example, for checking the proportions of everted rims in relation to cylindrical necks, and so on. In German research this has moreover become the norm in several studies of Slavic pottery, making it extra important to use it so that a common language can be established.¹²¹ The methods are close to those advocated by Olbrechts for plastic African art. Segmentation—the combinations and relations of stylistic elements—carries information about a cognitive perception of what a pot is. It is a segmentation of stylistic details in individual pots that has been the method used in my work of defining Baltic ware.¹²²

One of the choices available to medieval people was to make up their minds about new objects with which they came in contact. All or part of a foreign culture could be either integrated or rejected in the constant dialogue with new patterns of culture. A positive response can be delineated in new forms and decoration not originating in socio-economic or ideological changes in one's own group. Instead we see here the material remains of what we call cultural transfer. The term differs from pure diffusion by emphasizing that it is human beings who carry the new element, integrated in an active process. Style and transfer are an inseparable couple because “the very process of cultural transmission are through ‘style of things’, through social actions”.¹²³ Between them is the bond which makes it possible for us to find a link between artefacts and people from different culture groups.

¹¹⁹ Steuer 1971, 1974; Gebers 1981, 1986; Kempke 1984.

¹²⁰ Kempke 1984, p. 26, Table 1.

¹²¹ Brather 1996a; Biermann 1997.

¹²² Roslund 2001a, pp. 257ff.

¹²³ Conkey & Hastorf 1990, p. 2.

For medieval archaeologists, change is often explained in terms of trade and innovation. In the same way that the archaeological concept of culture disappears with the Late Neolithic, the cultural content is toned down when we reach the Middle Ages. People are depicted as being instrumentally political and market-oriented. The view of trade has become less rigid, most clearly expressed in the discussion between substantivists and formalists in economic history. No such approach is found in studies of medieval pottery production and consumption, which are still dominated by the law of supply and demand, with technical innovations supposedly being adopted and used quickly so that the craftsman's products would be sellable on the market. Of course there were such tendencies in the Late Middle Ages, but they are not sufficient to explain changes taking place at the level of household vessels. The role of pottery as a commodity has been played down in recent years, and its presence is instead interpreted as part of a social construction with new patterns of consumption emerging in the wake of trade.¹²⁴ The pottery of the newly arrived guests in the twelfth century is regarded as a reflection of the expanding trade from the powerful economic regions of Europe, in towns like Bruges and the places along the Rhine, but only as a secondary element. Other objects were the true merchandise, while the pots followed along on the journey, acquiring a new meaning in interaction with Scandinavians. The emphasis on trade does not help us to understand how the transfer took place, and it prevents us from remembering that cultural identity was an all-embracing part of social life.¹²⁵

Innovations are important when we paint the picture of changes in the past. We should not ignore the fact that the new idea, the realization that the discovery is useful, and the way in which it was developed, were significant for the society. For the production and consumption of pottery, ideas of innovation have been very strong, as reflected in terminology and questions concerning the topic. Research has been clearly focused on technical solutions, and scientific methods are proclaimed to be important for testing hypotheses. The questions concern technological processes and are greatly influenced by processual archaeology, leaning heavily on ethno-archaeological studies.¹²⁶ Innovation studies

¹²⁴ Madsen 1991; Gaimster 1997, 1999.

¹²⁵ Jones 1997, p. 133.

¹²⁶ van der Leeuw 1980; Arnold 1985; Orton *et al.* 1993.

otherwise lack interest for processual archaeology since internal cultural explanations such as inventiveness have had to take second place to external incentives, such as imbalances in the ecosystem.¹²⁷ Pottery studies are still tied to these basic outlooks, but they would gain greatly from broadening the theoretical perspective.

The diffusionism of the culture-historical school, where anonymous cultures spread like waves over the map, is a thing of the past. But the lack of a social perspective is obvious even in more recent texts about innovation. The course is described as a simple causal one, with traits of technological inevitability. But neither diffusion, nor innovation, nor cultural contacts in themselves are able to explain why a cultural transfer took place. The concepts cover just the observation of the renewal that occurred. To get at the social mechanisms that steered the transfer we must go deeper into the process. To make progress in research on how new ideas arise, gain a foothold, and spread, it is essential to consider this from a point in time before the innovation and not via a retrospective analysis.¹²⁸ Otherwise it is easily viewed as predestined, leaving no opening for the winding road, lined by successful and unsuccessful attempts, that ultimately leads to new ideas. Nor should we persist in the simplified outlook according to which people are expected to optimize production to arrive at a more perfect product, with a gain in working time or the supply of raw materials dictating the choice. In a study of cultural transfer it is also important to clarify the cultural system prevailing among the receiving party, since this determines the reaction and response to the new element.¹²⁹ Iron was known to people in the Scandinavian peninsula for several hundred years before they started using it. The metal was not integrated in Bronze Age society and had no code connected to contemporary cultural patterns. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen says that one can find the explanation for this in the way foreign elements were otherwise handled. Forms in the Late Bronze Age became increasingly 'baroque', referring back to the earlier local tradition. The norm became introverted, while alien elements, such as continental forms and the new metal technology, did not gain a foothold.

¹²⁷ Trigger 1989, p. 296.

¹²⁸ Torrence & van der Leeuw 1989.

¹²⁹ Sørensen 1989, p. 184.

Imports must therefore contain a possibility for interaction with, or incorporation into the local material culture and cultural activities in order to become a part of these processes of social action.¹³⁰

Generalizations about innovations and cultural transfer are thus not desirable if we want to retain a contextual perspective in a study. The necessary conditions are found in several events which are specific in time and place. As Davis shows, the process is affected by:¹³¹

- *What is transferred*
- *Properties or conditions of the sender and the receiver*
- *The type of media through which the transfer takes place*
- *The social context in which the transfer takes place*

But at what level does the transfer take place? In the culture-historical school, different 'peoples' met and exchanged artefacts; the processual school compared settlement sites and economic systems. To get at the very core of the transfer it is necessary to study the phenomenon of cultural transfer at a level as close to the acting person as possible. What happens when style is transferred to a new context? Foreign objects and traditions were brought to Scandinavia in an endless stream in the Middle Ages. What was accepted, incorporated, and then became part of the social dialogue must have been important for maintaining liaisons. As archaeologists we must take into consideration the cultural patterns of both individuals and groups and try to capture what lay behind their choices. If change cannot be explained solely as a result of trade or innovation we must turn to other explanatory models. The degree of openness shown to the visitors is based on the socio-political circumstances which give the contact a justification and an explanation. The need for trade may be one such incentive. On the other hand, it does not answer the question why a transfer took place at the human level. It may therefore be interesting to hold up two sources of inspiration which have influenced my work with this matter.

Steven Shennan discusses possible patterns for cultural transfer on the basis of action theories propounded by Bourdieu and Giddens.¹³² These two sociologists, however, do not give complete examples of

¹³⁰ Sørensen 1989, p. 198.

¹³¹ Davis 1983, p. 60.

¹³² Shennan 1989b, 1991b.

how their general perspectives can be transferred to archaeological hypotheses. Giddens is criticized for his excessive focus on the setting of everyday boundaries so the dynamism of the transfer is forgotten. Bourdieu's hypotheses, according to Shennan, are thought-provoking but give us no instrument with which to find out why the structuration process takes the course it does. In addition, we need theories which can explain the choice when a change occurs, since the possibilities show infinite variation. He is dealing here indirectly with the problems that arise with two seemingly opposed views, which has been the dilemma of ethnicity studies, with essential and subjective identity opposed to each other. For Shennan the difficulty lies in the relationship between structure and process in the transfer. How are we to free ourselves from this dichotomy when both are needed? Shennan proceeds from some sociological works where analogies are drawn with genetic transfer.¹³³ He emphasizes that the theories have nothing to do with genetic determinism, since people's patterns of culture and choices affect the outcome, sometimes even in a negative sense. This is not a matter of a Darwinist 'survival of the fittest'.

As a basic condition he thinks that we should explain why change occurs since culture is in principle an inherited pattern. The forces that generate change come from two different sources. The first is what Boyd and Richerson call *guided variation*:

...individuals acquire a pattern of behaviour from their (cultural) parents and then modify it in the light of their own experience—learning through interaction with the environment. It will be this modified form of behaviour which is then passed on to subsequent (cultural) offspring, who will no doubt modify it in their turn.¹³⁴

The other source in the selection is *bias*, which occurs in two different forms. *Direct bias* affects the selection through the model's own properties or the frequency with which the property appears in the group. Choosing the most common property brings benefits since it is obviously successful socially and reduces friction with other individuals in the group. *Indirect bias* concerns a choice where other properties from the same source have already been adopted and new properties are regarded as positive on the basis of the already existing good relations.

¹³³ Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman 1981; Boyd & Richerson 1985.

¹³⁴ Shennan 1989b, p. 335.

Of course, the choice of properties or style is viewed in its context, which then changes and in turn creates new attitudes.

All social activity takes place in a flow of time and its recursiveness arises as a result of repetition through time ... [and] ... the reflexive self-regulation of human agents".¹³⁵

We can compare this with language evolution, where a child learns its native tongue from the parents but develops a language of its own in contact with peers. These acquire new words from other social settings, and the innovation is assimilated in the individuals' own language if it has a higher social value. A word accumulates this value through the frequency with which it occurs and the role the innovator has in the group. If the frequency of use is high, the word serves to prepare the road for entry into the social community. If the innovator already has a strong position as an informal leader or is 'successful', the adoption takes place as a result of being popular. When the language becomes common property, certain words lose their charge and new ones arise, the choice revealing whether the speaker is an insider or an outsider. When a parent uses an outmoded slang expression to impress the child's friends it has the opposite effect; having formerly expressed community, it now serves to segregate.

Polly Wiessner puts forward a similar view in a work where she stresses the dynamic interaction of individual and group which is important in the relationship with the external stimulus.¹³⁶ The governing social process that she highlights is *social identification via comparison*. In the group this functions in attempts to create a positive self-image in other people's eyes in order to be accepted. In this case it is the structure that dictates the pattern of action. A feature of the process is that there is often constant change in the social dialogue within the group concerning status, gender, and age. The individual is therefore drawn into a cognitive process where the values are constantly being reappraised in relation to new patterns of culture. If an alien ceramic tradition is to be integrated, this means that there must primarily be a positive assessment of the opposite party and long-term links so that there is time for the distinctive features to be apprehended, gain a foothold, and be reproduced. In short, style is perceived as a way to communicate with other individuals and groups. Although there is a risk of emphasizing

¹³⁵ Shennan 1989b, p. 332.

¹³⁶ Wiessner 1989.

the communicative function of style, in the spirit of Barth and Wobst, *social identification via comparison* provides an instrument for grasping why pottery traditions change. A clear example of one such switch to a new way of life is the Hanseatic urban 'culture' which pervaded the Baltic area from the thirteenth century onwards.

Pottery and cultural identity

Having dwelt on general perspectives on the important components of cultural identity, style, and cultural transfer, I shall now look more specifically at pottery as source material with these categories in mind. As tools for understanding the presence of Baltic ware in Scandinavia I use the social conditions for pottery production and the presence of strangers, based on contemporary analogies. In concrete terms this means answering questions about the social context in which pottery was made in Scandinavia, how the encounter with the guests was possible, and how we can judge whether it was guests or native craftsmen who manufactured the pots.

The fixation of medieval archaeologists on trade has had the consequence that all foreign pottery has ended up in the same explanatory paradigm. Baltic ware has in most cases been interpreted as imported goods and has therefore been used as evidence of economic connections with Slavic, above all Wendish, areas. But is it correct to assume such a state of affairs at the end of the tenth century when this type of ware appears for the first time on a large scale? It is interesting to look again at the discussion of innovation above and emphasize how important it is not to work retrospectively, but instead to proceed from the circumstances of the time. I shall concentrate here on the social context in which Scandinavian pottery manufacture existed. A detailed presentation of the conditions in Slavic areas will have to wait until the chapter 'Preparing the Gift'.

Late Viking Age cooking and storage pots are simple in shape and hand-made; they were built up of superimposed strips or rolls of clay. The raw material can be naturally tempered or with an admixture of crushed rock, sand, or vegetable material.¹³⁷ The firing temperature does not exceed 600 °C and the pots show irregularities revealing that they were in both oxidizing and reducing atmosphere in open hearths.

¹³⁷ Hulthén 1984.

The walls of the pots are uneven and coarse, which gives a clumsy appearance. Despite this, the simple indigenous vessels are suitable as cooking pots because the coarse tempering and the thick fabric give good resistance against thermic stress. Decoration of the outside of the wall occurs only rarely, as circular patterns made by stabbing with a tubular object. Sets of ceramics display great similarities in what is now Sweden and do not seem to have been involved in any internal dialogue about social hierarchy, age, or gender. Making this type of pots required no large investments in time and no technically advanced equipment. We may presume that they were made within the household to meet its own needs.

Opinions differ little as to who made the pottery in the days before proper specialization.¹³⁸ Both processual and post-processual archaeologists who have studied the question have reached the conclusion that it is mostly women who perform this chore in agrarian societies with a low degree of division of labour. Since most stages of the work require dry weather and a warm climate, manufacture mostly coincides with the growing season. The gender-based division has the result that men work with external tasks while women are responsible for the household's internal activities. Pots can be made for personal needs (*household production*) or can be intended both for personal use and for exchange (*household industry*).¹³⁹ For the Late Viking Age tradition it is most likely that the former mode of production prevailed.

Wright stresses that women are frequently excluded from pottery manufacture in analyses when it leaves the household level, becoming specialized or commercialized. According to her, women are often involved as hidden producers in the chain of necessary work required by the process. This includes extracting clay, preparing it, tempering, drying pots, and firing them. For my studies, however, the most important aspect concerns whose hands shaped the pot. The potter's vision of what the vessel should look like is a direct indication of cultural affiliation expressed in style.

Although it is likely that pottery manufacture in Scandinavia in the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages was handled by women in the household, we should also be aware of regional differences in household composition. Production conditions in eastern Denmark,

¹³⁸ Arnold 1985, pp. 99ff.; Wright 1991.

¹³⁹ van der Leeuw 1980; Peacock 1982.

Gotland, and the Mälaren valley were evidently different, as suggested by the appearance and orientation of the agrarian settlements. This had an influence on the number of people working within a *familia*, and it affected the division of labour and the seasonal distribution of chores. An important aspect of simple household production is the presence of slaves in early medieval society. In the discussion of male and female tasks this hierarchy within the household is often ignored, but it will be considered here in the final analysis of the results of the empirical studies.

If knowledge of the manufacture of Late Viking Age pottery was maintained within the household by women and slaves, or both, the encounter with a different tradition was influenced by this. We must envisage a faint interest in rapid specialization since the indigenous pots were adequate to meet the needs that had existed for centuries and it would have required considerable investment to change the routines. If people nevertheless did so, the style of the Scandinavian copies must have been so obviously different from the original that we can distinguish the two traditions. At the same time, the sex of the potter affects the willingness to learn new stages of the working process. In a gendered division of labour a transfer within the same sex must have entailed less social disturbance than a transfer between men and women.

The transposition of cooking and storage pots from the sphere of trade to the household sphere raises interesting aspects of the alien pottery types. Instead of oversimplifying by invoking the law of supply and demand, we must consider two other possibilities as to why they appear in Scandinavia. They can be true imports brought by a traveller or manufactured here by a guest. The individual would no doubt have been deeply integrated in life wherever he or she was staying. The conclusion of this is that we should look for the social conditions for a foreign presence in the Early Middle Ages. Little is known about the situation of craftsmen in foreign environments in the Middle Ages. The actions of merchants may therefore provide a possible background to the encounter between the actors.

As a scholar studying travel and alien status it is important to stay at the human level. When people in the Middle Ages moved outside their own jurisdictional area and the safety of their own house, the fundamental needs of legal security and physical circumstances had to be maintained in something other than the customary way. Where could they live, who provided food, where did they sleep, how did they

protect the precious load they were travelling with? A basic requirement for the encounter between strangers was personal protection. We do not know how potters or even craftsmen in general solved this problem. Trading journeys in the Early Middle Ages had a long-established order which suggests the form taken by encounters.

In an insecure world, security organizations like guilds and *félag* (partnerships) were important for spreading risks. Before setting off one had to be sure that one was welcome in the port of call. An advanced system of commercial law and protection of merchants was established at an early stage to facilitate the exchange of goods.¹⁴⁰ Security for trade could be declared by means of a temporary mutual contract between the parties. Clear signals in the form of raised white shields or dialogue at a distance were opening moves for continued negotiation. An oral agreement could then be reached, confirmed by handshakes. In the Norse literature we find such contracts under the name *gríð*, which refers to a truce or peace applying for a limited time and place, and anyone who breached it was a *níðing* or despicable villain. Another possibility was to meet on ground where temporary security for trade was already maintained. Such places could be seasonal markets, often connected to religious festivals. Of course, lords and kings could provide stronger protection by negotiating agreements on behalf of their subjects. While *en route* merchant ships could even be under personal protection, carrying proof in the form of runic letters or *Wahrzeichen*.

In medieval written sources there are several examples of a ruler's personal responsibility for merchants. Trading contacts were important so that the king could maintain his status through expensive and exclusive habits. An example of punishment inflicted for the persecution and murder of merchants can be found in *Knyttlingasagan* from the first half of the thirteenth century. The passage refers to an event that took place during the reign of Knut the Holy in Denmark (1080–1086). A richly laden Norwegian trading ship on its way east disappeared without trace in the Baltic Sea.¹⁴¹ Then the Norwegian king Olaf the Gentle, as an obvious stakeholder, intervened, asking his son-in-law Knut if he could help to investigate what had become of the ship. It turned out that Egil, a rich farmer from a Bornholm family, had stolen the goods and burnt both ship and crew. The punishment was that he was

¹⁴⁰ Müller-Boysen 1990.

¹⁴¹ *Knyttlinge saga* 1977, pp. 57ff.

hanged immediately, even though his family wanted to come to terms with the king by paying a fine, and despite the effect of a schism with chieftains and common farmers. Although the king ran a palpable risk of loss because of his decision, the protection of the ship was more important.

Once travellers had arrived safely at their destination, they became part of a household there; we find evidence of this in both archaeological and written sources. In the Early Middle Ages commercial transactions were conducted in the private setting of the townyards in Sigtuna, and it was probably there that the merchants stayed as temporary visitors.¹⁴² In Magnus Eriksson's Urban Law from around 1360 we meet strangers who are designated by the medieval term *guests*. Foreign merchants staying in the town lived and were registered for tax purposes with a burgher there. If the burgher evaded declaring the extra family member he could be fined 40 marks. The merchant

...was thus not merely a guest in the town, but with a specific burgher, with whom he had a trading agreement, often perhaps ties of kinship or friendship. One could not be a 'guest' in the town on any other terms; there were no free 'guests' not coming under the responsibility of a head of household.¹⁴³

There were exceptions to this arrangement in big towns where the Hansa in the High and Late Middle Ages established its *Kontore*. To ensure optimal safety visiting merchants lived in enclaves with their own church as the most important meeting place.¹⁴⁴ In *Peterhof* in Novgorod, the *Stalhof* or Steelyard in London, and *Bryggen* in Bergen the *Hof* was closed at night, and journeymen guarded the archive and the money stored in the league's church. In legal terms each individual was a representative of his Hanseatic town and covered by the reciprocal contracts signed by the rulers of the places visited. If a conflict arose, each individual was viewed as a representative of his town and could be kept hostage until the differences had been resolved. As a response to detention, merchants could use trade boycotts and invoke the privileges granted by the town council or the local ruler. German merchants who were accepted as burghers in the places they visited immediately lost their Hanseatic benefits. Instead they came under the law of the

¹⁴² Roslund 1995b.

¹⁴³ Holmbäck & Wessén 1966, pp. 147f.

¹⁴⁴ Wernicke 1997.

town. Usually, however, this was the same as the law of Lübeck, which provided the judicial model.

The merchants were a part of an important social network since they meant a great deal to the rulers. Where can a craftsman like a potter be placed in this protection system on the basis of his social position? Little is known about the socio-economic situation in Scandinavia in the Early Middle Ages, so we have to turn to sources from nearby areas. In England the potter was closely associated with the agrarian economy since the level of production was within the scope of household industry, that is, a simple form of specialization with manufacture which was seasonal but nevertheless intended for a market.¹⁴⁵ Even at larger production sites using the fast wheel and kilns, agriculture was the main livelihood for the family. Before the fifteenth century potters were probably unfree peasants or tenants of an estate. When they emerge as freehold peasants they seem to have had such a low income that they could not be separated from the unfree peasants. That pottery manufacture was of low status and not considered a proper craft is also evident from the fact that there was no guild for potters. Moreover, innovations were conspicuous by their absence. In the low-technology manufacture there are types of ware which are of high technical quality, but even in the eleventh and the early twelfth century the use of a turntable and the building of pots using strips of clay went on in parallel in the countryside and in urban centres like London and Winchester. This changed in the second half of the twelfth century when throwing became the normal way to shape pots and better control of firing was learned. Consequently, early medieval potters were probably not protected by rulers as merchants were. Their social situation as unfree or poor and tied to their agriculture meant that they did not move to other regions on their own initiative. When this did happen they probably had feudal ties to the person who governed such mobility.

The social status of the potter is likewise low when we meet him in Scandinavian written sources. Nor were they organized in guilds in the Middle Ages, and the price that could be charged for an article was low once pottery became a mass product. It is therefore not very likely that those who made new types of pottery in early medieval Scandinavia were free itinerant craftsmen offering their goods at the towns' weekly

¹⁴⁵ McCarthy & Brooks 1988, pp. 73ff.

markets. A social situation in which potters, like other craftsmen in the Early Middle Ages, can be viewed as the urban equivalent of tenant farmers is conceivable, both for those using simple methods of manufacture and for those practising more advanced techniques involving throwing, glazing, and kiln firing.¹⁴⁶ Both foreign and indigenous potters should therefore be regarded as tied to a household, *familia*, to someone who moved between different regions. If it is genuine imported vessels we find, they must have arrived with foreign guests as part of a mobile household. When local manufacture can be securely ascertained, the cultural norms that were applied were those of the homeland; the same forms and technology were used by the individual who made new pots on foreign soil.

How then can we see whether it is a foreign guest who made a cooking pot? Can we be sure that domestic pottery can be linked to a foreign cultural norm? I shall give three examples here of how one can identify this. The first example concerns two types of ware from Anglo-Scandinavian territory which occur in Lund in the eleventh century: The second example takes us to the Poland of the Piasts in the same century. Finally, we move further to the south, to Přerov in Moravia.

In Lund a glazed type of ware originating in eastern England began to appear in the eleventh century. Thanks to intensive studies in the 1990s this 'early glazed ware' has had its provenance determined and been placed in a historical context (fig. 8).¹⁴⁷ What has been proved by petrological and morphological analysis is production by potters with their roots in Lincolnshire who worked in Lund for a brief period. Manufacture was technologically advanced compared to the local pottery, and the appearance is close to that of Stamford ware in eastern England. The craft involved the use a wheel, knowledge of lead glazing, and the construction of a kiln to control the firing of the pots. The composition of the service reflected that of the homeland, although a certain over-representation of spouted jugs can be detected in Lund. Other forms are lids for these jugs, cooking pots, and lamps or crucibles. The examples retrieved by an excavation in the Apotekaren block in 1979–80 show a distinct concentration in the second and third quarter of the eleventh century. A closing date in the middle of the century has

¹⁴⁶ André 1985, p. 85.

¹⁴⁷ Christensen *et al.* 1994; Larsson 2000.

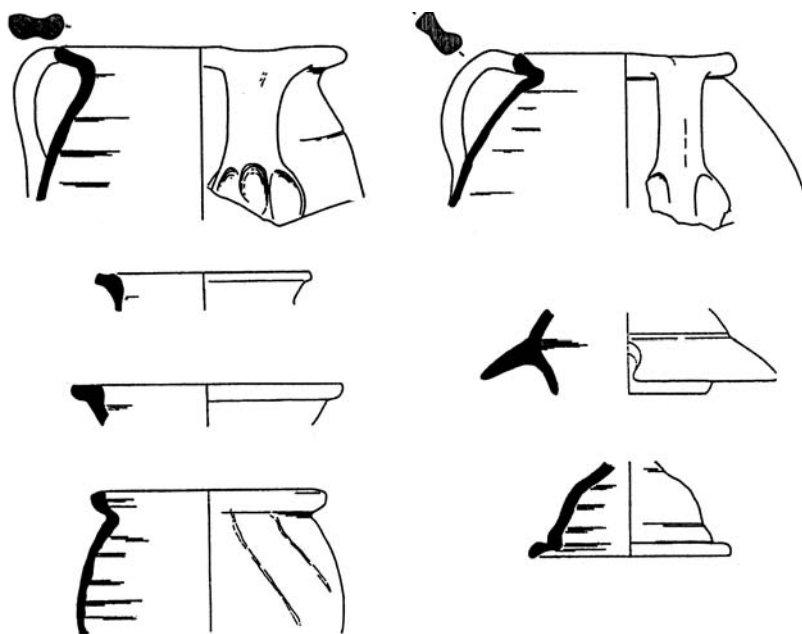


Fig. 8. Early glazed ware of Stamford type from Lund. After Christensen *et al.* 1994, p. 71, fig. 2. Scale 1:4. Drawing: Stefan Larsson.

been suggested on the basis of the absence of form types belonging in the subsequent period.¹⁴⁸ Another explanation for the absence of new variants is that communication with potters in the country of origin was broken. There then arose a discrepancy between the conservatism of the potters who retained the old forms in Lund and those who worked for a market in eastern England.

A simpler type of ware with the same origin can be added to the glazed pottery. In the same town and period we find unglazed cooking and storage pots of Anglo-Scandinavian origin in eastern England.¹⁴⁹ This has not yet been studied in depth, which makes the provenance of individual pots more uncertain than in the case of the Stamford-like ware. The vessels belong in a tradition that can be referred to types from Thetford and Torksey in eastern England, within the boundaries of the old Danelaw.¹⁵⁰ Other forms from the same area are found

¹⁴⁸ Larsson 2000, p. 81.

¹⁴⁹ Vandrup Martens 1992; Roslund 1997b.

¹⁵⁰ McCarthy & Brooks 1988, pp. 151ff.

among the sherds, but their place of origin has not yet been identified. The manufacturing process of the Lund pots has not been ascertained, but in the homeland they were made using a variety of techniques. Of the Thetford ware the smaller cooking pots were turned while the bigger storage pots were built up by hand. Their distribution all over the Danelaw shows a strong tradition which is dated to the eleventh century and the early twelfth century. The Torksey pots are hand-shaped and then finished on a turntable or else entirely thrown. They start in the tenth century but continue into the next century. To obtain the typical concave base of the two types, the vessel was trimmed with a knife standing upside down on the turntable. An example of Torksey type has undergone petrological investigation and been shown to contain temper of granite, meaning that it was made outside England.¹⁵¹ Since quaternary clays and the use of granite as temper are widespread in much of the Scandinavian peninsula, it is not absolutely certain that the pot was made in Lund, but given the historical context we may assume that this is extremely likely to have been the case. The contexts from the Apotekaren 4 block give a dating for the Anglo-Scandinavian cooking and storage pots from the first half of the eleventh century until the time when they cease, in the last quarter of the century.

The time during which Anglo-Scandinavian pottery was used in Lund ranges from the conquest of England in 1013 by Sven Forkbeard and his son Knut, through the reigns of Knut and Sven Estridsen. Within this time span (*c.* 1018–1074) Knut (Canute the Great) established a North Sea empire comprising Norway, Denmark, and England. At the death of Knut in 1035 the realm he had gone to such pains to build up was divided, and in 1066 the possibility of a Norse reconquest was lost after the Normans' attack on the south coast and their rapid establishment in the rest of the country. The shared interests may be said to have ended when Sven Estridsen refused a request for help against William the Conqueror from a group of Anglo-Saxon nobles. Plans of reconquest died definitively in Odense in 1086, when the common people rejected the idea of a campaign against England by Knut the Holy.

A look at the chronological spread of the different wares suggests that the production climaxed after Knut's death. There may be different reasons for this. We must reckon with interpretations in terms

¹⁵¹ Hulthén 1995.

of excavation techniques and historical explanations. If we accept the dating, potters from eastern England may have lived in the town for a few decades after the break-up of the North Sea empire. They retained the old forms but were not influenced by innovation in the old country since there was no longer any communication between potters.

In what context did the potters come to Lund? Judging by the socio-economic circumstances, it is not likely that individually acting craftsmen made their way to Lund in order to establish themselves on a new market. In England the situation for a potter was comparable to that of a tenant farmer or a badly-off freehold farmer with a primarily agrarian economy. Even if the expanding English towns from the end of the tenth century provided fertile soil for specialization, the potters lived in a state of feudal dependence. The image of the potter as an innovative entrepreneur who boarded a ship to tackle a new market in the eastern parts of Knut's empire seems anachronistic in relation to this.

My opinion is also based on the situation in which an Anglo-Scandinavian potter lived in Lund. The social conditions for craft in medieval Lund were thoroughly examined in the 1980s.¹⁵² At the start of the period during which the Anglo-Scandinavian potters lived in the town there was limited specialization of craft. The same person could do work in different materials. Throughout the eleventh century the close connection to an overlord was characteristic. Manufacture was part of the social display by the upper stratum of society, and the producers were involved in an intricate system of dependence. I wish to stress here that research has chiefly dealt with the manufacture of sophisticated products such as composite combs and jewellery, whereas pottery was on a much lower level and must have been more closely attached to the household than to workshops. An Anglo-Scandinavian ceramic tradition at this time reinforces the picture of the personal presence of people from England in the early Lund.¹⁵³ The master minters mentioned at the start of the chapter, one of whom was Leofwine from Lincoln in eastern England, were probably accompanied by a number of people when they moved to their new domicile. Among the members of the group there was a potter or two who had links with people in the hird or the Anglo-Scandinavian specialists. The master minters were

¹⁵² Christophersen 1980; Andrén 1985.

¹⁵³ Andrén & Carelli 1998.

one such group of specialized craftsmen; it has been estimated that as many as 24 of them worked in Lund and at least half of these came from England. At a wooden church in Lund dated to the mid-eleventh century there were hints that other experts came from the same area. Bells were cast for the church using a technique employed for the cathedral in Winchester half a century later.¹⁵⁴ Yet another English religious connection is the church of St Botulf in Lund. The cult of this saint is clearly of English origin. It reached its zenith in the late tenth century and the early eleventh century in eastern England, in the Danelaw.¹⁵⁵ At Viborg in Jutland there is a church dedicated to Botulf, and Anglo-Scandinavian cooking pots have also been found in the same town.¹⁵⁶ The Anglo-Scandinavian guests in Lund or in other parts of the Danish kingdom could visit churches where they prayed to their own saints. Another plausible or parallel explanation, bearing in mind the circumstances in England and Lund, is that Danish lords and their vassals returned to their estates in the homeland and may then have brought with them members of their *familia* with a knowledge of pottery manufacture.

The example from Lund shows two interesting aspects of foreign technologies and forms. The manufacture of glazed pottery and the simple cooking and storage pots was closely connected to the personal presence of Anglo-Scandinavian individuals. The stay in Lund also shows that the innovation process cannot be reduced to consisting of evolutionistic improvements. When the political and social base for their presence was withdrawn, the makers and consumers of this particular type of domestic pottery disappeared. It is interesting to see how knowledge of throwing, glazing and kiln firing was completely forgotten, only to arise in a new social context at the end of the twelfth century in the form of the south Scandinavian 'early red glazed earthenware', lacking any contact with the old craft tradition. It was not until the close of the twelfth century that English ceramics returned to the town, this time in the form of jugs made in England.

In his work with the medieval pottery in Sandomierz, Andrzej Buko used a contextual or holistic method to define stylistic tradition.¹⁵⁷ By narrowing down attributes found on vessels with different functions

¹⁵⁴ Roslund 1987.

¹⁵⁵ Anglert 1995, p. 155.

¹⁵⁶ Hjerminde 1987, pp. 77ff.

¹⁵⁷ Buko 1981, 1990.

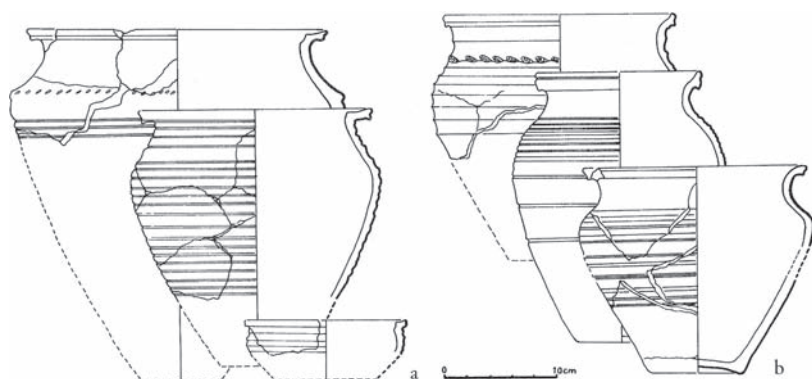


Fig. 9. Vessels from Sandomierz, Poland. (a) Vessel made following a tradition from Great Poland, (b) local vessel forms. After Buko 1990, p. 342, fig. 155.

he was able to define what he calls *vessel shape families*. Of five vessel families used in the south Polish town from the mid-tenth century to the mid-thirteenth century, he distinguished two as differing from the local types (fig. 9). On a micromorphological level the vessel bodies and rims on the non-local pots have sharp angles and the decoration consists of deep horizontal grooves which sometimes come close to plastic decoration. The raw material used was clays with a high iron content which gave the pots a brownish-black surface instead of lighter tone of the so-called 'white' clay that was all-prevailing in the area. On the basis of the distinguishing attributes and similarities to traditions in Great Poland under the Piasts, Buko arrives at the conclusion that the two foreign vessel families originate there. This agrees historically with a southward expansion from the Great Poland area in the eleventh century. The tradition was maintained for about 150 years.

In Přerov, Moravia, pottery originating in Great Poland has likewise been found.¹⁵⁸ The vessels have tall, cylindrical necks and some have richly decorated moulding on the shoulder (fig. 10). Other similar Polish types have been found in Libice nad Cidlinou in central Bohemia, slightly further to the north. The vessels produced locally were tempered with graphite, while the imported ones lacked this inclusion. It has not been ascertained whether the potters of Great Poland used local graphite-free clays or the vessels were brought here. The tradition is alien to Moravia and is believed to have come to the district at the

¹⁵⁸ Staňa 1991, pp. 74f., 1994, p. 285.

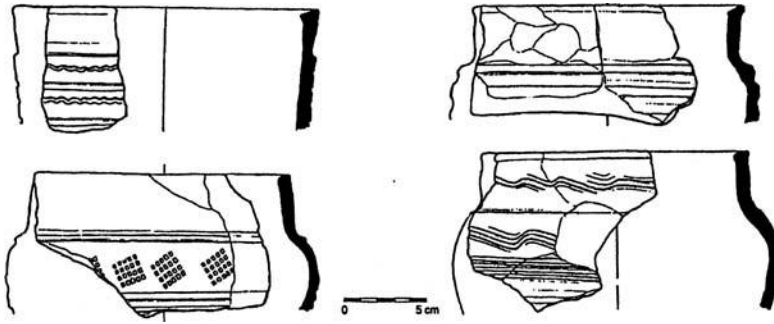


Fig. 10. Polish forms represented among the vessels from Přerov, Moravia.
After Staňa 1994, p. 283, Abb. 17.

start of the eleventh century when the Polish king Bolesław Chrobry wielded power in the area. After the Piasts had lost control, the alien ceramic tradition also disappeared. Despite its distinctiveness, the style did not catch on among Moravian potters.

The different examples of foreign ceramic traditions being present in Lund, Sandomierz, and Přerov have some crucial implications for the continued argumentation about the origin of Baltic ware in Scandinavia. I am fully aware that this manufacture took place in three different historical contexts. There are nevertheless powerful arguments for removing pottery manufacture from a trade perspective and including it in a sphere connected to the household and a specific *familia*. A culturally acquired code is deeply rooted in the choice of technique, form, and decoration for the vessels. What the examples also show is that it was the personal presence that was important for the transfer. The choice of clays was grounded in a tradition, but the potters had to use what the local geology provided. The cooking pots in the three geographically separated examples from the eleventh century were made by visiting potters. It was not a case of receptive elements in the local population copying the foreign tradition.

CONCLUSIONS

Baltic ware has long been regarded as a purely Slavic product which arrived in Scandinavia through trade, freely immigrating potters, or as a result of a transfer from Slavic to Scandinavian potters. There are evidently many possibilities, and it is my intention to try to capture the dynamic nature of the interaction between the two traditions in order

to limit the diversity and demarcate regional differences. It has therefore been necessary in this chapter to discuss in detail the theoretical and methodological conditions for the continued studies.

In the Middle Ages people were aware of and utilized differences in material culture in their social behaviour. In the display of attributes they used objects which we find in archaeological contexts. Because people's actions have left traces to interpret, it is possible for this social category to be brought into the medieval archaeological dialogue. Experiences from the disciplines of history and anthropology have made us attentive to situationally created identity. At the same time, a reconnection with ethnicity associated with genealogical origin or family ties has replaced an essentialist outlook. In the tension between an *instrumental* and a *primordial* cause of social categorization it is possible to find an analytical path via a contextual method. The cultural expressions are always tied to a course of events specific to a time and a place. The platform on which we can work today in ethnicity studies comprises both distinct signals and vaguer expressions. In this way it has become easier to capture both the overarching process of change and the reproduction of identity at an interpersonal level within the group. Learning how to behave starts in childhood, but the pattern of culture is constantly exposed to change from both outside and inside.

In Scandinavia cultural identity was touched on throughout the 1980s and 1990s, overtly or latently, but few concrete studies were conducted. To grasp the regional variation that we can detect during the Iron Age it would be fruitful to do the same kind of studies as performed for earlier periods. By adding a cultural content in the form of traditions of artefacts, graves, or settlement to the topographical framework one gains an element which can be used to ascertain the degree of regional interaction. The same applies to the Middle Ages, a period which tends to be regarded as culturally homogeneous. In the written sources we find a completely different picture, as we do in the archaeological record if we bother to search for regional contrasts. It is also important, instead of focusing solely on theoretical discussions, to try to perform applied studies since cultural identity varies depending on the context to which the process belongs.

In the wider research field of cultural identity, my own interest concerns processes of interaction and the transfer of cultural features. Evidence that guests from other culture areas lived here can be obtained by combining experiences from the discussion of style with the empirical evidence, the domestic pottery. Cultural identity, style, and cultural

transfer are inseparable if we are to understand how the process happened. In the links between them lies the verbalization of what different groups of vessels look like, a typology. To be able to find analogies or contrasts, the same language must be used for all find complexes. The language must moreover be so rich in nuances that differences at the micro-level emerge. Only then does it become possible to discover genuine Slavic pottery, Baltic ware, and hybrids with their roots in a Late Viking Age tradition. On the basis of a fine division it is then possible to look for general traditions of form and decoration with a regional foundation. If the possibility exists it is particularly interesting to see whether vessel families occur within Baltic ware, groups with a common style and decoration. Such a tradition shows that there was an idea of what vessels should look like among several potters inspired by the Slavs who came to the place.

Through differences in style it should be possible to distinguish between directly imported Slavic vessels and Scandinavian reproductions. The dynamic over time in stylistic development is discernable in the closeness of the stylistic analogies between Baltic vessels and the continued manufacture on Slavic soil. If there is a direct contemporary resemblance, the contacts were probably close; if the forms and decorations differ, then there was no social interaction at the level of domestic pottery. Before the Baltic ware can be analysed, however, the empirical foundation must be made firmer. In methodological terms this means that a broad and deep study of Slavic pottery and Baltic ware is necessary.

If we apply Shennan's and Wiessner's ideas inspired by sociological models of *guided variation*, *bias*, and *social identification via comparison* to the Baltic ware, different artefact patterns and stylistic developments ought to be able to reveal how the transfer took place. When new stylistic elements occur in Scandinavian pottery, some kind of transfer has taken place. A transfer depends on a great many factors. The relation between giver and receiver is of the greatest importance, as is the situation in the society that adopts the innovation. Reluctance to communicate can obstruct a transfer for a long time. Factors stimulating a transfer seem to be already-established ties of friendship and the frequency with which the object occurs. If it is positive for the social value of the group or the individual, it will be rapidly assimilated. Reproduction of the style then takes place within the household, either vertically between parents and children or horizontally between equals working closely together, usually through the transfer of tacit knowledge.

Technical innovation and trade have been accepted as explanations for the sudden appearance of foreign stylistic elements in medieval contexts. In the Early Middle Ages we should consider the possibility that pottery was produced in a new cultural environment within the framework of the household. Potters were of low status, and it is reasonable to assume that the potter in the years 900 to 1300 was in a feudal relationship to the person who was the primary user of the vessels. The pottery that was produced at household level, whether for personal use or for exchange, was closely connected to an individual's *habitus*. If the guests designed pots in accordance with the mental ideal and the technology that they had brought with them from home, the origin should be evident from the fragments that we archaeologists excavate and document. We will then be on the track of the potter's origin. In the next two chapters I lay the foundation for a comparative analysis of the two ceramic traditions.

CHAPTER THREE

PREPARING THE GIFT

As we saw in the previous chapter, in the Early Middle Ages there was already an awareness of differences in the material culture of other peoples. The modes of expression differed in time and place, but this awareness existed as a part of everyday social practice, and it created and recreated the identity of the individual and the group. Especially at moments when encounters with others increase the need for social distinction, the signals become clear, although I wish to stress my criticism of an excessively instrumental view.

How does the formation of a cultural identity function in a situation where the public sphere does not compel it? If we accept the statement that all material culture is active in the dynamic creation of social identity, then all utility objects are involved in the building of distinctions of cultural affiliation, gender, age, and status.¹ This means that we can find expressions of cultural identity and perhaps even ethnic awareness in the closed space around the family. The most intimate level for people is the household and life around the hearth. A place like this can be difficult to associate with distinct expressions of cultural identity, but at the same time this is where taboos and ideas about what is edible and how food should be prepared are accentuated. People cooked their food in simple clay pots which were so integrated in life that they were handled without reflection. This was particularly obvious when the pots were made by the same hands as those which placed the meat in the pots. Ideas about form and decoration must have been so integrated in the individual's *habitus* that he or she had a highly specific image of what a pot should look like. It is therefore interesting to observe the change in domestic pottery in the Slavic cultural sphere from the fifth century onwards. There the potters shaped new styles and developed new techniques associated with overall structural changes. Before we turn to look at well-known places in present-day Sweden, it is important to investigate the origin of the Baltic pottery.

¹ Jones 1997, p. 119.

The first section of this chapter deals with Early and Middle Slavic pottery from a broad geographical and chronological perspective. The text is not merely descriptive. The pottery is part of an ideologically coloured dialogue about specialization and division of labour in the emerging Slavic states. I therefore emphasize the link between changes to pottery and the socio-economic interpretations in which they have resulted.

The second section is a presentation of the regional and chronological development of Late Slavic pottery. The field of vision shrinks, while the degree of detail increases to provide as rich a backdrop as possible for searching for analogies. Since one of the weaknesses of earlier attempts to tackle Baltic pottery results from indistinct comparisons, I emphasize the contexts of Late Slavic pottery. The description is specific with regard to time and place, with a brief introduction to each site. Great importance is attached to pictorial illustrations of forms and to numerical information where it exists.

Let us therefore cross the continent in search of the origin of Baltic pottery.

THE IDEOLOGICAL POTTER'S WHEEL MODELS TO EXPLAIN CHANGES TO EARLY AND MIDDLE SLAVIC POTTERY

The first time we encounter Slavic groups on the continent is in written sources from the sixth century. In this context it was the obvious linguistic community that was crucial for the definition of the barbarians who appeared on the borders of the Byzantine Empire on the Danube. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, research on the Slavs was still profoundly influenced by linguistics and philology. The evidence for the existence and distribution of this cultural group, however, finds its strongest arguments in archaeology. Among the material remains, pottery has played a significant part. In the chapter 'The Power of the Past' I showed how the view of the Slavs has changed in archaeological and historical research in Germany, Poland, and Russia. Each age has its own interpretation of the past, more or less bound to ideological motives. Since pottery is a copious and virtually indestructible kind of source material, it was brought into the discussion at an early stage. In this section I present the development of Early and Middle Slavic pottery as a background to the Late Slavic tradition. It may seem exaggerated to begin the survey in Migration Period Europe in

view of the fact that it is the Late Slavic pottery from the end of the tenth century that is interesting for the establishment of Baltic pottery in Scandinavia. Yet this account is important for several reasons. In Scandinavian research it is still Evald Schuldt's classification of the Slavic pottery in Mecklenburg from 1956 that is used in the search for analogies to Scandinavian finds. In the surveys of research into Slavic pottery that have been presented by German and Polish archaeologists in the subsequent decades there is a large amount of new information showing regional variation and chronological relations within the world of West Slavic form which had not been noticed before.² At the same time, continental scholars trying to explaining changes of style and technology in the pottery of Slavic culture have been confronted with the same problems that Scandinavian colleagues face when they have tried to explain the origin of Baltic pottery. The hypotheses are based on similar assumptions about immigration, assimilation of style, and changes to society in both cultural spheres. The variation in continental design led scholars to attribute vessel types to specific tribes in the West Slav area.³ Similarly, Baltic pottery has been generally attributed to the Slavs as an ethnic group, and ware of this type has been regarded as imported or manufactured by people from these areas who were personally present in Scandinavia.

In the fifth century A.D., a group of people appeared just west of the Dnepr with a material culture that is associated with a Slavic identity. In the Danube area, which Slav tribes reached in the sixth century, pottery of high technical quality was produced under the influence of the late classical and Byzantine ceramic tradition. The link between this and the changes on the coast of the Baltic Sea have not been clearly illuminated in Scandinavian research. This is yet another reason for painting a more detailed background to what happened in the Middle Ages.

The belief that a specific material culture was closely associated with a defined group of people was for a long time the basis of culture-historical archaeology. The shift towards a view in which ethnicity played a more dynamic role in contemporary social categorization has also affected the view of the emergence of a Slavic identity. Instead

² Biermann 1997; Brather 1996; Kempke 1984; Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, 1986; Parczewski 1993.

³ Herrmann 1985 (1970), pp. 24–25, Abb. 6 and 7.

of a people with a single origin, the ethnification of the population of Eastern Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries can explain the rise of a cultural group with the overall name of Slavs.⁴ The pottery that reflects the changes of this living culture in time and place may have highlighted the Slavs as an ethnic group at the time. Although it has been ascribed great significance for cultural affiliation by scholars since the end of the nineteenth century, however, it is necessary to ask whether the Slavs themselves in the Middle Ages perceived the same distinction. The question is a rhetorical one since it is today's researchers who have to answer it on the basis of their knowledge of how material culture functions in maintaining an identity. The pottery has been viewed as an example of emblematic style because of the flexibility of the material and its important function in maintaining life.⁵ From an extreme point of view, it has been the sole key artefact for identifying Slavic culture.⁶ The style that characterized Slavic pottery after the early undecorated types must have been distinguishable from the traditions of the surrounding peoples even at the time when it was made.

Descriptions of historical processes in archaeology often give the impression that artefacts or architecture lived lives of their own without human involvement. It is therefore important to point out that it was people and ideas, not pots, that moved through forests and across water. Likewise, explanations for changes in the set of vessels can be perceived as evolutionist, with simpler forms replaced by technically more advanced products. The establishment of new forms and techniques instead expresses a development with its basis in social practice. Variation in material culture was caused by changes in the society where it was used.

If we sum up the reasons why this look far back into time is necessary, some stand out clearly. Firstly, there is a need to add new knowledge about chronological and regional differences within Slavic culture in general and pottery in particular. Secondly, it is necessary to be broadly familiar with the long-term development of continental ceramics. The chief reason, however, is that the models to explain changes in the Early and Middle Slavic pottery can provide new material for the discussion of the occurrence of Baltic pottery outside the Slavic areas.

⁴ Goehrke 1992, pp. 19ff. with reference to Lesman 1989; Barford 2001; Curta 2001.

⁵ Kobyliński 1989, p. 306.

⁶ Rusanova 1976.

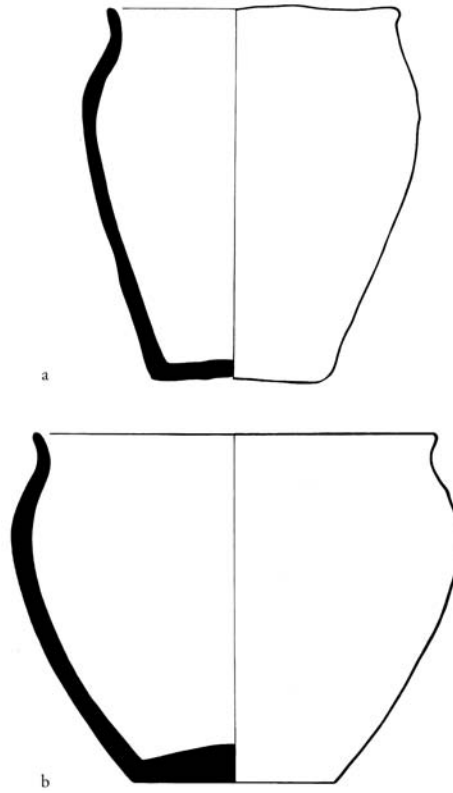


Fig. 11. Vessels of (a) Prague-Korchak type and (b) Sukow-Dziedzice type. Scale 1:4. After Parczewski 1993, Kempke 1984.

From the Danube to the Baltic

Within the area where the Slavic identity developed, people used simple, hand-made household pottery of *Prague-Korchak* type. The pots are slim and oblong in shape, with the largest body diameter at the upper part of the pot and an everted or short vertical rim (fig. 11a). Rims bent inwards also occur to a small extent.⁷ The origin of this ware is associated with the emergence of an ethnic group whose material culture also included house types, ovens, and burial rituals. The oldest examples are found in the area around the middle Dnestr and the upper Prut in the fifth century.⁸ In the search for its origin, the Kiev culture on the middle

⁷ Rusanova 1976; Parczewski 1993, p. 43 and works cited there.

⁸ Parczewski 1993, pp. 62ff.

Dnepr has been held up as a predecessor. From this area the ceramic tradition spread further west and south during the sixth century.

For both West and East Slavs, the Danube area was a greenhouse from which shoots were taken and grafted on to their own tradition. There were both hand-made and turntable-finished pots side by side as early as the sixth century.⁹ Ribbed pottery of Tornow type was a step towards improved technology that came from the south. The development of the rounded shoulders of Late Slavic pottery with typical decoration of lines and wavy bands was inspired by the same area, but it proceeded from a different group of ceramics originating in a Late Roman-Avar-Slavic cultural tradition.¹⁰ In the area of today's Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary the provincial Roman tradition lived on in the material culture in close interaction with Byzantium. The population developed in the seventh century into a mixed group, with people whose material remains in today's Romania are designated the Ipotești-Ciureli-Cîndești culture. The use of ancient techniques in what were now Byzantine border zones spread to other peoples who arrived there. Already in the second half of the seventh century there are Avar inhumation graves with wheel-made pottery, with gently S-shaped shoulders, decorated with wavy bands, wavy lines, and horizontal lines.¹¹ Similar finds come from graves in Slovakia, south-east Austria, and Hungary, where the proportion of pots shaped on a slow turntable increases in the Late Avar period, *c.* 710–800. In the Slavic cultural area the pottery underwent further development. A representative of this is the *Danube* type which was made on a turntable in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The problem of describing the development of pottery in the area between the Carpathians and the Danube is that the research tradition here differs from that in Germany and Poland. In the latter countries the pottery is categorized according to Schuldt's system, with names taken from the first find sites, and the vessel tradition there is homogeneous, with the same types represented over large areas for long periods. To the south scholars refer to regional types, and there are only a few overall forms. The reason for this is an early development towards local centres to which ceramic production was attached, with standardization and

⁹ Parczewski 1993, p. 66.

¹⁰ Staňa 1994, p. 290; Curta 2001.

¹¹ Daim 1994, p. 36.

a limitation of the consumption area as a consequence.¹² A common division is based on the link to different phases in the development of strongholds, with *Alt-*, *Mittel-*, and *Junburgwallzeit* also corresponding to technological and stylistic changes.¹³ The presentation of the pottery in the Czech and Slovak republics is therefore also more general in the description of the styles and decorations (figs. 12 and 13).

In southern Moravia there were hand-made Slavic pots as early as the start of the sixth century.¹⁴ In the seventh century the slow turntable came into use, and wavy bands and horizontal lines adorned the bodies of the pots. From the late eighth century and the early ninth century people began to produce pottery with everted rims, gentle shoulders, and decorated with grooves, a typological predecessor of Late Slavic pottery. In Bohemia and Moravia there was also the tradition of ribbed vessels like the *Dolní Věstonice* type in the ninth century (figs. 13d and 13e). From the first half of the ninth century specialists appeared in workshops, busy with improved production methods. All the forms follow a similar stylistic tradition. One of them, the *Blučina* type with a distribution in southern Moravia and southern Slovakia, has all the characteristics that later became typical of both West and East Slavic pottery (fig. 13a).¹⁵ The vessels have an everted rim and gently rounded transition at the shoulder. The decoration consists of grooves and wavy lines which sometimes cover the whole body. Typical decoration is a wavy line at the neck zone, with horizontal lines under it followed by a wavy line with greater impedance than the upper line. The work was done on a slow turntable, as is clear from finds of base marks and horizontal traces over the whole body of the pot. Simpler vessels of *March* type had wavy lines which were lower and not as accentuated as on the contemporary *Blučina* type, and the most common decorative element is a low wavy line placed between two lines (figs. 13f and 13g). The production of both types gives a professional impression. Development during the subsequent two centuries shows a close link to the earlier design tradition.

In north-west Bohemia, finds reveal the manufacture of Early Slavic hand-made pottery in the second quarter of the sixth century. In the sixth and seventh centuries pots of Danube type were also made here, as

¹² Staňa 1995, p. 82.

¹³ Brather 2000.

¹⁴ Staňa 1995, p. 90, fig. 2.

¹⁵ Poulik 1948.

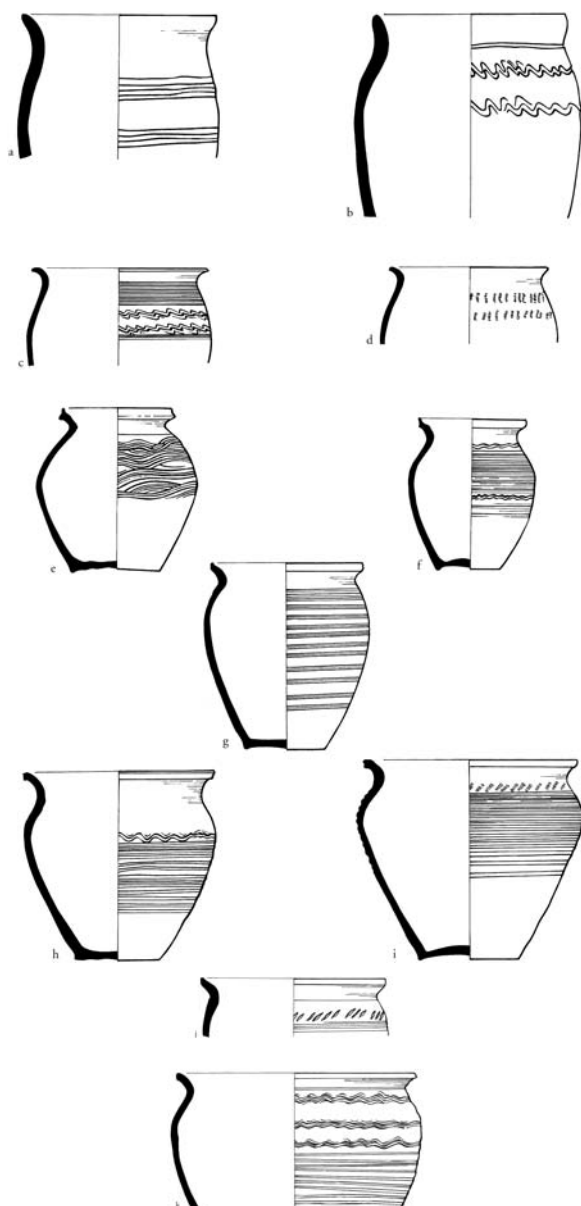


Fig. 12. Form types from Moravia representing a selection of a larger number of regional types. The changes in form show the typological and technical shift towards forms with typically Late Slavic features. (a–b) seventh to eighth centuries, (c–d) eighth century to the first half of the ninth century, (e–f) second half of the ninth century, (g–i) first half of the tenth century, (j–k) second half of the tenth century. Scale 1:4. After Staňa 1994.

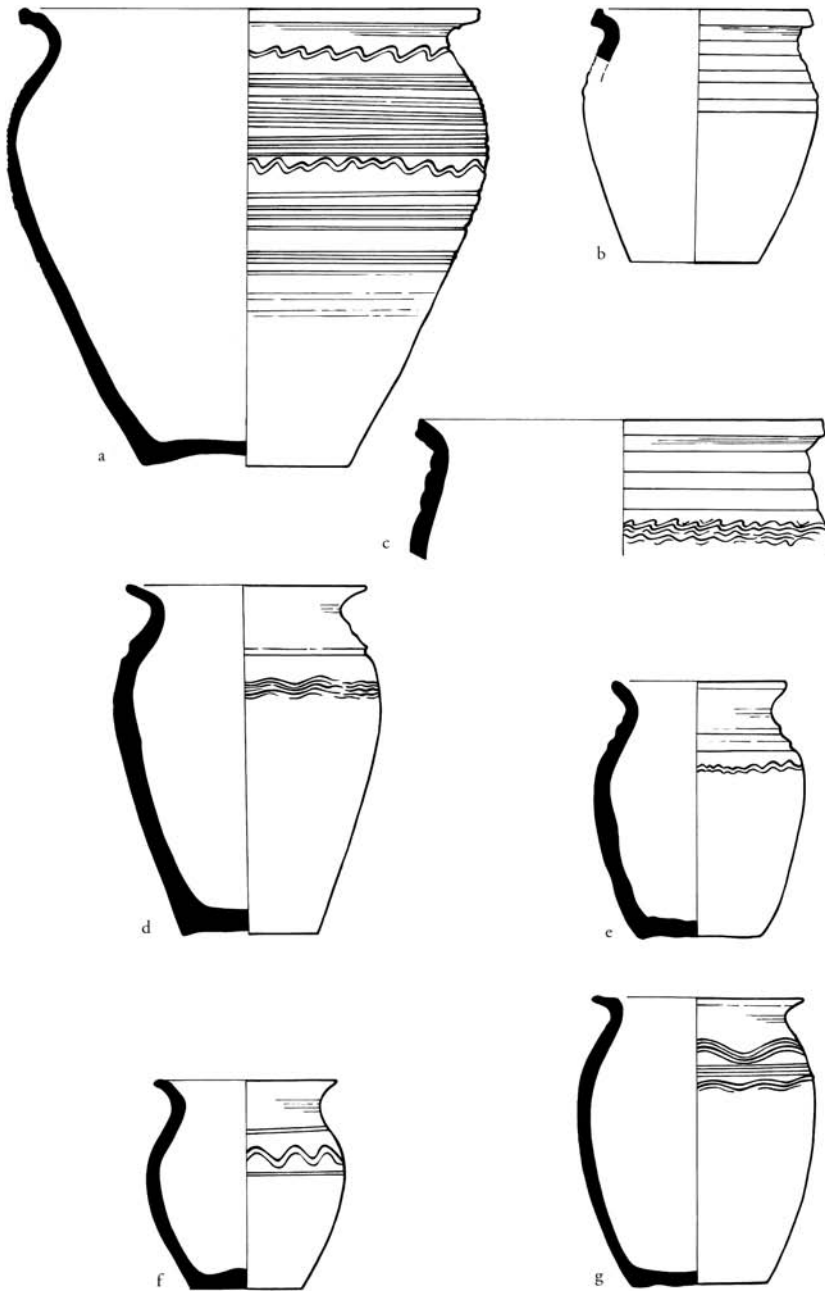


Fig. 13. Vessel types from Bohemia. (a) Blučina type, (b–c) Zabuřany type, (d–e) Dolní Věstonice type, (f–g) March type. Scale 1:4. After Staňa 1994, Biermann 1997, Galuška 1995, Bubeník & Meduna 1994.

in Moravia. During the ninth century and up to the mid-tenth century, ceramic technology developed in terms of both quality and quantity under the influence of the early Přemyslid state.¹⁶ Vessels of *Libočany* and *Žabrušany* type reflect two of the traditions in the areas where regional forms were produced in the period 850–1000. Everted rims, swelling vessel bodies, and decoration such as wavy bands, horizontal grooves, and wavy lines predominate (figs. 13b and 13c).

The development of pottery made its way further north in Europe, through similar technological steps under the influence of both Germanic and Slavic neighbours. However, the forms that developed were different from the southern ones, and the time when the change occurred was slightly later. Among the earliest was the *Sukow-Dziedzice* pot with its bulging, slightly biconical shape with everted or short vertical rims (fig. 11b). In Poland we find datings in the late sixth century or early seventh century as the start of the tradition.¹⁷ Already around 700 there was a regional variant of the undecorated Early Slavic pottery in the area from Schleswig-Holstein in the west to Pomorze/Pomerania in the east, while the boundary to the south with the Prague-Korchak type ran along the rivers Havel and Warta. The type thus had its westernmost extent in the course of this century.¹⁸ The differences in vessel proportions between the southern Prague-Korchak type and the northern variant have been used as a basis for a discussion concerning the true origin of Early Slavic culture on the Baltic coast. Settlement and mortuary rites also differ somewhat from the southern tradition, and the development in the north has been seen as a reflection of a second wave of immigration. Another explanatory model focusing on continuity between the Przeworsk culture in Poland and the pots in this Early Slavic culture is considered less plausible today.¹⁹ Instead the development can be viewed as a result of a late, gradual change within the Slavic cultural group under the influence of undecorated Saxon pottery.²⁰ The perception of a late origin is based on the fact that the *Sukow-Dziedzice* type mostly occurs in find contexts together with later vessel types, and in small numbers, which suggests both a

¹⁶ Bubeník & Meduna 1994, p. 186.

¹⁷ Barford 2001, p. 66.

¹⁸ Kempke 1984, p. 81; Brather 1996a, p. 176.

¹⁹ Kobylński 1989, p. 307; Parczewski 1993, p. 64.

²⁰ Brather 1996a, p. 206.

small population and a short time when it was made as the only type of pot.²¹ Just before 800, and in the west not until the ninth century, it declined in numbers at the same time as comb-decorated pots with more clearly accentuated forms came into use.

Feldberg-Kędrzyno pottery was manufactured from the mid-eighth century to the second half of the ninth century, with forms developed out of the earlier Sukow type.²² It is biconical with the rim turned out sharply (fig. 14b). The origin in the Sukow is revealed in the undecorated Feldberg pots which are found alongside the decorated vessels. These have fine lines, wavy bands, and marks made on the edge of the rim and shoulder using a toothed implement or comb. The distribution is clearly regional within the West Slav area, showing concentrations in eastern Mecklenburg and Pomerania on the Baltic coast, down to Spree-Havelland in the south. Smaller quantities are found in Holstein. The transition from the simpler undecorated types to the technically more advanced Feldberg pottery is considered to be due to social changes which also affected several other spheres of the material culture. In this period the Slavic identity in the area was accentuated, while Carolingian pottery simultaneously inspired the indigenous decorative practices.²³

The oldest example of *Fresendorf-Wolin* pottery comes from Kędrzyn in Pomerania and is dated to the first half of the ninth century.²⁴ In the coastal zone further west the transition took place slightly later, in mid-century, while the end of the type is usually dated just after 1000. The vessels are beehive-shaped with inverted rims with a typical edge moulding or an undecorated zone a centimetre wide at the mouth of the pot (fig. 15b). The decoration is more spare than on Feldberg pots, consisting of repeated wavy bands, sometimes divided with parallel lines. Fresendorf pottery thus appears slightly later than Feldberg ware and has a different geographical distribution. The core area ranges from northernmost Mecklenburg to westernmost Pomerania, reflecting the late establishment of settlement on Rügen, where the concentration is strongest.²⁵ In Szczecin the Fresendorf forms account for a fraction of

²¹ Brather 1996a, p. 177.

²² See Brather 1996 a for a detailed account.

²³ Brather 1996a, pp. 204ff.

²⁴ Kempke 1984, p. 70.

²⁵ Brather 1993, p. 330, Abb. 5.

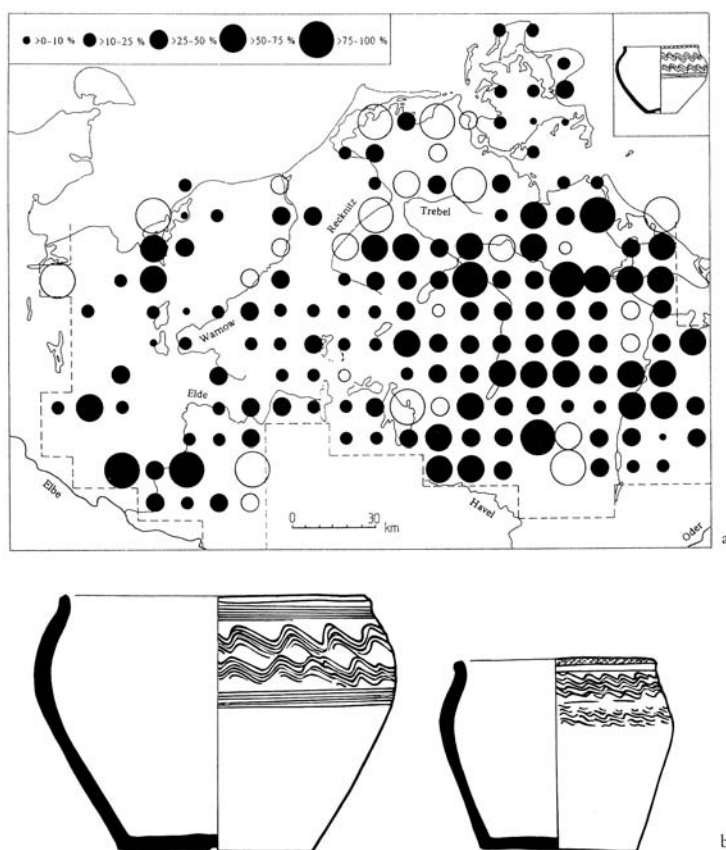


Fig. 14. (a) Distribution of Feldberg ware in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Scale 1:4. After Brather 1993, Abb. 2, (b) Feldberg vessels from Birka. After Brather 1996.

the pottery in the ninth and tenth centuries, but they are found in larger numbers along the coast in western Pomerania, especially in Wolin.²⁶

In the area from Mecklenburg in the north via Lausitz to Great Poland in the south, potters began in the ninth century to make vessels of *Menkendorf-Szczecin* type. The body of the pot is fashioned by hand, tall and with the shoulder placed in the upper part of the vessel. The rims are everted, vertical, or inverted. A particularly characteristic decoration is done with a toothed implement in the form of wavy bands, zigzag lines and cross patterns carved in with vertical movements (fig. 16b). A tendency towards a quantitative dominance of Menkendorf pots

²⁶ Losiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 193.

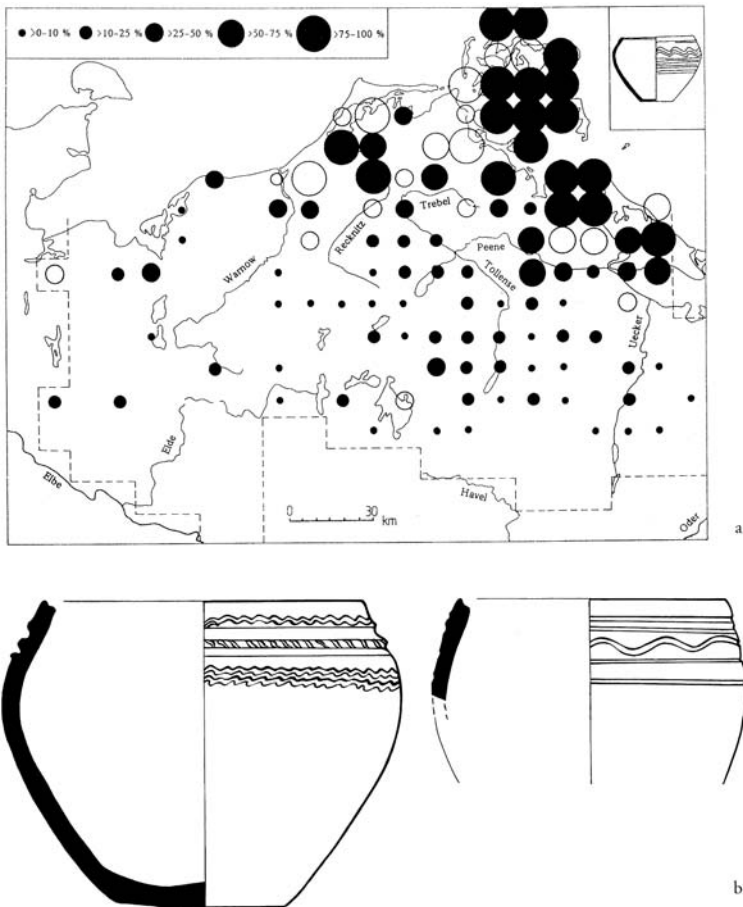


Fig. 15. (a) Distribution of the Fresendorf tradition in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Scale 1:4. After Barther 1993, Abb. 5. (b) Fresendorf vessels. After Schuldt 1965, Łosiński and Rogosz 1986.

inland, as opposed to the more coastal Fresendorf type, reveals the differing regional distribution of these Middle Slavic ware groups. Chronologically they are mainly from the ninth and tenth centuries, but small numbers occur until the mid-eleventh century.

For Scandinavian contacts, the observation of regional differences between the Feldberg, Fresendorf, and Menkendorf groups is important.²⁷ All are distributed from Holstein in the west, Pomerania in

²⁷ Brather 1993, 1996.

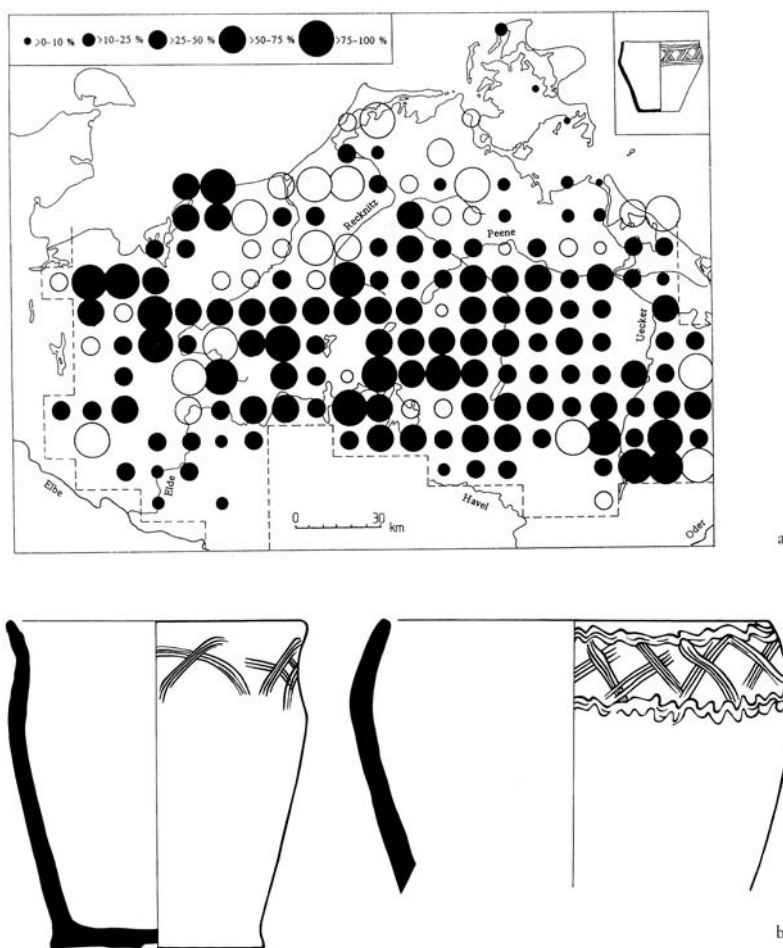


Fig. 16. (a) Distribution of the Menkendorf tradition in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Scale 1:4. After Brather 1993, Abb. 4. (b) Menkendorf vessels from Starigard/Oldenburg. After Kempke 1984.

the east, and the Havel area to the south (fig. 14a, 15a, 16a). Within this area the largest share of Feldberg ware and the best in qualitative terms is found in eastern Mecklenburg and western Pomerania, of Menkendorf in the inland from Holstein to Pomerania, and of Fresendorf on the coast, very closely associated with Rügen, Usedom, Wolgast, and Wolin.

Apart from the Early and Middle Slavic vessel types in Mecklenburg and Pomerania mentioned above, other types occur further away from

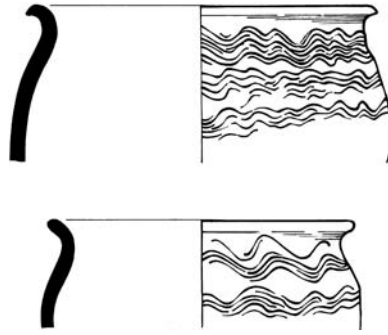


Fig. 17. Rüssen vessels. Scale 1:4. After Brachmann 1994.

the coastal zone. The *Leipzig* group in the area between the Elbe and the Saale is an umbrella term for a regional tradition which displays technological and morphological variation. The *Rüssen* type was produced here as early as around 600 and in the ensuing 150 years or so it acquired a gentle S-shaped profile with the shoulder at the middle of the body (fig. 17).²⁸ The decoration consists of wavy bands which cover the upper part of the vessel. A development of this took place in parallel in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries when the body was given a more distinct biconical form, a hand-smoothed surface, and a faceted rim edge. The late ninth century saw the appearance of the *Rötha* type, which was made on a slow turntable and characterized the Middle Slavic tradition until the Late Slavic period in the early eleventh century (fig. 18). The vessels are tall, with the part above the sharp transition at the shoulder being almost vertical or concave. The rim is faceted and the lower part of the vessel is trimmed to give a thinner wall. The decoration is largely minimized to vertical wavy bands. This latter type provided the foundation for the entire Late Slavic set of pottery in the Elbe-Saale area.

The *Tornow-Klenica* type has a distribution mainly ranging in the west to the boundary of Slavic culture on the Elbe-Saale, in the north to the Spree-Havel area, in the east into Great Poland, in the south and south-east to the Sudeten and Beskydy. The core area, however, is between the Elbe and the Warta.²⁹ The pots are tall with a sharp shoulder placed high up on the body (fig. 19). The rims are sharply

²⁸ Brachmann 1994, p. 107 and p. 108, Abb. 9.

²⁹ Biermann 1997, p. 218.

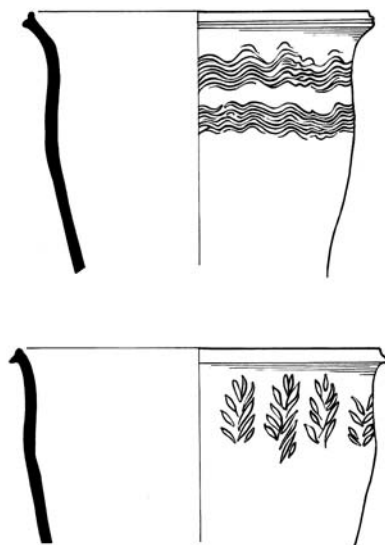


Fig. 18. Rötha vessels. Scale 1:4. After Brachmann 1994.

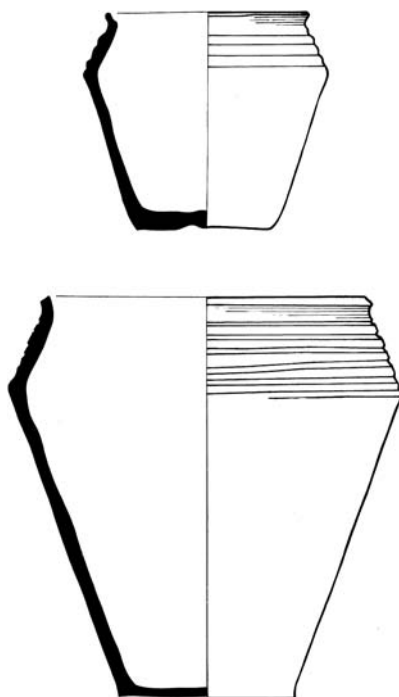


Fig. 19. Tornow vessels. Scale 1:4. After Biermann 1997.

everted and the decoration consists of parallel bulges on the shoulder. As regards technique, they were shaped on a slow turntable, as revealed by the horizontal traces at the rim and shoulder. The characteristic ribbing on the shoulder itself presupposes manufacture on a rotating surface. The fine tempering and firing in a reduced atmosphere mean that it approached a technology characteristic of the Late Slavic tradition.³⁰ Chronologically the group belongs to the ninth century and the early tenth, and it is considered to be the superior Middle Slavic pottery type in the northern Slav area. The group of '*Rippenschulter*' vessels, to which the Tornow type belongs, is scattered over much of the Slavic cultural sphere from Mecklenburg in the north-west down to the Danube. Regional variants of vessels with ribbed shoulders are found in other areas. Pots of *Woldegk* type occur sparsely among the collections of pots from the Middle Slavic period in the ninth and tenth centuries. The core area is in south-east Mecklenburg, bordering to the south on Mark Brandenburg.³¹ The *Groß Raden* type belongs to the same group with bulges but is distributed further inland in Spree-Havelland, while the *Gwieżdżin* type is one element occurring in south-east Pomerania. The improved technology displayed by these types is very clearly southern.³² Shared features in Bohemian forms and the Tornow type are the biconical body, plastic ribs on the shoulder and greatly everted rim. Apart from the morphological similarity, the manner of manufacture is important for understanding the link between the different areas. The argumentation otherwise seems diffusionist, accepting new forms without connecting them to social change.

Several of the vessel types mentioned above are concentrated in today's Germany. The development in the neighbouring Poland was determined in large measure by the directions in which cultural contacts extended. The more northerly parts, such as Pomerania and northern Great Poland, tend to share pottery sets with the German area in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, while Śląsk/Silesia and Little Poland are connected more to the south and west, towards Bohemia-Moravia and the Saale-Oder area. That is why we find Sukow, Feldberg, Tornow, Fresendorf, and Menkendorf forms in the north. In southern Great

³⁰ Biermann 1997, p. 205.

³¹ Kempke 1984, pp. 72ff.

³² See Biermann 1997, pp. 219ff. for a full account.

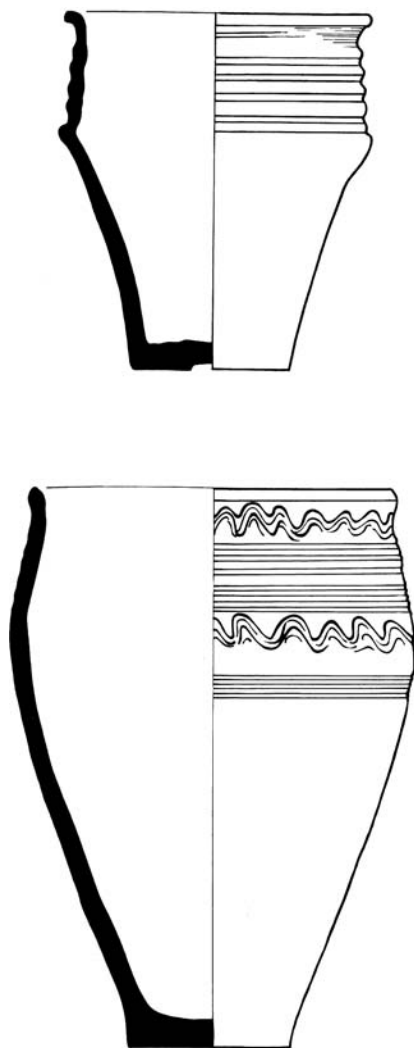


Fig. 20. Vessels from Santok, Great Poland. Second half of the ninth century.
Scale 1:4. After Hilczer-Kurnatowska & Kara 1994.

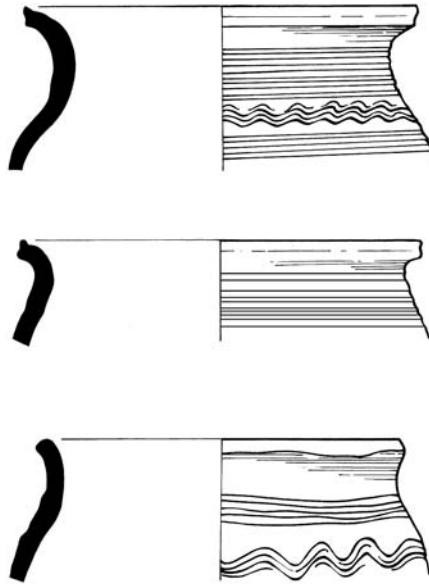


Fig. 21. Vessels from Kraków, Little Poland. Ninth and tenth centuries.
Scale 1:4. After Radwański 1968.

Poland and in Little Poland, by contrast, hand-made pots of Prague-Korchak type were in use from the sixth century to the start or middle of the seventh century, when knowledge of the turntable gradually spread under the influence of the Danube type.³³ Occasional examples of pots were thus rotated on a slow turntable to shape the upper part of the pot while the completely hand-made pots still survived. Both types are undecorated but were manufactured in different ways, with the better-formed ones having traces of after-treatment of the rim on a slow turntable. Between 750 and 850 the dominant vessel forms were produced on a slow turntable with a gentle S-profile, everted rim, with the edges slanted or rounded outwards (fig. 20). The decoration consisted exclusively of wavy lines or bands. Just before 900, in the Kraków area there were gently S-shaped pots with the whole body smoothed off on a slow turntable, and they have the typical Slavic wavy bands and horizontal lines as decoration (fig. 21). The style here approaches a southern tradition from Bohemia and Moravia.

³³ Kurnatowska 1973a, p. 127; Poleski 1994, p. 160.

From the Black Sea to Ladoga

Having followed development in the area between the Elbe, the Wisła/Vistula, and the Danube, we must now turn eastwards to the part of Europe that saw the first clear expressions of Slavic culture. When surveying research from a Scandinavian standpoint it is easy to ignore the fact that the potters in north-west Rus' adopted stylistic elements from the southern part of the kingdom at an early stage. The proximity to cultures with a more advanced mode of production to the south-east must also be brought into the discussion of ceramic development. The link with the *Saltovo-Mayaki* culture, whose material remains coincide with the Khazar khaganate, was especially important in this respect. During the seventh century a state with an ethnically mixed population was established in the area beside the Caspian Sea. In the following century the sphere of interest was expanded to include the region north of the Sea of Azov between the Dnepr and the Volga, with the southern boundary at the Caucasus. The kingdom had its basis in a Turkic nomadic tradition, and with its extensive contacts and tolerant ideology it was an important force in the development of the area from the seventh to the tenth century. The pottery made here was of high quality with a wide range of forms: jugs, amphorae, cooking pots, and tableware.

In the Crimea a new set of vessels appears in the second half of the seventh century, under the influence of Byzantine and Turkic mounted nomads (fig. 22).³⁴ The vessels of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture are made both by hand and on turntables and fired in two-chamber kilns. The cooking pots can be both undecorated and adorned with horizontal lines, wavy bands, and wavy lines. The rims are turned outwards, and already in the seventh century we find base marks like those on pots in the later established Rus'. At settlements in the Crimea, as at other places between the Dnepr and the Don where remains of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture have been found, there were thus specialized potters, established at an early stage, who found a market for their products.

The gradual changes that can be observed in the manufacture in the west do not seem to have existed in these eastern parts.³⁵ When the East Slavic culture appears in the area between the Pripet, the upper Dnestr, and the middle Dnepr in the sixth and seventh centu-

³⁴ Baranov 1990, pp. 23ff.

³⁵ Kurnatowska 1973a, pp. 179ff.

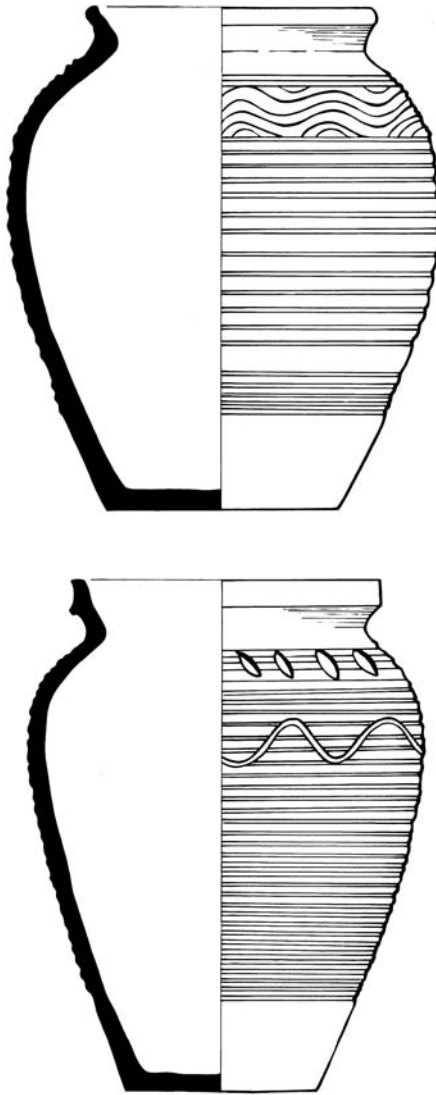


Fig. 22. Cooking vessels from Crimea, seventh to eighth centuries. According to Baranov the pot at the top represents a form showing features of Balkan-Danubian culture on the Moldau, thus an example of stylistic influence coming from the south-west. Scale 1:4. After Baranov 1990.

ries, it has a ceramic tradition comprising only hand-made vessels of *Prague-Korchak* type. The traditions in the material culture continued in the eighth century in the *Luka-Rajkoveckaja* culture west of the Dnepr, while the *Volyncevo* and *Romny-Borshevo* cultures developed east of the river.³⁶ Already in the ninth century there were turntable-shaped vessels of high quality with everted rims, decorated all over with parallel lines and wavy lines in Kiev and the surrounding district (fig. 23).³⁷ Even though pots of better quality circulated, hand-made products were still common in agrarian settings in the early tenth century. In this area we must search for several sources for the change in pottery manufacture. Contacts with the Danube basin in the south-west were important, and the highly advanced Khazar khaganate exerted the same powerful attraction on people in the Romny-Borshevo culture as the Great Moravian state did on other West Slavic peoples. Already in the eighth century 10 per cent of the pots in the graves of the Volyncevo culture were turntable-shaped, and this proportion was even greater in the subsequent Romny culture.³⁸ A chronological difference can be suspected west and east of the Dnepr, with the latter area showing earlier development in the use of the turntable. In the course of the tenth century the two Slavic cultural groups were drawn into the political community that was being developed into the kingdom of Kiev or Rus'. In the establishment of this supremacy, production conditions and settlement structure were changed so that towns with specialized craftsmen emerged. In these southern parts of the kingdom, Kiev was the most important centre of strength. From having been an agrarian area in the sixth and seventh centuries, it developed agglomerated settlement on the middle course of the Dnepr, which became Kiev at the end of the ninth century or around 900.³⁹ Even at this early stage there was a stronghold which was one of the most important rallying points of the Rurikids. A contemporary kiln has been found close to this. Production was therefore of high quality right from this early stage. Potters used a turntable or a wheel, fired the pots in kilns in controlled forms and began to find a market for their products among a growing population. The proportions of the pots vary from squat to

³⁶ Callmer 1981, p. 33; Goehrke 1992, pp. 23ff.

³⁷ Tolochko 1981, p. 299, fig. 130; Goehrke 1992, p. 24.

³⁸ Goehrke 1992, p. 25.

³⁹ Callmer 1981, pp. 35ff.

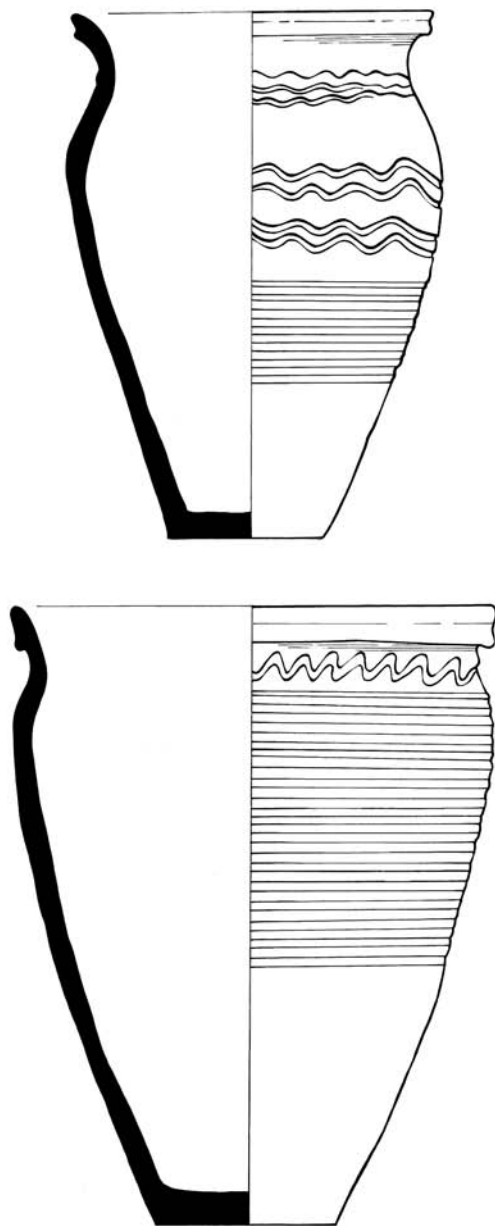


Fig. 23. Vessels from the settlement site of Monastirek on the Dnepr, eighth to tenth centuries. Scale 1:4. After Maksimov & Petrachenko 1988.

oblong with the shoulder placed high up. Already in the ninth century the rims are all everted with rilled edges and a rebate on the inside (to hold a lid). The decoration is confined to horizontal lines, wavy lines, wavy bands, and occasionally stick marks.

Further north, in present-day Russia, a Slavic population element did not appear until the middle of the eighth century or even the ninth century. As already pointed out, the time of the Slav expansion towards the north is a topic of constant discussion, which also affects the interpretation of the ceramic tradition in northern Rus'.⁴⁰ To get a grasp of the ceramic situation up to the year 1000, I present here the development at places like Gnezdovo, Smolensk, Polotsk, Pskov, Novgorod, and Staraya Ladoga, in other words, the important places on the upper Dnepr and north of it.

Settlement in Gnezdovo does not appear to have been established before the end of the ninth century. The pottery used then was hand-shaped and had simple everted rims. In the second third of the tenth century settlement became denser and the site was restructured as a stronghold with a suburbium. At the same time, the first turntable-shaped pots were made.⁴¹ They were given everted rims of the simplest kind, straight or rounded insides, and the outer rims were oblique or round, decorated with horizontal grooves, wavy lines, and wavy bands (fig. 24). The marks on the arched undersides suggest that the pots were made on a turntable.⁴² In the mounds in the rich cemetery that came into use at the same time, 70 per cent of the pottery consists of turntable-shaped pots while the rest were made entirely by hand. The earlier tradition survived in the countryside despite the innovation in the central place. In the mid-eleventh century the regional settlement structure was changed. Gnezdovo declined in significance as a central place and Smolensk was established nearby some time at the end of the century.

In Polotsk on the Dvina, dense settlement grew up at the start of the ninth century, with a merger of the Finnish-Baltic population and the immigrating Slavs. In the second half of this century, Scandinavian

⁴⁰ Goehrke 1992, pp. 29ff.; Ligi 1993, 1994.

⁴¹ Mühle 1991, p. 242.

⁴² Kameneckaja 1991, p. 153, fig. 13.

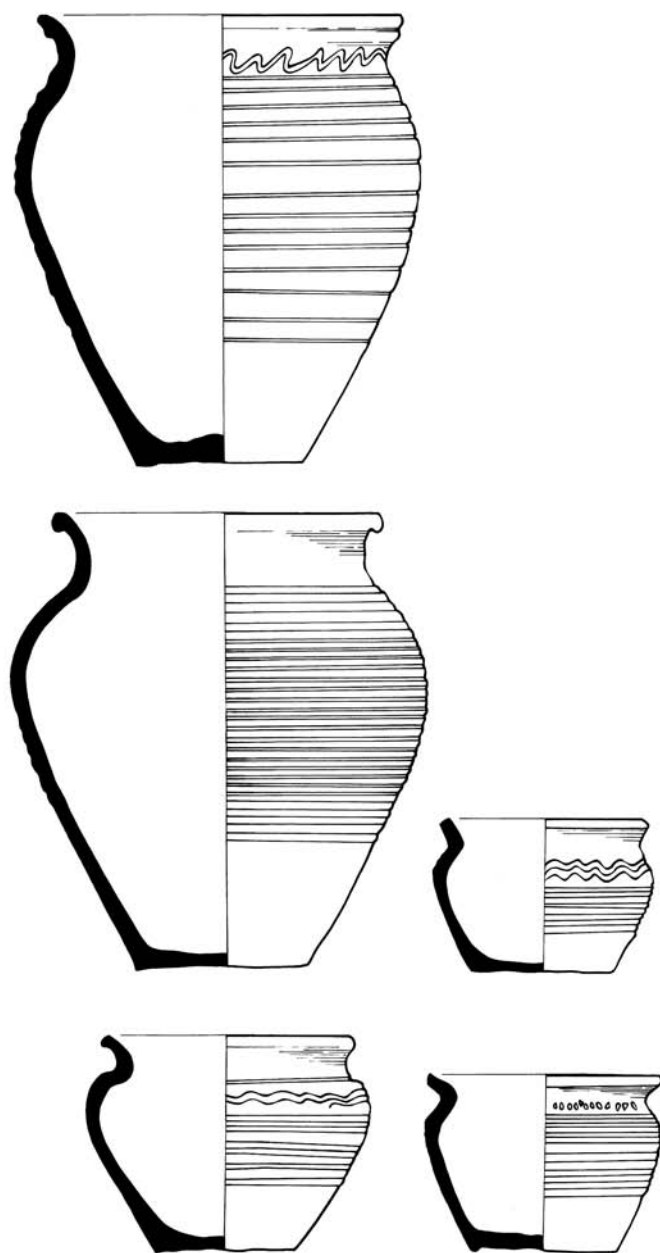


Fig. 24. Vessels from the cemetery at Gnezdovo, tenth century. Scale 1:4.
After Kameneckaja 1991.



Fig. 25. Vessels from the hinterland of Polotsk, tenth century. Scale 1:4.
After Shtychov 1992.

visitors began to take an interest in this place and set their stamp on it. During the tenth century, until the conquest by Vladimir Svyatoslavich, the Scandinavian population element dominated there. The pottery from the first two hundred years in the town and its surroundings shows the same tradition of form and decoration as that in Gnezdovo-Smolensk.⁴³ Hand-made pots dominated, but with the second third of the tenth century there came turntable-shaped pots with everted rims, mostly decorated with horizontal lines, but also wavy lines and wavy bands (fig. 25). As at the more southerly central place, there is very little variation in the shapes, with rims straight or convex on the inside and oblique on the outside.

The population around Pskov was dominated by Baltic Finnish groups while the central place from the ninth century had a population of Baltic Finns and, from the second half of the century, Scandinavians. In Pskov the oldest occupation layers have a broad dating between 500 and 750. The function of the place at this time is uncertain, but the finds show a high level of craftsmanship compared with that in the surrounding countryside.⁴⁴ The pottery in this oldest horizon is hand-made, coarse, thick-walled, and with a smooth surface.⁴⁵ Analogies have been sought among the pottery of Korchak type, in Baltic material, and in the kurgan graves in the countryside. The pottery from the subsequent period up to about 860 also shows Baltic and Baltic Finnish features.⁴⁶ It is still hand-made and undecorated, with gently everted or short vertical rims with round edges (fig. 26b). A third chronologi-

⁴³ Shtychov 1992, p. 67, fig. 1.

⁴⁴ Mühle 1991, p. 167.

⁴⁵ Beletsky 1983, p. 54, figs. 3 and 4; Mühle 1991, p. 167.

⁴⁶ Beletsky 1983, pp. 5f.; Mühle 1991, p. 168.

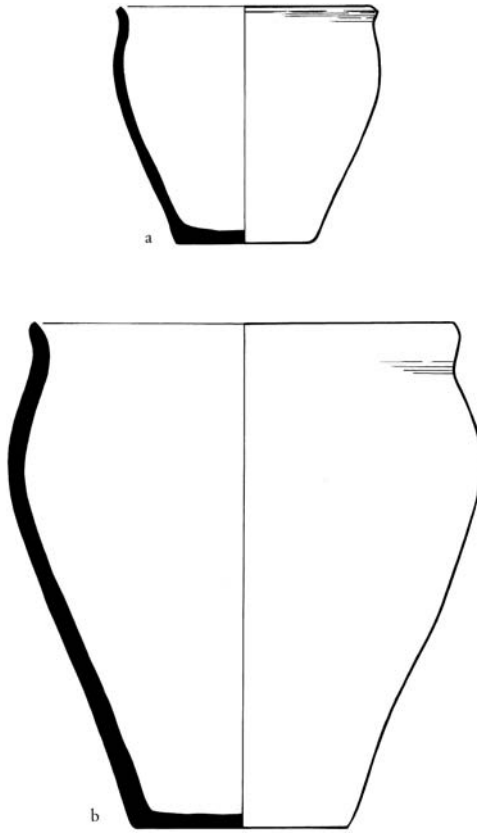


Fig. 26. Pskov, ninth and tenth centuries. (a) Rim shaped afterwards, in the style known as *predkrugovaya keramika*, c. 870–950, (b) hand-made. Scale 1:4. After Beletsky 1983.

cal horizon in Pskov has been dated to the period from the end of the ninth century to the mid-eleventh century. At this time there were great technological and morphological changes in the composition of the pottery. Sergei Beletsky, who has published several articles on the topic, divides the development into three technological stages.⁴⁷ In the period c. 870–920 the pots are given clearer and more abruptly everted rims while the bodies of the pots remain undecorated and have soft shoulders placed high up (*Predkrugovaya keramika*) (fig. 26a). Slightly later, between 920 and 970, comes a type building on the previous one, with

⁴⁷ Beletsky 1979, p. 316, fig. 14; Beletsky 1983, p. 57, figs. 10–12.

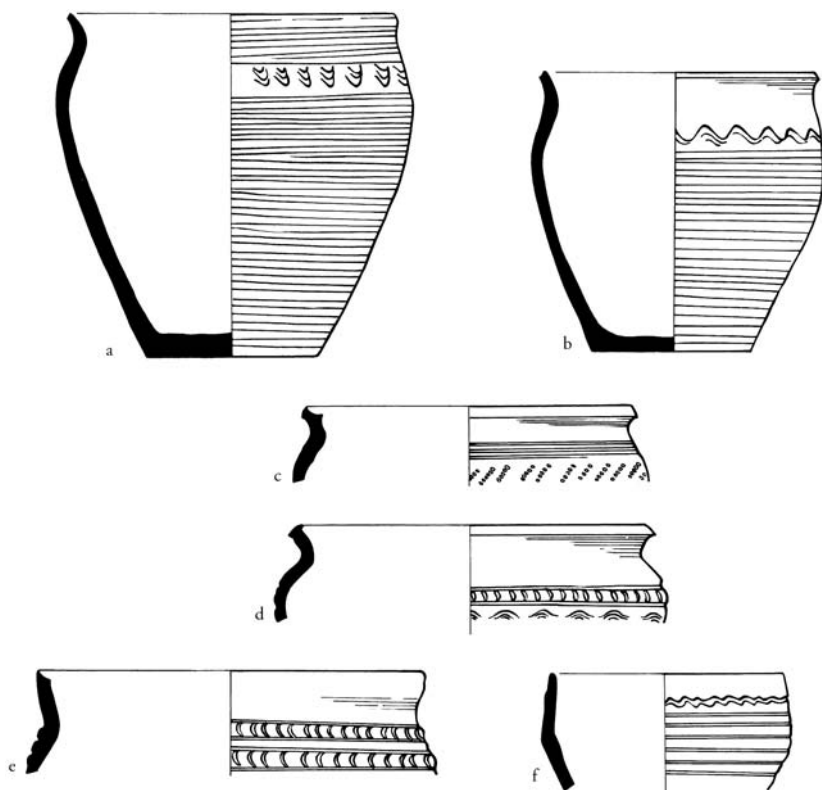


Fig. 27. Pskov. Vessels from the tenth century and early eleventh century: (a–b) *primitivnokrugovaya keramika*, c. 920–970, (c–f) *krugovaya keramika*, c. 970–1040. Scale 1:4. After Beletsky 1983, Beletsky 1996.

decoration often consisting of horizontal lines and simple wavy lines on the upper part of the pot (*primitivnokrugovaya keramika*) (fig. 27a–b). The rims are turned out in a similar way and the decoration suggests that a turntable was used for the final stages. The third and final stage consists of highly decorated pots of varied design which were produced from the middle of the tenth century and then in different forms during the remainder of the Middle Ages (*krugovaya keramika*) (fig. 27c–f). The decoration covers the whole body of the pots, consisting of horizontal lines, wavy bands, oblique marks made with a stick or a toothed implement, often with several of these techniques in different zones on the same vessel. The shoulder can be gently rounded or slightly biconical. The rims were mostly everted but became more varied, with rebated insides and sharply angled outwards. A new element was cylindrical

necks of various design. Parallel to this development there was the local Finno-Ugrian ceramic tradition. Most important is the transition from a predominance of hand-made pots to turntable-shaped ones, a development that took place in the middle of the tenth century.⁴⁸

Where the Volkhov meets Lake Ilmen, Ryurikovo Gorodische was established in the middle of the ninth century.⁴⁹ The site grew as a meeting place for trade along the Russian rivers and had a special function in relation to the agrarian settlement in the region. The population was ethnically mixed, with elements of both Scandinavians and Slavs. Gorodische was more closely linked to the princes in Kiev around 970, when Vladimir Svyatoslavich took political power here. In the earliest layers there is only hand-shaped pottery with analogies in Staraya Ladoga and in the countryside around the two central places (fig. 28).⁵⁰ The first half of the tenth century saw the coming of simple vessels made on a turntable, a similar stylistic development as at the places further south.

Novgorod emerged as a central place during the second third of the tenth century, with other functions than Gorodische. Right from the beginning the town had a clear plot structure and wood-paved streets, although the inhabited area was small. Judging by the finds, the material culture of the inhabitants was influenced by Slavs, Baltic Finns, and Scandinavians. While Gorodische was the home of the prince, at least before 980 and after 1136, Novgorod developed into a centre where the boyars, Rus' magnates, had their town houses. At this meeting place they could sell their own products and buy goods that had arrived in the country via the rivers.

The composition of the pottery shows that there were few hand-made pots already in the earliest period before the middle of the tenth century. An occupation layer from this time was uncovered by the major Nerevsky excavation during the 1950s. Hand-made pottery was found in 57 fragments while turntable-shaped pottery, even in this initial phase, was in the majority, with 1,320 sherds.⁵¹ The latter tradition subsequently dominated totally in the town, while people in

⁴⁸ Mühle 1991, p. 183.

⁴⁹ Nosov 1992, p. 36.

⁵⁰ Nosov 1992, p. 55.

⁵¹ Mühle 1991, p. 94.

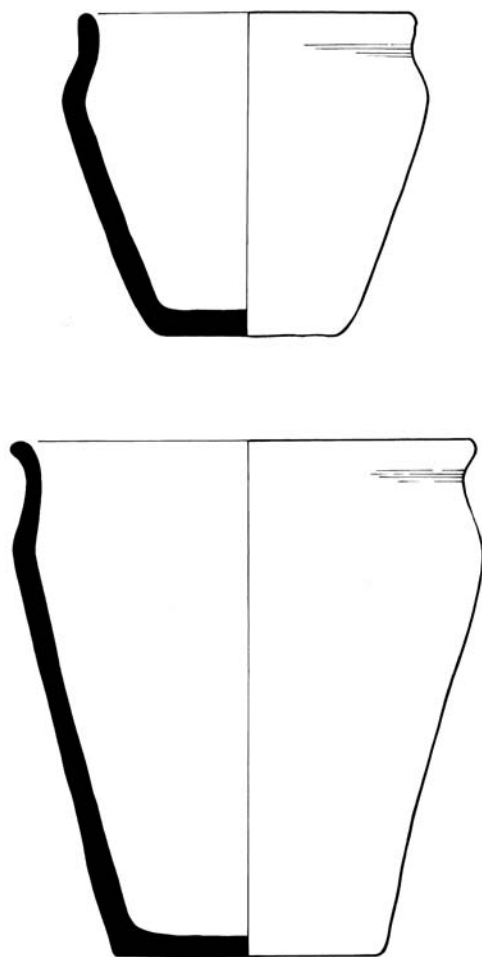


Fig. 28. Hand-made vessels of Ladoga type from Ryurikovo Gorodische.
Scale 1:4. After Nosov 1992.

the countryside still produced simple hand-made ware parallel to the turntable-shaped pots.

The pottery built up on a turntable is similar in form and decoration at many of the places in north-west Rus'. Valentina Gorjunova, who has analysed several pottery complexes from Gorodische, Novgorod, Gorodok na Lovat, and other places in north-west Rus', has demonstrated concordant development (fig. 29). She believes that contacts with the West Slavs contributed to the development of style in the area. According to her, there are pots from Gorodische which have

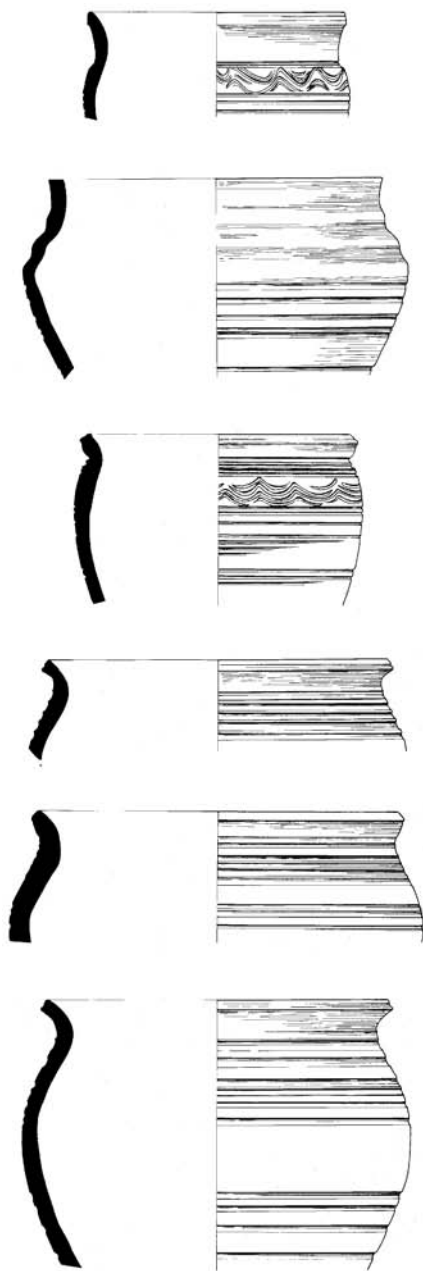


Fig. 29. Novgorod. Vessels from the second half of the tenth century.
Scale 1:4.

decoration and rim shapes like those on Feldberg, Menkendorf, and Groß Raden pottery.⁵² Gorjunova is cautious, however, about interpreting the shapes as direct imports, and she leaves open the possibility of shared style development without any great contact.⁵³ The similarity is relatively weak, and there has been criticism of the view that West Slavic types occur in East Slavic material.⁵⁴ In principle, the presence is not impossible in early places like Staraya Ladoga and Ryurikovo Gorodische, bearing in mind the links between them and Birka, where Feldberg and Fresendorf types occur relatively frequently. Even if the pots found in Gorodische are West Slavic, their number is so small that it is difficult to accept large-scale style transfer as the origin of the local production. Instead the pots in the tenth century display features of both the Finno-Ugrian pottery and Early Slavic ware. The vessels are open in shape with short vertical or inverted rims. The decoration consists of parallel lines or simple stick marks. In the second half of the century, the turntable-shaped pots acquire a new set of openings which differ from the earlier ones. They are accentuated with more distinct edges and a rebate on the inside. At the same time, potters began to shape cylindrical necks. We should probably reckon with both a local and an outside origin for the pottery that developed from the second third of the tenth century.

Staraya Ladoga had an important role as the first base for Viking Age commodity exchange in the north. The site emerged in the mid-eighth century as the first meeting place in the system of rivers that leads to the interior of Russia. The population was initially dominated by Scandinavians, but through time acquired a mixed composition, with elements of Baltic Finns, Slavs, and Balts.⁵⁵ It was not until the tenth century that the Slav element grew to any size and the town was more clearly linked to Rus'. The transformation from the multifaceted cultural mix that formerly existed in the place to the material culture of jewellery sets and costume that characterized the more southerly parts of the kingdom did not take place until the mid-eleventh century.⁵⁶ In political terms the town was dominated by earls of the Svear, obliged to

⁵² Gorjunova 1997, p. 157, fig. 4; 1, p. 158, fig. 5; 6, 8, 9, p. 159, fig. 6; 6, 7, 8.

⁵³ Gorjunova 1982, p. 45.

⁵⁴ Brather 1996a, pp. 164ff.

⁵⁵ Mühle 1991, p. 44.

⁵⁶ Mühle 1991, p. 57.

pay tribute to Rus' from the end of the tenth century to the second half of the following century, when Novgorod acquired sole supremacy.

The cultural and political dynamics in the town make it difficult to single out any dominant ethnic group. The first hand-made pots of so-called *Ladoga* type that were used for two hundred years before the end of the millennium are therefore difficult to assign to any of the linguistic groups present. The body of the pot is slim and tall, with a relatively sharp shoulder and everted rim (fig. 28). The fabric is very coarse, with the tempering grains sticking out on the surface. This hand-made pottery was manufactured from the first years until about 990, in the last hundred years parallel to turntable-shaped pottery. At the end of the century, however, the hand-made pots account for only 5–7% of the total stock.⁵⁷ The turntable-shaped pots have everted rims (84%) or cylindrical necks (16%) during the period 930–1000. The everted rims, even in the first half of the tenth century, have rebated insides and sharply formed edges. The shoulder is gently rounded high up on the body of the pot and decorated with horizontal grooves and wavy lines. Wavy bands seem to be less common. Technically more advanced pots came into use at the same time as in the rest of north-west Rus'.

Pottery, change, and ideology

The description of the growth of Early and Middle Slavic pottery in Central and Northern Europe may seem too detailed when one of the aims of the present work is to explain the connection between Late Slavic pottery and the Baltic pottery found in Scandinavia. The background provided by this development, or its interpretation, is nevertheless appropriate for studying a couple of important questions which are common to the two problem areas. Above all, what is interesting is the link between the technological advances from completely hand-made to turntable-shaped pots and the development towards different forms of political supremacy with increased division of labour. A second factor is the development of forms and decorations as an important material expression of the changes that can be detected in the archaeological source material. With production originating in the area of the lower and middle Danube in late antiquity and Avar-Slavic culture during the seventh century, the S-shaped pots decorated with wavy bands and

⁵⁷ Kirpichnikov & Nazarenko 1997, p. 79, table 2; Mühle 1991, p. 51.

lines did not reach the Baltic Sea area until the end of the tenth century. The reasons for the periodization must be sought in the societal changes undergone by different areas. Since the explanations for change concern questions of ethnic identity rooted in a political situation in our own times, it is also necessary to examine the interpretations of the process of change.

The entire sequence of parallel, overlapping, and chronologically separate vessel types that occurs among the East and West Slavs has generated interpretations which are sometimes contradictory. A distinct feature of research in post-war Poland was the endeavour to demonstrate continuity between the cultures in the Late Roman Iron Age and the group that arrived with the new set of pots. The attempt to find continuity was of course conducted on a scientific basis but it was stimulated by the contemporary political need to legitimize the nation's new boundaries. The chronological weakness of the source material made it possible to work with ideology rather than archaeology. One expression of this was the attempt to link Slavic pottery to ceramics from the Przeworsk culture in Poland in order to trace the Slavic tradition further back in history.⁵⁸ The development from the wheel-made pots of the Roman Iron Age to high-quality products such as Feldberg-Kędrzyno and Tornow-Klenica pots has been assumed to be part of a continuous craft tradition. The break between the pots from the Roman Iron Age and the Middle Slav periods, however, lasted two hundred years. In between this, moreover, came the users of hand-made Prague pottery and sunken-floor huts with a material culture differing radically from that of the earlier inhabitants.

The view that new groups of Slavs immigrated with pottery of better quality which came to dominate in households may be seen as a counter to the search for cultural continuity. The problem with a diffusionist outlook is that it avoids explaining the original rise of a group of artefacts. If one believes that an innovation came about through immigration of people or ideas, the problem of how it arose is merely pushed aside. It is like taking the pile of leaves you have just raked up, throwing it into your neighbour's garden, and forgetting about it. A hypothesis like this presupposes that there must somewhere have been an 'Urheimat' for the things that the people in question brought with

⁵⁸ For further discussion see Kobyliński 1989, 1994; Parczewski 1993.

them on their wanderings. It leaves unanswered the question of how the identity materialized in the archaeological remains was created.

With a diffusionist outlook, new Slav tribes became bearers of the changed ceramic technology. Alongside this there are other hypotheses to explain the development. Above all, these question the watertight boundaries that appear to have existed between the peoples who were under Carolingian, Ottonian, or Salian rule in the west and the Slavs in the south and east. Feldberg pottery is assumed to have arisen from contacts between West Slav tribes and the Carolingian Empire in the Baltic Sea area. The basic forms of the undecorated Sukow type and the Feldberg pottery are similar, and both occur simultaneously in north-west Germany. The decoration with a toothed implement on Badorf pots, on the other hand, was adopted as a new element among the Slavs.⁵⁹ Brather accepts Schuldt's view that the Feldberg type developed from a north-west Slav tradition without influence from the Danube complex, which was distant in time and place. Two other examples of Germanic-Slavic exchange of style may be mentioned. In north-west Bohemia the local pots of Danube type borrowed features from the other side of the Erzgebirge, where the Saxon neighbours made biconical pots.⁶⁰ The long production time of the Sukow type in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg has been assumed to be due to the use of simple, undecorated household ware among the adjacent Saxon people influencing the Slav neighbours.⁶¹ Also, close links between nearby Slavic areas rather than migrations have been assumed to result in regional style breaks. The distribution of the Tornow type is in the border zone between the Menkendorf tradition and the Dolní Věstonice pots coming from Moravia.⁶² One can therefore see the sharp northern shoulder combined with deep grooves on the upper part of the bodies of these late Middle Slavic pots. Another opinion about the Tornow tradition asserts a Carolingian influence, as also for the Feldberg group.⁶³

Opinions in research on Slavic pottery today are thus divided. The diffusionist development with regional interfaces between Slavic groups or immigration is partly established as an explanation for the development of style, while contacts with non-Slavs are also stressed.

⁵⁹ Brather 1996a, pp. 167ff.

⁶⁰ Bubenik & Meduna 1994, p. 186.

⁶¹ Brather 1996a, p. 177.

⁶² Biermann 1997, p. 231.

⁶³ Barford 2001, p. 105.

Hansjürgen Brachmann is a representative of the belief in internal Slav diffusion that prevailed in the era of the German Democratic Republic. In 1994 he wrote: "Bis heute wurde von archäologischer Seite kein Zweifel an der Vermutung geäußert, das die slawische Besiedlung des Gebietes zwischen Elbe und Saale in mehreren Wellen erfolgte".⁶⁴ He regards the rise of the Rüssen type in the middle Saale area as a sign of immigration from the south, and he stresses the close similarity to the Danube type. The people who came via Bohemia-Moravia are supposed to have formed the population basis for the historically known Sorbs in their core area. The same explanatory model is put forward in the large work *Die Slawen in Deutschland*.⁶⁵ There the changes are displayed with arrows, as on a military strategist's map, with waves of immigration following one another. The Feldberg group came via the Oder-Vistula area, as did the bearers of Tornow ware. The Sorbs with their Rüssen pots had a more southerly path of migration, ending up directly on the middle Elbe.⁶⁶

The stylistic analogies used to link geographically remote traditions are difficult to invoke as evidence of the migration hypothesis. Traditional methods such as absolute chronology and ceramic analyses have meant a great deal for dismissing the least convincing views. The relation between individual tribes and pottery types has been proved invalid partly because the distribution area of the two does not coincide and partly because the datings are difficult to link to the descriptions of the groups in the written sources. The previously assumed links between Feldberg pottery and the Wilzians, between Fresendorf and the Ranians, between the Rüssen and Leipzig types and the Sorbs, and between the Menkendorf types and the Obodrites have no solid basis in the written and archaeological evidence. Tornow pottery has a much wider distribution than the Sorbs, who are assumed to be the ethnic group that made it.⁶⁷

Russian works about the development of pottery emphasize the shared Slavic heritage in their explanations of changes in the pottery. In north-west Rus' the stylistic development has been associated with immigrating West Slavs, and common Middle Slavic types are

⁶⁴ Brachmann 1994, p. 104.

⁶⁵ Herrmann 1985 (1970), pp. 21ff, especially p. 28, Abb. 8.

⁶⁶ See also Donat 1989, pp. 269 and 270ff.

⁶⁷ Biermann 1997, p. 218.

presented in Russian research. The interpretations find little support in the archaeological source material, taking most of their arguments from linguistics. The conclusions that have been drawn on the basis of linguistic studies of the birchbark letters from Novgorod, with their earliest dating in the eleventh century, are that analogies to the dialects used in the town on the Volkhov should be sought to the south of the Baltic Sea “from whence the Slavs set out to the regions around Pskov and Novgorod, where they acquired their names of ‘Krivichi’ and ‘Novgorod Slovenes’”.⁶⁸ Grave forms, personal names, and weight systems are likewise assumed to have the same origin. In this chain of argumentation there is a major problem in the chronological confusion of an early immigration of West Slavs in the ninth century when the Feldberg tradition was alive on the southern coast of the Baltic, the texts of the birchbark letters from later times, and the weak presence of genuine West Slavic pottery. The sources are likewise different in character and perhaps have completely different foundations for their origin. There is thus both a chronological and a qualitative difference which is not considered in the discussion. Contacts with the southern regions of the kingdom and the town of Kiev are toned down, and advocates of this view avoid the documentation that exists in Nestor’s Chronicle and the First Novgorod Chronicle, where contacts between north and south are clear in later periods. Politically speaking, the area was relatively autonomous in the eighth and ninth centuries, but from the end of the tenth century north-west Rus’ was definitively incorporated in the power sphere of Kiev, when Vladimir Svyatoslavich and his sons dominated both areas. The furs, wax, and slaves that came along the more northerly rivers were too important commodities to be left without control. In the future a more stringent research effort should be made to investigate the extent of exchange between West and East Slavs.

The attempts to hold up Slavic culture as being the equal of the Carolingian and Ottonian culture in the Early Middle Ages have pointed to the technological advances in pottery manufacture. What is interesting for this study is the technique of pot construction, which underwent changes connected to changes in society between the seventh and

⁶⁸ Janin 1992, pp. 92ff.

the thirteenth century. In Slavic research it has been considered very important to underline the existence of production conditions where the fast wheel was used to make high-quality pots.

According to Marx, human social development goes through stages starting with primitive communism via feudalism to a capitalist system, and finally achieving a propertyless communist society. The idea that the Slavic towns developed from early settlements via *Herrensitze* to towns was well suited to the historical materialism that prevailed in research in the GDR and Poland after the Second World War. Craft was linked to an increasingly complex division of labour rooted in different production conditions. Pottery manufacture was also a part of this development, and the fast potter's wheel was considered to have been in use already in the tenth century in the Slavic areas to make proper wheel-thrown pottery. It was important ideologically to demonstrate advanced market-oriented production as early as possible. No convincing examples can be shown for this technological stage in the manufacturing process, however. The belief can instead be linked to an ideologically coloured model which cannot be verified in the source material. In fact, the detailed studies that have been conducted in Poland and the Czech and Slovak Republics have shown that two methods of pot construction existed there in the Early Middle Ages: either with clay rings or with what is known as *slide-band* technique, thin bands of flattened clay.⁶⁹ Similar observations have been made for Late Slavic pottery in Schleswig-Holstein.⁷⁰ The vessels usually show different surface treatment, smoothed off horizontally on the upper part of the outside and sometimes down to the base. The inside, on the other hand, has no obvious signs of turning. Potters who turn their pots on a wheel usually trim the outside with a knife but never or rarely the inside. In the case of the Middle Slavic pottery, the traces of true wheel-thrown pottery could thus be found on the inside of the vessels. Instead we see traces of fingers drawn in diagonal and horizontal movements. The tempering grains are also clearly visible on the inside, in contrast to the hand-smoothed exterior. The tempering used in the clay also limits the possibility of building up the pot on a fast wheel. The dimensions of the stone particles that occur are too large not to injure the hands and cause the clay to be cut up into horizontal segments when the

⁶⁹ Buko 1990, pp. 105ff., p. 425; Nekuda 1989, p. 119.

⁷⁰ Vogel 1972, p. 20.

wheel rotates quickly. The bases should also show signs of being cut off the wheel where they were centred and fixed with slip so that they would not move in the course of the work. Middle Slavic pottery has characteristically concave bases, sometimes with impressions on the base, showing that the pots were not fixed to the wheel with slip. The concave bases also sometimes have vestiges of gravel or sand placed on the working surface to make it easy to lift the pot after it had been shaped.

Apart from the technological features of the actual pots, the organization of pottery manufacture shows no signs that a fast wheel was used. Generally speaking, true throwing is part of a change in ceramic technology which is associated with societies with a high division of labour and full-time potters producing standardized pots for consumption. Mass manufacture with very homogeneous clay recipes, a fast wheel, and kiln firing usually go together. In Scandinavia this combination did not catch on until the thirteenth century, which was also the case in Poland.⁷¹ The composition of the clays, the diversity of form and decoration, the firing methods, and the regional distribution of the products instead place the Middle Slavic ware in a phase of development preceding mass production for sale on a market. In the Slavic areas, however, there are parts of more advanced pottery manufacture which reflect specialization. Above all, it is the proximity to other cultures that used the fast wheel which may have influenced indigenous circumstances; rare finds of kilns have been made too. Contacts with the Byzantine tradition in the Danube area and the Saltovo-Mayaki culture/the Khazars east of the Dnepr meant a great deal for the development of a more advanced technology among the Slavs in the immediate area. In Staré Město in today's Slovakia, a workshop area from the first half of the ninth century has been found, with kilns and waste from unsuccessful firings.⁷² Slightly later the same technique came into use in Nitra Lupka, Slovakia, where archaeologists have found kilns from the second half of the ninth century, and in Kiev kilns are attested from the tenth century.⁷³ These important advances were part of a specialization which was not necessarily based on market-oriented manufacture.

⁷¹ Kurnatowska 1973 b, p. 128.

⁷² Galuška 1994, p. 237.

⁷³ Chropovský 1959, pp. 812ff.; Tolochko 1981, p. 287, fig. 124.

The survey shows some nodes in time which seem important in the process of change that pottery production underwent between the sixth century and 1000 in the Slavic areas. It is chiefly the technological differences that are noticeable, ranging from the wholly hand-shaped Prague-Korchak pots to the turntable-shaped Late Slavic types with the entire body of the pot worked up. The gradual changes gave the Polish archaeologist Witold Hensel the idea of categorizing the pottery in five phases based on technological criteria.⁷⁴ He particularly stresses the importance of two components: the finish of the vessel body and how much of it was smoothed off on a turntable. The classification has been used in the ongoing work of publishing the settlement site material from Wielkopolska/Great Poland in the series *Studia i materiały do osadnictwa Wielkopolski wczesnohistorycznej* ('Studies and Materials concerning the Prehistoric Settlement of Great Poland'), and has exerted a great influence on researchers in Poland.⁷⁵ The idea behind the grouping was that changed conditions in pottery production also reflect overall changes in society. Since 1972 Zofia Kurnatowska, together with Hensel, has been publishing *Studia i materiały* and just like him she emphasizes the significance of the development of the craft for our understanding of the emerging Piast state. For conditions in Scandinavia, the periodization that she has presented is a sufficiently sharp tool to enable an understanding of the link between society and the technological development of pottery.⁷⁶

1. Hand-shaped pots made in the household
2. Introduction of the turntable
3. Specialization and concentration of the craft in specific places
4. Technological improvement with kilns and new clay recipes. Introduction of the foot-powered fast wheel

The periodization of the stages in the development shows geographical differences, and earlier traditions existed parallel to new ones. More detailed division can also be made on the basis of style and changes in decoration in different types of pots, for example Feldberg, Menkendorf, etc.⁷⁷ Here I shall comment on some chronological dividing lines

⁷⁴ Hensel 1950, 1956; see Buko 1992 for a survey.

⁷⁵ Dzieduszycki 1983; Łosiński & Rogosz 1984; *Problemy chronologii* 1986.

⁷⁶ Kurnatowska 1973 b.

⁷⁷ See Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 200, fig. 16.

which are crucial for the connection between production and society. The development is not synchronous over the whole Slavic area, which has interesting implications for differences in production conditions and the division of labour.

Simple hand-made pottery of Prague-Korchak and Sukow-Dziedzice type in the first stage of development took its point of departure in household production over the whole area where the first Slavic groups crystallized. The second technological stage emerged earliest in the Danube area, where the Slavs at the start of the sixth century came into contact with the turntable. During the seventh century people in Austria, Hungary, and Slovakia were familiar with the new method in the Avar state, whose organization provided the conditions for increased division of labour and specialization. During the seventh century up to around 800, forms which have previously been assigned to different variants of the Danube type were common in the more southerly parts of the West Slav area. In north-west Europe it was not until the second half of the eighth century that the quality of pots improved. The Feldberg type, which then combined Carolingian decoration with the design of Sukow vessels, may have arisen at places of exchange on the Baltic. In connection with the increased contacts with the empire in the west, a more distinct Slavic identity may have emerged, also catching on in other spheres of material culture. Both the Danube and the Feldberg pots are examples of technological development which came about as a result of external influence.

Kurnatowska's third period fell in the seventh century in the Avar kingdom. A more fundamental change that affected the entire organization of ceramic craft can be studied later in the earliest Slav states such as Great Moravia and Bohemia.⁷⁸ It is clear that supraregional control and changes in production conditions go together in Bohemia, where strongholds were established from 800 to the mid-tenth century during a period of political unrest. As a consequence of the concentration of power, there was a switch from making pots according to a common design to production for consumption in the stronghold, which meant that geographically defined types arose.⁷⁹ In the second half of the tenth century the Přemyslids had gained power over the greater part of Bohemia, and new feudal castles replaced the earlier power centres,

⁷⁸ Staňa 1995.

⁷⁹ Bubenik and Meduna 1994, p. 185, fig. 1, pp. 186ff.

mostly right beside them. The design idiom underwent a change but the geographical affiliation remained distinct.

During their development towards what was to become the kingdom of Kiev, the East Slavs also display tendencies to specialization as early as the ninth century, when the turntable came into use in the southern part of Rus', but a technological leap is most obvious in the second third of the tenth century. By then the turntable-shaped pots were found in such a distant place as Staraya Ladoga. Behind the change in the east there was a tendency to increased urbanization and division of labour which found special physical expression in the places along the river systems. In Gnezdovo the existing place acquired a suburbium and more regulated settlement. Novgorod arose just before the middle of the century and was divided into square or rectangular plots and wood-paved streets right from the beginning. At this time Staraya Ladoga acquired regulated settlement which differed from the previous pattern. From having been scattered, the plots were arranged in small parallel lots and the large dwelling houses were succeeded by several smaller buildings in which the everyday functions of the household were distributed.⁸⁰ An even more obvious change came about in the last quarter of the tenth century, when the forms came into use which were the basis for production in the subsequent century. In Pskov this is reflected in the switch from *Primitivnokrugovaya keramika* to *Krugovaya keramika*. The phase just before the year 1000 was marked by increased dominance from Kiev, which was expanding its influence. Vladimir Svyatoslavich, who was in power at the time, stimulated urbanization and consumption in a way that had an impact on the whole of Rus'. The improvement in pottery manufacture seems to have been a part of the same social change that found expression in the transformation of settlement in the early tenth century, while more obvious specialization followed in the second half of the century.

Among the West Slavs north of the Sudeten and the Carpathians, the step towards renewal came in the second half of the tenth century, in the towns on the Baltic coast not until around 980, when Late Slavic pottery sets began to be manufactured. Improved technology as regards the treatment of raw material, the construction of the pots, and the firing can then be seen. During the second half of the tenth century, the struggle for mastery waged by Duke Mieszko in Great Poland gave

⁸⁰ Mühle 1991, pp. 46ff.

momentum to the hierarchization of the country. Division of labour increased and ceramic specialists brought knowledge from Bohemia, the great power to the south on whom the duke relied. Three types of settlement were particularly important for the specialization of craft among the Slavs: places of exchange, castles, and villages with special service functions. At the places of exchange there arose a need for specialists in the non-agrarian setting. The Fresendorf pottery that we find on the Baltic coast is a reflection of this. The development towards a network of castles in the Poland of the Piasts had the consequence that production was reorganized both within and around these regional centres. In archaeological terms this stands out as areas with shared stylistic features in pottery. The distinctive regional features may have been stimulated by two diametrically opposed causes based on division of labour. First of all, it may have been due to production being located in this power centre from where specialized potters distributed their products, as in the example above cited from Bohemia; secondly, there were villages around the castles which had the duty of providing them with pottery, so that a zone was created where similar services were performed.⁸¹

The changes in technology thus did not have their full impact simultaneously in the Slavic countries. South of the Baltic Sea, hand-made and turntable-shaped pottery existed in parallel until the end of the tenth century. Turntable-shaped pots were a phenomenon associated with towns in the Late Middle Ages, whereas people in enclaves in the countryside stuck to the early medieval tradition until the breakthrough of industrialism. In north-west Rus' the simple hand-made household pots were retained in the countryside well into the Middle Ages. It is important to remember this since the typology might easily force us to adopt a mental image of vessel types neatly succeeding one another.

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from this account of the development of Early and Middle Slavic pottery is that traditional chronology with absolute datings has meant a great deal for refuting the more ideologically coloured hypotheses. As a basis for a continued dialogue, the structuring of the empirical material is necessary but insufficient if we are to understand why new methods of manufacture emerged. Immigrating ethnic groups as renewers of the ceramic

⁸¹ Buko 1990, p. 163.

traditions have been an important constituent in the discussion during the post-war period. In the more recent literature we find societal explanations according to which changed production conditions in the area of interaction between Slavs and their neighbours are regarded as having stimulated the manufacture of household pots. Actually, none of the now prevailing hypotheses about change is sufficient to explain why new forms and decorations were chosen. Changes in style go deeper into human perception and require answers that are perhaps beyond the theoretical and methodological limits of archaeology. Functional criteria alone are not enough to explain the choice of making tall rather than squat pots, wavy bands instead of vertical all-over lines, everted rims instead of inverted.

Just before the great change from Middle Slavic to Late Slavic pottery, the groups of people who made them were established close to Scandinavia. In the West Slav area there were Wendish tribes on the Baltic coast who produced Fresendorf, Woldegk, and Menkendorf forms. In north-west Rus' the new stylistic features were also established since the second third of the tenth century. When Baltic pottery was introduced to Scandinavian soil at the end of that century, a thorough change had occurred in the Slavic countries which had an impact on the cultural patterns of households. The explanations for the transformation have different backgrounds depending on which part of Northern Europe we study. In the seemingly homogeneous Late Slavic set of pottery, a closer look reveals a diversity that can be used in the interpretation of the presence of Baltic pottery in Scandinavia. Let us start where the Middle Slavic tradition gradually ceases and the new tradition begins.

LATE SLAVIC POTTERY IN THE HOMELANDS

The journey through time and place in Slavic Europe has brought us to the turn of the millennium in the countries which had the Baltic as their *Mare Nostrum*. The association between a development towards supraregional control and increased division of labour with craft specialization on the continent was clearly seen in the previous section. Contacts between Slavic and West European regions affected the ceramic tradition in the Middle Slavic period up to the mid-tenth century. New forms and decorations were then established in a style that has been called Late Slavic, and it is above all this which spread to the potters

in Scandinavia. When we now turn to the new tradition, it is necessary to draw some limits.

The presentation in the previous section covered a large geographical area, but above all a considerable length of time. Between the simple hand-shaped pots of the fifth century and the turntable-shaped pots of the tenth century there passed five hundred years when the social organization of the Slavs was transformed from small tribal groups to burgeoning states. The time we shall examine now is shorter. Between 1000 and 1300 supraregional control was reinforced to varying extents. The changes were caused by the struggle for supremacy over a geographically continuous territory. Through time the success of different contenders varied, with a fragmentation of their possessions as a result.

Ceramic production seems for along time to have remained locally based with no links to a market. Outside the more important places of exchange there was a proportion of simple hand-made pots in the countryside, among both West and East Slavs. It was not until the thirteenth century that there was a transition to the fourth phase in Slavic pottery manufacture, according to Kurnatowska's model of development stages: specialization with the use of new clay recipes, the fast wheel, and firing in kilns. Changes took place within the framework of an increased division of labour and hierarchization, and they were influenced by the external contacts that were maintained. In this section the focus will therefore be on the regional differences in style that are visible, the aim being to facilitate comparisons with the Baltic pottery in Scandinavia. To emphasize these differences, illustrations are of the utmost importance, as is the chronological course. I shall thus shrink the field of vision to comprise the nearby Slavic areas in present-day Germany, Poland, and Russia during the time from around 1000 until 1300.

The search for analogies in the Slavic source material with the aim of tracing sources of inspiration and provenance is difficult because of the varied level of information from the areas in question. To be able to carry out the study, it is necessary to accept a variety of methods and presentation in the German, Polish, and Russian texts, with great depth in some cases, and more superficial surveys in others. Relative numerical values which give information about what is typical of the places over time can only be stated for Starigard/Oldenburg, Warder,



Fig. 30. Map showing the find spots of Late Slavic pottery used in this work. Polotsk and Gnezdovo are included for orientation. Map by Henril Pihl.

Mecklenburg, Teterow, Behren-Lübchin, Szczecin, and Białogard. The forms in Wolin, Gdańsk, Santok, and Kruszwica in Poland and Novgorod, Pskov, and Izborsk in Russia are presented more summarily (fig. 30).

In Germany and the *Gründungsstädte* in Poland the population composition underwent a social and ethnic change which also affected the material culture. The increased presence of German, Dutch, and Flemish people with a set of round-based wheel-thrown pottery influenced the Slavic tradition. The transition took place in the mid-twelfth century in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, but it was not until much later that it had any impact on the eastern part of the area, in Pomerania and Brandenburg further to the south. The closing phase of the Late Slavic pottery in Germany has not received much attention in Scandinavian research, although it is important for understanding why the manufacture of Baltic pottery ceased.

The tribes in the west

The first examples among the West Slavs of what is called Late Slavic pottery are found along the Oder, with the earliest dating around 980–990.⁸² The changes at the transition from the Middle Slavic tradition were extensive, affecting form, decoration, and manufacturing technique. As regards the geography, the earliest examples emerged within an area where the Fresendorf, Menkendorf, Tornow, and Woldegk groups had been made before. The origin of the change is difficult to trace, and there is no uniform view of how the technical innovation came about. On the other hand, there is agreement that the new Late Slavic forms had their origin in these four Middle Slavic groups.

The Late Slavic pottery in Germany has received its names from Schuldt's classification, and it was he who first demonstrated the proportions of the different main forms (fig. 31).⁸³ In Mecklenburg the Vipperow group proves to be in the majority, with its everted rims. Teterow pots, with a vertical neck zone inserted between the shoulder and the rim, constitute the next most common group. Bobzin vessels and lids associated with this design tradition are very weakly represented. The Vipperow group is a development of the Menkendorf and Fresendorf groups, while Schuldt linked Teterow to the Woldegk group and Bobzin

⁸² Kempke 1984, p. 76.

⁸³ Schuldt 1956.

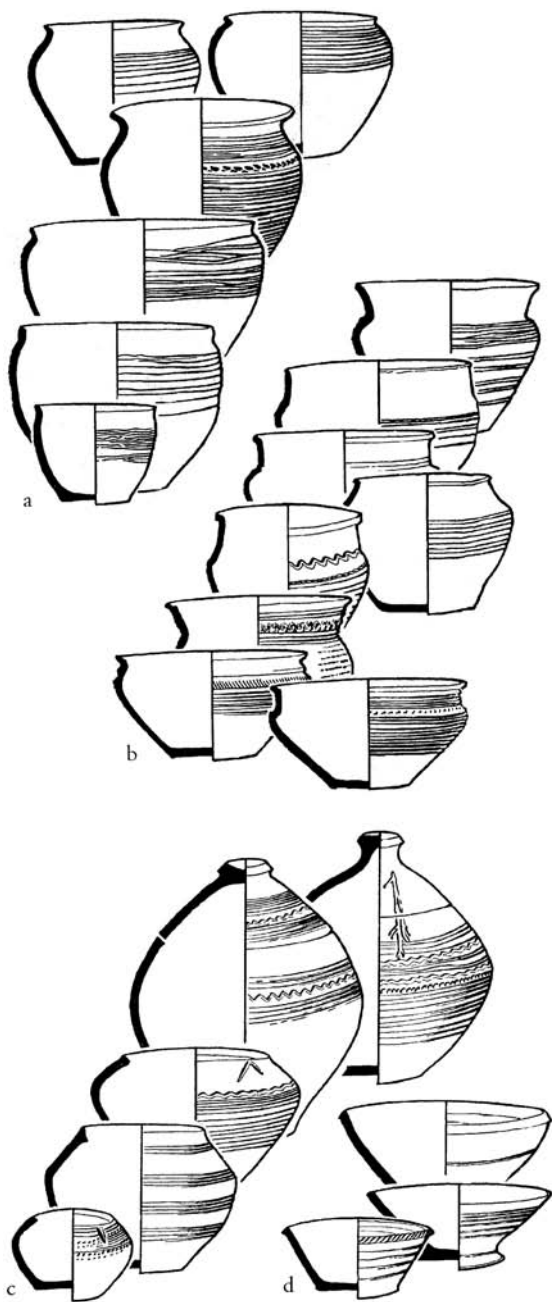


Fig. 31. Mecklenburg. The most common vessel types according to Schuldt (1964). (a) Vipperow, (b) Teterow, (c) Bobzin, and (d) Garz bowls. Not to scale.

to the Fresendorf group.⁸⁴ These basic forms are widely spread, from Holstein in the west to the Oder in the east. The Garz group, which consists of low bowls, decorated on the outside and sometimes on the inside and the edge of the rim as well, has very clear limits in time and place.⁸⁵ Occasional examples have been found in western Holstein, but the core area is in eastern Mecklenburg, on Rügen and at the mouth of the Oder, on a narrow coastal strip between the rivers Warnow and Dievenow/Dziwna. The majority of the bowls come from the twelfth century.

A detailed description reveals the special characteristics of the main groups. In Scandinavian research these have not been used much in the search for analogies, so I consider it important to point out the discrepant rim forms in the subgroups or *Reihen* with which Schuldt worked.

A discovery that was important for Scandinavia was made by Torsten Kempke at the start of the 1980s when he realized the connection between some of the *Reihen* within different main groups. Based on the find spot he was analysing, he called the group, in Schuldt's spirit, the Warder type. Kempke reacted against the fact that the traditional division concealed a more obvious periodization of the forms. The problem was insidious because the Fresendorf group ended up in a very strange chronological position in the ceramic dialogue. Fresendorf is a coastal tradition, and like the earlier Feldberg group it is associated with a specialization of pottery manufacture in Viking Age places of exchange. Its strongest foundation is in a coastal area in easternmost Mecklenburg, on Rügen and as far as Wolin. Comparisons between different types of source material in Scandinavia and the southern Baltic area showed that these ended up in the same group as later developed variants. *Reihe* 3 from the Fresendorf group was therefore amalgamated by Kempke with the very similar forms in *Reihe* 3 of the Vipperow and Teterow groups, *Reihe* 2 of the Middle Slavic Woldegk group, and *Reihe* 1 of the Kowall group. This decision was very important. By doing so, Kempke gave an opportunity to define an earlier tradition in Late Slavic pottery and, as I shall show in the chapter on 'Scandinavian Reception', to give a way in which to achieve knowledge of the establishment and development of Baltic pottery in Skåne. The Warder group is characterized by a gently biconical vessel body with the transition

⁸⁴ Schuldt 1956; Vogel 1972, p. 30; Kempke 1984, pp. 77f.

⁸⁵ Kempke 1984, p. 78.



Fig. 32. Starigard/Oldenburg. Warder forms from the eleventh century. Scale 1:4. After Kempke 1984, Tafel 26:1; Tafel 20:3.

at the upper third, with an inverted rim, an undecorated zone 1–3 cm wide just under the rim followed by a row of diagonal stick marks and then parallel lines (fig. 32). The rim edge is directed obliquely inwards and often has the upper edge slightly drawn out. Warder is close to the Bobzin group but does not have its non-accentuated rim edge. The geographical distribution of the Warder group is wide, from the Eider in the west to the Oder in the east.

Schuldt's typology has been the basis for most studies in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg. From the important sites of Starigard/Oldenburg, Alt-Lübeck, Warder, Mecklenburg, Behren-Lübchin, and Teterow there are observations which clarify the morphological differences in the Late Slavic pottery west of the Oder.

In *Starigard/Oldenburg*, the most important stronghold of the Wagrians, there are traces of settlement from the second half of the seventh century. The fortress underwent great changes through time, before it was totally destroyed in the second half of the thirteenth century. Over the years its functions varied: the central place of the Wagrians, a pagan cult centre, an episcopal see, and a German feudal castle. The kidney-like shape distinguishes it from other round castles, the reason being that the outer bailey was built into the defensive system in the second half of the eighth century.

In Starigard it is possible to follow the Late Slavic pottery from around or just before the year 1000.⁸⁶ The fortress was destroyed in the middle of the twelfth century and the prince then settled in the market area south of the old ramparts. Within this chronological interval the Late Slavic pottery is divided into two horizons (4 and 5) which are broadly classified as before and after 1100. Both are dominated by

⁸⁶ Kempke 1984.

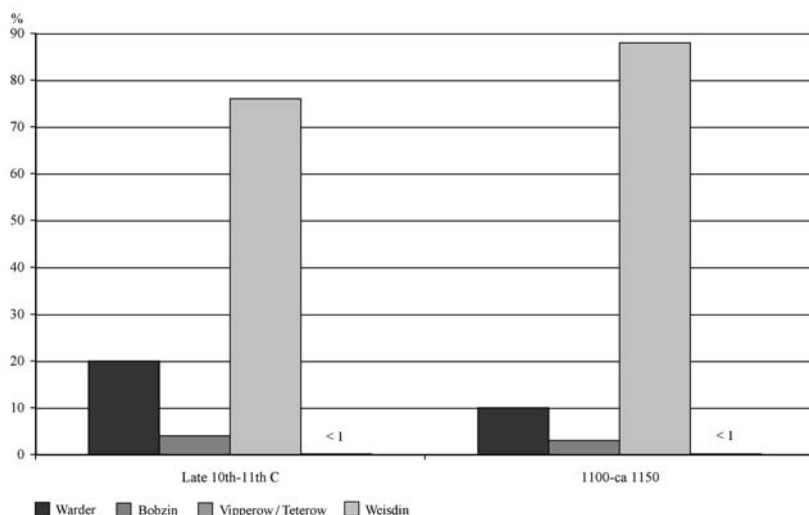


Fig. 33. Starigard/Oldenburg. Percentages of the Late Slavic ceramic groups. In the combined Vipperow and Teterow group the rims are distributed fifty-fifty. n = 817.

the amalgamated Vipperow and Teterow groups, with the latter constituting half of the pots (fig. 33). The Warder group is the third most common, most frequently in use in the eleventh century. An extremely small proportion of Bobzin vessels, their lids, and Garz bowls has been found in Starigard.

Detailed studies of the rims show contrasts between the execution in the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century. Over time the eversion of the rims is increasingly accentuated, as they become longer and more clearly rebated. In horizon 5 there are necks and rims which are given increasingly extreme profiles. The clay is tempered with finer material and the firing temperature is higher. The potters seem to have developed a steadily refined technique and sense of form. The most common feature in both periods is two main types with a long, everted rim with a smooth or rebated inside (fig. 34). The rim edge is oblique on the first (*Randform* 12) and rounded on the second (*Randform* 10). A different type of rim which is associated with the Warder group is the third most common (*Randform* 34). In fourth place comes an everted, medium-length rim with a rounded edge and convex inside (*Randform* 22). The fifth and sixth most common rims are distributed among various everted forms (*Randform* 3, 11, 16 and 20).

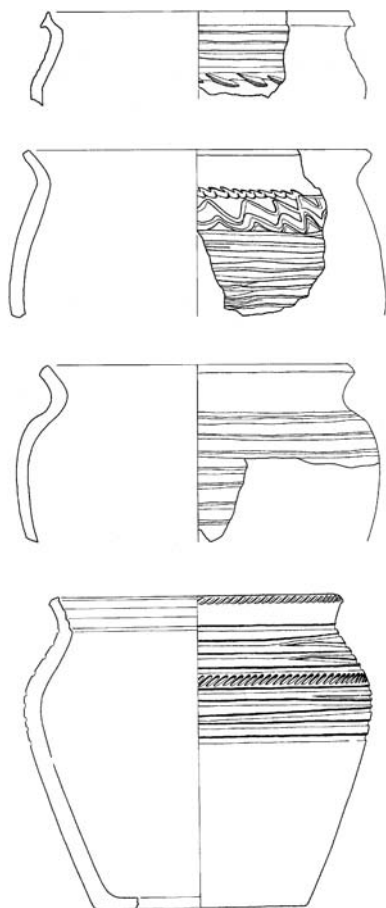


Fig. 34. Starigard/Oldenburg. The most common everted rim forms. Scale 1:4. After Kempke 1984, Tafel 17:11; Tafel 24:5; Tafel 44:5 & 6.

The Late Slavic horizon can be more clearly divided into an early phase with the Warder group present, and a late phase with Teterow pots decorated with ring-eyes on the neck, which first come into use after 1100 (fig. 35). Also belonging to the latter horizon are the Garz bowls, pots with bulge-like decoration on the shoulder and pots with a vertical or gently curved neck zone.

In the most important stronghold of the Obodrites, *Veligrad/Mecklenburg*, King Nakon reigned in the tenth century. This site had a much earlier origin; the oldest archaeological evidence shows that the fortress was

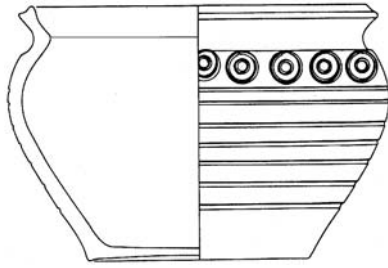


Fig. 35. Starigard/Oldenburg. Ringaugengefäß from the twelfth century.
Scale 1:4. After Kempke 1984, Tafel 25:5.

founded in the first half of the seventh century, which is surprisingly early.⁸⁷ Since Slavic immigration to the area coincides with the time of the construction of the first defences, this shows that there was already considerable organizational strength at this stage. Veligrad/Mecklenburg reached its zenith under the Nakonids from the mid-tenth century to the middle of the twelfth century. The fortress was used as the residence of the Obodrite princes even after this, and it was not destroyed until the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The size is impressive, between 95 and 140 metres in diameter, compared to other Slavic fortresses, and there are said to have been three monasteries within the ramparts.

The pottery from the building phases of *Burg F* covers the time from around 965 to the start of the eleventh century. Layers 16 to 12 belong to the Nakonids' period of greatness from the start of the eleventh century to the mid-twelfth century, and *Burg G* lasted from the start of the eleventh century to 1256. Thanks to the fine division of Schuldt's *Reihen*, it is possible to classify the Late Slavic groups into distinct traditions of ceramic design (fig. 36). A certain redistribution of the material between the settlement strata disturbs the picture, but the roughly 270 sherds from the Early Middle Ages nevertheless give us some insight the local tradition at the Obodrites' biggest fortress (fig. 37).

The biggest is the Vipperow group, which occupies a special position with 80% of the total quantity of Late Slavic rims. Approximately 15% belongs to the Teterow group and 5% to the Bobzin group. Weisdin pots are represented by just one example. Warder pots are not crystallized as a group, but they can be discerned in the material by virtue

⁸⁷ Donat 1984, p. 107.

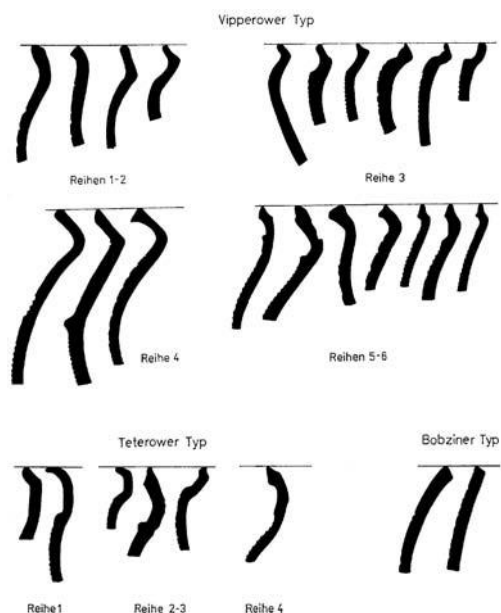


Fig. 36. Veligrad/Mecklenburg. The variety of forms in the most common Late Slavic vessel types distributed by Reihen according to Schuldt. After Donat 1984, p. 91, Abb. 53.

of the fine division into subgroups. The most obvious is *Reihe* 3 of the Vipperow group which, because of the periodization of the material, is far too roughly placed from the start of the eleventh century until around 1150. Since four settlement strata are comprised by this time, it is possible to see how the concentration is greatest in the first two. This means that the largest accumulation of Vipperow *Reihe* 3 falls in the eleventh century. The few Bobzin fragments that occur are found in layers 19 to 10, *c.* 950 to 1150.

The only group to display any chronological differences is Vipperow. In the early strata we find forms that are not so well developed, *Reihe* 1 and 2. The rims are slightly everted, short or medium-length, with the edge facing obliquely outwards or rounded. Likewise, *Reihe* 3, which according to Kempke should be assigned to the new Warder group, has its largest proportion in the early eleventh century. A clear redistribution occurs in the mid-twelfth century, when highly profiled rims are the potters' norm. They are also taller and distinctly rebated. In the period *c.* 950–1256, then, the Vipperow group underwent a change from simple rims to more complex and baroque ones. In the four last

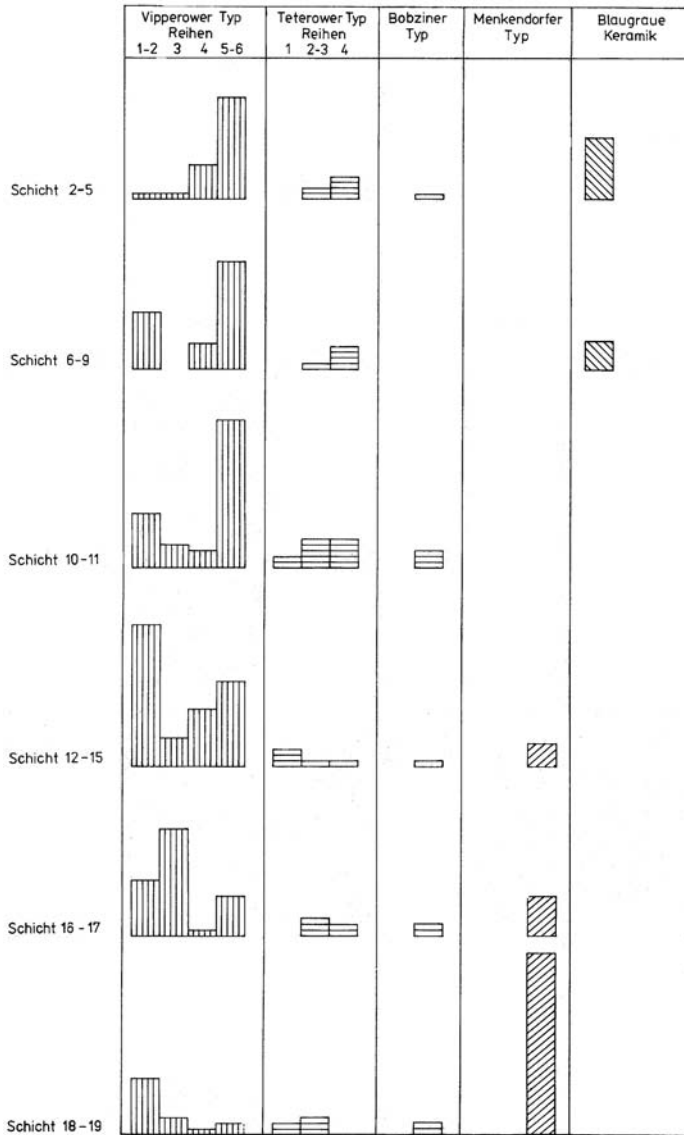


Fig. 37. Veligrad/Mecklenburg. Quantitative distribution of the most common Late Slavic vessel types distributed by Reihen. The layers are dated as follows. Schicht 19-16 = end of the tenth century – start of the eleventh century, Schicht 15-12 = start of the eleventh century – middle of the twelfth century, Schicht 11-2 = middle of the twelfth century – 1256. After Donat 1984, p. 92, Abb. 54.

settlement layers the heavily profiled Vipperow and Teterow pots are found together with German *Kugeltöpfe*, which hints at what the very late tableware in the castle may have looked like.

Liubice/Alt-Lübeck was Henrik Gottskalkson's important stronghold. After his father Gottskalk had been killed at Veligrad/Mecklenburg, his Danish-born mother Sigrid had moved with him to Denmark, but on his return he does not seem to have wanted to reside there. The situation at the close of the eleventh century was also different, with increased trade based in towns. He was more easily able to maintain external connections on the banks of the Trave. Perhaps this was also intended to mark his position *vis-à-vis* his rival, the Wagrian prince Kruto with his stronghold in Bucu, what would become Lübeck under German supremacy. Kruto fell in battle against Henrik in 1093 and the castle of Bucu lost its position as a princely seat and was abandoned in 1143. Liubice was more centrally placed in the state than the Nakonids' old residence in Veligrad/Mecklenburg. The sojourn in Liubice/Alt-Lübeck did not last long. After just a few decades Henrik lost control over his castle and his realm when the reaction came to his idea of a Christian Obodrite kingdom. In addition, he was a political tool of external forces as a vassal of the German emperor and a kinsman of the Danish king. He fell in battle in 1127. His successors held Liubice/Alt-Lübeck until 1138 when it was destroyed by Race, a descendant of Kruto. The Obodrite princes then moved back to Veligrad/Mecklenburg.

Liubice was founded on a site where there had formerly been a Slavic settlement. Among the pottery we therefore find Menkendorf vessels to a small extent. The span of time represented by the Late Slavic pottery is thus from the end of the tenth century to the middle of the twelfth century.⁸⁸ An inventory of the forms used on the site shows a rather remarkable division, since it is the Teterow group that is best represented (fig. 38). Over half of the rims belong to it, with the Vipperow group as the second most common. The Warder and Bobzin groups occur, but in small quantities, along with the lids of the latter. There is no record of the Weisdin group. The everted rims thus dominate heavily (fig. 39). One third of the Late Slavic pottery consists of the *Ringaugengefässe* that are typical of Alt-Lübeck.

⁸⁸ Hübener 1953; Meier 1993, pp. 16ff.

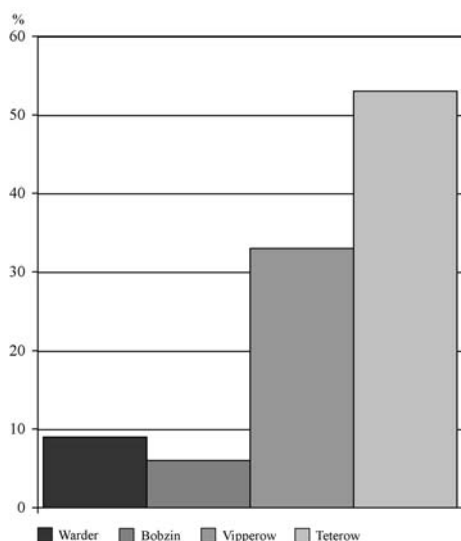


Fig. 38. Alt-Lübeck. Percentages of the Late Slavic vessel groups. $n = 422$.

Smaller strongholds and settlements should also be considered so that the composition of pottery types should not be too influenced by social differences. The fortress at *Warder* in eastern Holstein had a diameter of just 25–35 m, but it nevertheless had all the attributes associated with Slavic strongholds. A wooden palisade crowned the surrounding structure of timber and earth which protected a stone dwelling house and a sleeping house. The settlement extends in time from around 800 until 1150, like most of the Slavic fortresses in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg.

While analysing the Late Slavic pottery from *Warder*, Kempke found that it was possible to place forms from Schuldt's original groups in a separate group. The *Warder* group is described at the start of this section. The general characteristic of the site is that the *Vipperow* group predominated heavily (fig. 40). It is followed by the *Teterow* and *Warder* groups, with roughly the same number. Finally, there are very small amounts of *Bobzin* pottery.

Kempke was able to distinguish five chronological horizons, the last three of which are from the Early Middle Ages. In this sense, the source material from *Warder* is unusual since stratigraphic observations in fortress material are rare. Horizon 3 is broadly dated to the eleventh century, possibly with an interruption at the end of the century. It is

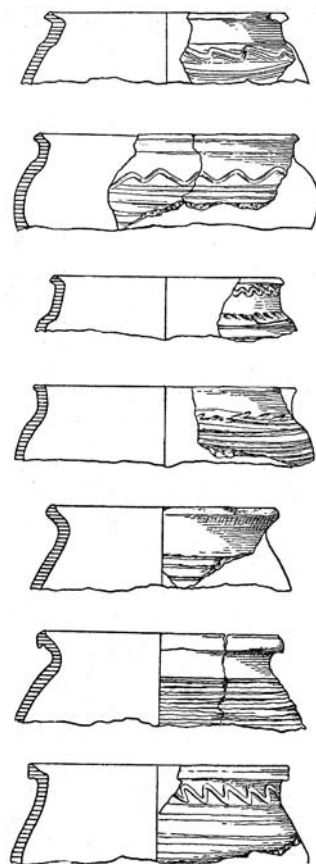


Fig. 39. Alt-Lübeck. The most common rim forms in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Not to scale. After Hübener 1953.

succeeded by horizon 2, which extends into the early twelfth century. Last comes horizon 1, which ends late in the twelfth century. The last horizon has a clear admixture of both earlier and later material. The periods display distinctive features in the percentages of different ceramic groups. Warder pots are by far in the majority in the eleventh century, followed by the Vipperow group. A small proportion belongs to the Teterow group and an even smaller share to the Bobzin group. From the end of the century until the early twelfth century the situation changes and the proportions of the Warder and Vipperow groups are reversed, with the latter now in the majority. The Teterow and Bobzin groups are made in roughly the same quantities as before. In the last

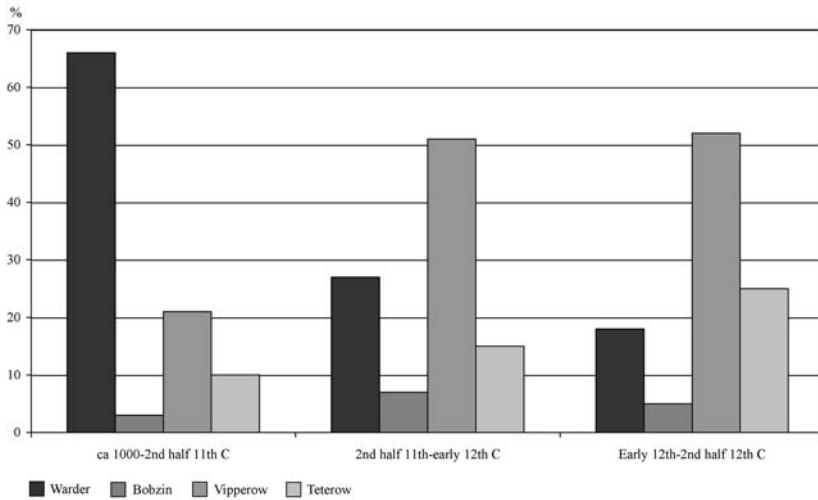


Fig. 40. Warder. Percentages of the Late Slavic vessel groups. n = 313.

phase, between the start of the twelfth century and the second half of the century, the composition shows a picture that is more normal for Holstein and Mecklenburg. The Vipperow group predominates heavily with Teterow second. The Warder group is still present in not insignificant amounts, and occasional Bobzin pots are found.

In the fortress of *Scharstorf* in the westernmost parts of Slavic territory, the vast majority of the finds belong to an earlier period. The few Late Slavic sherds that have been found come from a later open settlement whose connection to the fortress was merely topographical.⁸⁹ Among the pots, the Vipperow group dominates, with highly everted, long rims with the edge pointing outwards and the inside rebated.

From another open agrarian settlement at *Kösel* near Hedeby there is a set of Late Slavic pottery from the eleventh century which can give us an idea of the forms in the westernmost parts of the Wendish area.⁹⁰ Danish and Saxon interests dominated the site, which lay within a Germanic tradition area. The dating of the pots is linked to the settlement, which has its centre of gravity in the eleventh century but survived

⁸⁹ Meier 1990.

⁹⁰ Meier 1994.

until the start of the twelfth century. The forms represented are mainly from the Vipperow group, while occasional examples of the Woldegk, Teterow, and Bobzin groups are noted. Judging by the catalogue, the Warder group is included in the household's set of pots.⁹¹

The fortress in *Behren-Lübchin* was much larger than the one in Warder and located in a protected position in a lake. The road to the roughly 95 metre wide site passed over a 300 metre long bridge. The entrance was guarded by a tall tower which overlooked the road from the mainland. The foundation is dated to the end of the tenth century by Schuldt, who led the excavation of the site. Other scholars have taken the view that the site should be linked to the expansion of the Obodrite prince Gottskalk eastward from his core area in Mecklenburg.⁹² This means that the first piles were driven into the bottom of the lake around 1043. Behren-Lübchin was burnt down at the end of the twelfth century by the Danes.

The pottery from the site was briefly described by Schuldt himself.⁹³ The classification shows that the Teterow group is most common, immediately followed by Vipperow. As expected, a few Bobzin pots occur, as do occasional storage vessels from the Weisdin group (fig. 41). Garz bowls are also found in the material. From Schuldt's list of the different *Reihen*, however, it is possible to discern the Warder group. The situation then changes, as it can be seen that this and the Teterow group become equal. The Vipperow group shrinks to an insignificant percentage, while the Bobzin and Weisdin groups retain their modest presence.

Teterow, which has given its name to the second most common ceramic group in the area, was a stronghold similar to the nearby Behren-Lübchin. It was founded at the same time and with the same purpose, to consolidate the grip of the Obodrites on other tribes. The size, roughly 40 by 70 metres, made it into one of the smaller strongholds in the area.

The pottery from Teterow has been summarily presented by Schuldt.⁹⁴ The Vipperow group is undoubtedly largest (fig. 42). The group that

⁹¹ Meier 1994, Taf. 14; 2, 14, 15; 3, 6.

⁹² Herrmann 1985 (1970), p. 224.

⁹³ Schuldt 1965.

⁹⁴ Schuldt 1967.

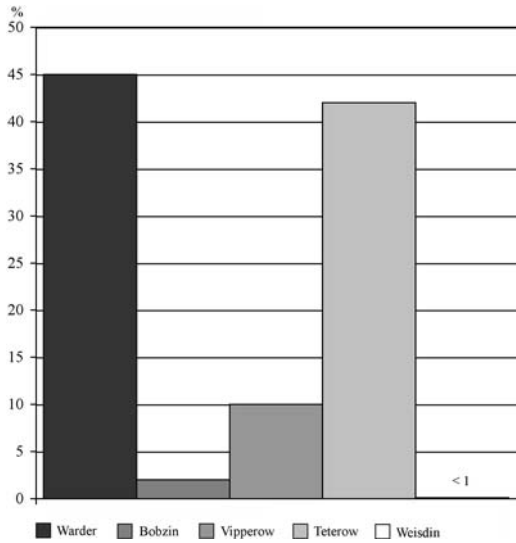


Fig. 41. Behren-Lübchin. Percentages of the Late Slavic groups. n = 2,145.

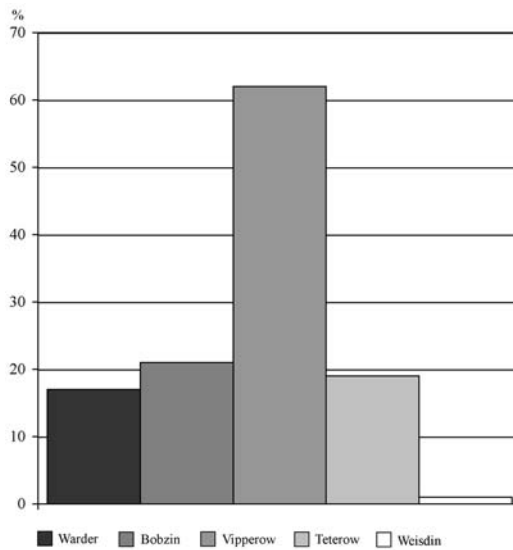


Fig. 42. Teterow. Percentages of the Late Slavic groups. n = 2,378.

has taken its name from the find place is weakly represented. The Bobzin and Weisdin groups are even smaller. With a classification which makes Kempke's Warder group stand out more clearly, it turns out that Vipperow is still the most common, followed by Teterow and Warder with very similar figures, and finally the minor Bobzin and Weisdin groups.

Rügen was the territory of the Ránians, who preserved paganism longest of all the Wendish tribes. Arkona, Rugard, and Garz were the largest fortresses on the island. From a small number of small agrarian settlements we have information to indicate what the ceramic tradition looked like here. The source material from *Natzevitz*, *Mukran*, *Žirkow*, and *Ruschwitz* has been retrieved from pits and ditches during construction work and ground preparation.⁹⁵ The sets of pots should be regarded merely as examples of the tradition that prevailed on the island, since we do not have a complete chronological sequence. It is therefore difficult to know what the selection represents. Was the filling in the pits deposited over a long period or on a single occasion? At the moment the number of rims is too small and the datings too uncertain to give us as firm a grasp of the ceramic tradition as those further to the west.

The rims on Rügen are not distributed regularly between the groups from place to place.⁹⁶ If we look at the Late Slavic groups, we see that Teterow accounts for the majority, immediately followed by the Vipperow group. As we might expect, the Bobzin group is present but weakly represented. Bowls of Garz type are found, of course, on this island which has the site that gave them their name.

If we make a more qualitative assessment of the rims, some very interesting aspects emerge. From the illustrations it is clear that *Reihe* 3 of both the Vipperow and the Teterow groups greatly predominates. The associations that the group names arouse with strongly everted rims and vertical neck zones are therefore erroneous. The heavy dominance of inverted rims in the pit finds from Late Slavic times is regarded as typical of Rügen (fig. 43).⁹⁷ The commencement of these

⁹⁵ Lampe 1983.

⁹⁶ Lampe 1983, p. 171.

⁹⁷ Lampe 1983, p. 173.

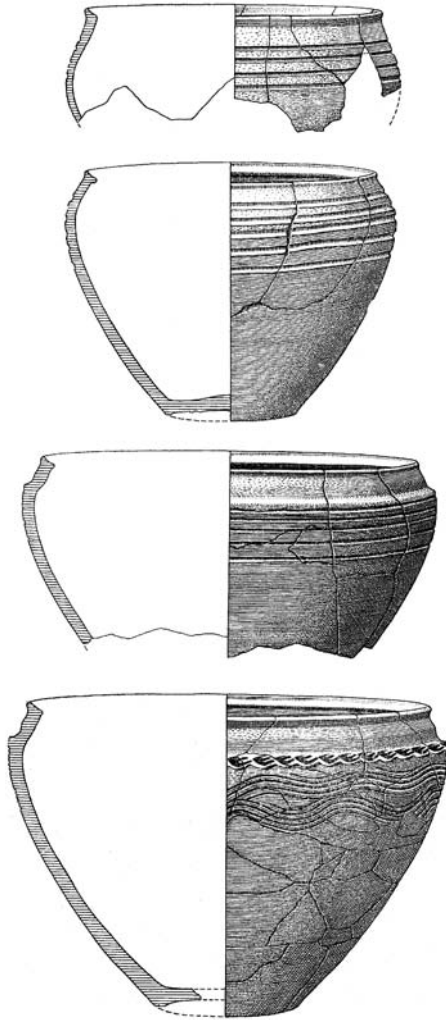


Fig. 43. Rügen. Common inverted rim forms of late Fresendorf and Warder types. Scale 1:4. After Lampe 1983.

types has been set in the late tenth century and the early eleventh century, while the typical high necks and vertical neck zones with heavily everted rims belong to a later phase of development in the eleventh century which extends into the thirteenth century. A subjective assessment of the pottery presented from Rügen and adjacent mainland areas in *Corpus archäologischer Quellen zur Frühgeschichte auf dem Gebiet der*

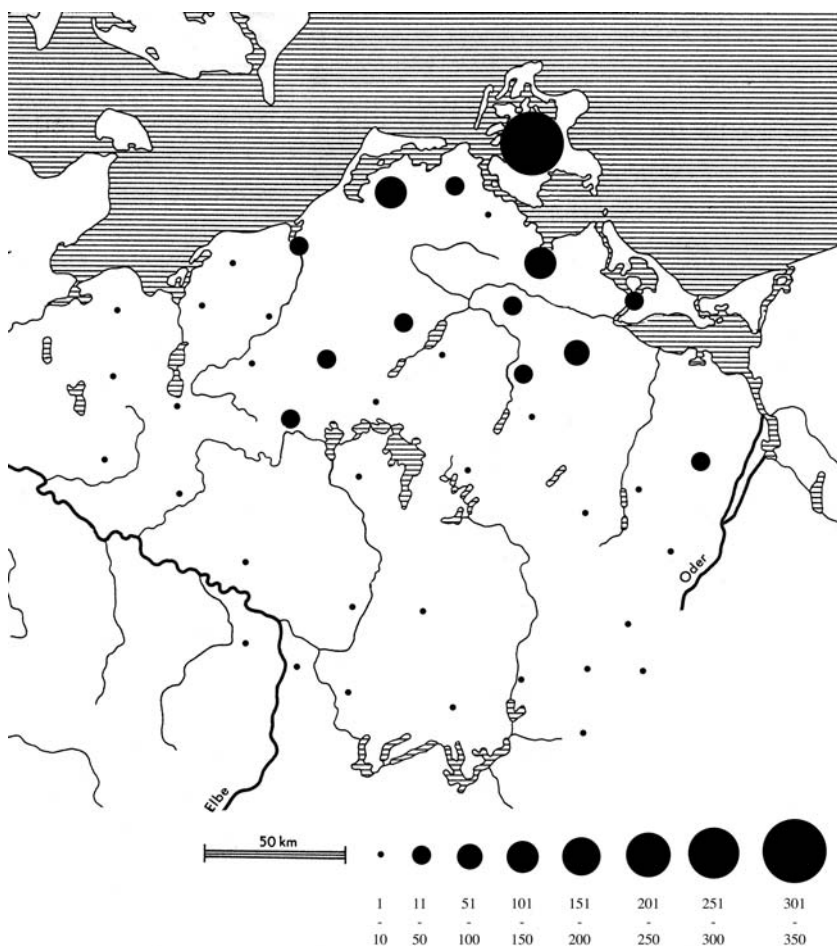


Fig. 44. Quantitative distribution of vessels associated with inverted forms. A noticeable concentration is found on Rügen and its hinterland. The occasional examples further from the core area are mostly of Bobzin type, while the core area shows greater variation, with Warder, Vipperow, and Teterow types. Base map after Kempke 1981.

Deutschen Demokratischen Republik reinforces the impression (figs. 44 and 45).⁹⁸ I would emphasize that the proportions of the different forms are based on a summary of the illustrated Late Slavic pots and not a total analysis of the ceramic material. The uncertainty lies in the differences

⁹⁸ *Corpus archäologischer Quellen zur frühgeschichte* 1973, 1979a, 1979b.

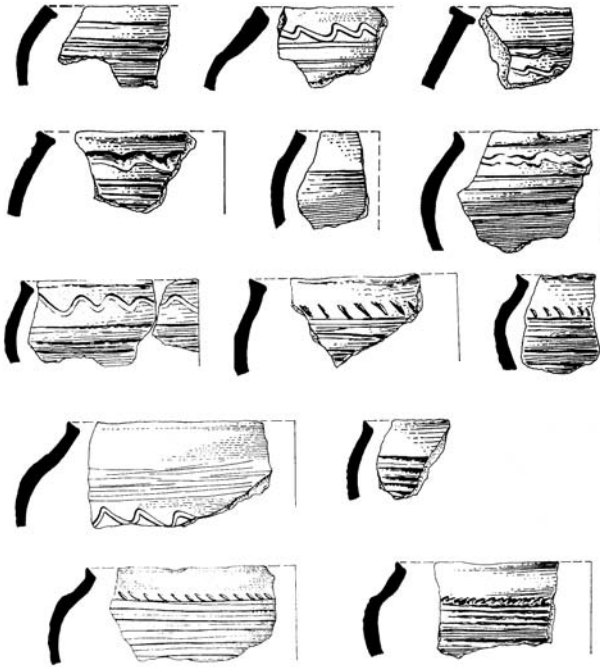


Fig. 45. Examples of rims from the groups constituting the background to the map in fig. 44. Redebas, Kreis Ribnitz-Damgarten (Corpus 38/94). Not to scale.

in time between the places, the preservation conditions, and the level of documentation. Despite this, I believe that the general picture that emerges may be representative of the local tradition. Inverted rims from the Vipperow, Teterow, Bobzin, and Fresendorf groups were produced in large numbers, differing from the rest of Mecklenburg and Pomerania. These early forms, I believe, were closely associated with Rügen's strong Fresendorf tradition, which totally predominated in the ninth and tenth centuries. Everted rims also occur, of course, but in smaller numbers.

A very interesting complex for the final phase of Late Slavic pottery is the type from Ruschwitz with late forms, long everted rims with rounded edges which lead one's thoughts to German *Kugeltöpfe* (fig. 46). The pots are very hard fired, thin-walled, and are dated to the thirteenth century.

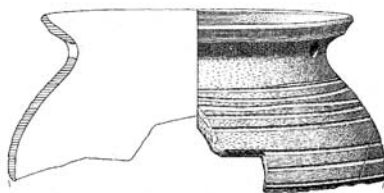


Fig. 46. Rügen. Late Slavic vessel from Ruschvitz. Scale 1:4. After Lampe 1982, p. 165, Abb. 10 k.

One of the problems facing anyone studying Late Slavic pottery is that the source material to a large extent comes from strongholds. This means that the earlier Late Slavic groups are represented, but since the strongholds were often destroyed in the second half of the twelfth century, development after this is difficult to follow. Occasional closed finds in pits, like those from Rügen, can tell us something about the persistence of the Slavic ceramic tradition. In addition, it is essential to define the relative proportions of the different groups and *Reihen* of each set of finds. Brather's work with the Early and Middle Slavic pottery has given very interesting results, and we can only wish that a similar effort will be made in the future for the Late Slavic pottery.⁹⁹

For an interpretation of the changes in eastern Holstein and Mecklenburg, as has been mentioned several times, Kempke's investigation of the fortress in Warder is important. It is the only place where it is possible to divide the eleventh century into two halves. In the first phase in the late tenth century and the early eleventh, it is the Warder group that stands out as most frequent. After the mid-eleventh century the clearly everted rims of the classic Vipperow *Reihen* dominate distinctly and the Teterow group begins to catch on. From 1100 until mid-century the Vipperow group is still in the majority and Teterow increases, while the Warder group declines heavily. The tendency is comparable with that at Veligrad/Mecklenburg, where Vipperow *Reihe* 3, which belongs to the Warder group, accounts for the majority of all rims in the first half of the eleventh century. In Starigard/Oldenburg the majority of Warder pots are also from this century. We may thus assume that the inverted rims on the low pots in the Warder group are an early phenomenon which encountered competition in the second half of the eleventh century from distinctly everted rims of the Vip-

⁹⁹ Brather 1993, 1996.

perow type, and that the Teterow group then began to appear. Yet it was not until around 1100 that the latter group in its classical form became popular.

Late elements in Liubice/Alt-Lübeck and Starigard/Oldenburg are the Teterow pots with *Ringaugen* as a decoration on the neck zone. The type also occurs on other sites on the mainland of eastern Holstein, on Fehmarn, and in western Mecklenburg. Together with the Garz bowls, they may be considered as representatives of the Late Slavic tradition in the twelfth century.

Apart from the more general design traditions it is possible also to find subtle changes in the execution of the rims in the largest two groups. In the course of the eleventh century the Vipperow and Teterow pots become more profiled, rebated, and baroque. In Veligrad/Mecklenburg this is clear in the emergence of *Reihen* 4 and 5 from the Vipperow group and *Reihe* 4 from the Teterow group. The transition took place around 1150 and continued during the thirteenth century.

As stated above, the percentages of the different forms at the find spots are more difficult to define. The Warder group is found in virtually the whole investigated area from eastern Holstein to the Oder, but some observations hint at an interesting regional variation. In Wagrien (eastern Holstein) it is weakly represented, and in surveys of the area one gains the impression that the distinctly everted Vipperow rims strongly predominate.¹⁰⁰ The further east we get, the more frequent the Warder group becomes. In Behren-Lübchin it is as common in quantitative terms as the Vipperow group, while in Teterow we find that Warder and classical Teterow rims are equally frequent. In an area demarcated by the Recknitz to the west, the Peene to the south, and the east bank of the Oder, we find the core area of the Fresendorf tradition in the ninth and tenth centuries. This is where the inverted rims in the Warder group are wholly dominant and the Bobzin group is clearly present, especially on Rügen, which—together with the nearby mainland—seems to have been the core land of the inverted forms. It is also noticeable that the few inverted rims in the southern parts of Mecklenburg and northern Brandenburg almost exclusively consist of the Bobzin group. There, and outside the core area, there is a clear dominance of everted rims.

¹⁰⁰ Vogel 1972, p. 31.

An observation which is worth noting is that nowhere in the source material from between the Elbe and Oder have I found the distinctive forms of hanging vessels or lamps on pedestals which are so typical of tableware in eastern Denmark and Skåne.

The change in the *Ostsiedlung* when German feudal lords and peasants settled east of the Elbe also had consequences for everyday pottery. Above we have followed the development of Late Slavic ceramics up to the start of the thirteenth century. But how did the Slavic tradition fade away in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg? This is an important question if we are to understand the continuity or discontinuity in the links with Scandinavia.

The new German towns were dominated by *harte Grauware*. In Lübeck the Slavic forms disappear just after 1200, to be replaced by German *Kugeltöpfe*.¹⁰¹ We know that Wends continued to live in the town later than this, but they seem to have adopted the German household tradition. In the Hanseatic town of Rostock the Slavic pottery disappeared a few decades later, at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁰² The difference in time between western and eastern Germany is noticeable.¹⁰³ In the western parts of Mecklenburg, Slavic pots vanished from the households as early as 1200. Pots in the eastern parts, dated by coins and dendrochronology, show that the tradition lived on in the countryside and in towns like Rostock, Stralsund, and Greifswald up to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. A pottery kiln from Daberkow, *Kreis Demmin*, dated around 1300, was found to contain remains of both German and Late Slavic vessels.¹⁰⁴ The old core area on Rügen and the adjacent mainland appears to have retained the tradition longest.

Further south in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Niederlausitz, the Slavic potters stopped making traditional forms and instead made round-based pots around 1200.¹⁰⁵ At the same time, in the Middle Ages this area was characterized by *Standbodengefässe*, pots with a flat base but of hard-fired ware and with rim forms inspired by the German tradition. For a time Slavic and German pots were produced in parallel, influencing each other's design. The late Slavic pots in every area were

¹⁰¹ Gläser 1989, p. 92, Abb. 15:2.

¹⁰² Schäfer 1991, p. 147, Abb. 4.

¹⁰³ Mangelsdorf 1995, pp. 41f.

¹⁰⁴ Warnke 1967.

¹⁰⁵ Mangelsdorf 1994, pp. 43ff.

bulging, with long everted rims, often rebated. The decoration consists of shallow lines on the hard-fired grey bodies of the pots. But the influences could also go in the opposite direction when the German potters adopted wavy bands and lines from the Slavs. The development further reinforces the ideas I presented in the chapter 'The Encounter'. There I claimed that traditions of form and technique went together with long-term, intensive personal presence of potters. If the traditions of the Anglo-Scandinavian and Polish potters were to be able to take root, their presence in Lund, Sandomierz, and Přerov was necessary. When they left these places, the distinctive formal features vanished with them. The encounter between the German and Slavic potters took a different course since they lived together permanently and the potters continuously influenced each other. The German tradition, however, was totally dominant. After 1300, Slavic pottery ceased to be found west of the Oder.

Pomerania and the Great Poland of the Piasts

Poland shows a great variety of household ceramics in the time from 980 to 1300. The places and the area on the coast in western Pomerania were more influenced by the tribes in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern than were the power centres in the Great Poland of the Piasts. For a long time they had a political structure of their own, as the Pomeranian dukes tried to balance their position between Danes, Saxons, and Piasts. The pottery was a part of the tenacious structures of everyday life, with locally conditioned forms. Differences which arose between local pottery depended on what functions the places had, as the seats of princes loyal to the Piasts or points of contact for long-distance trade. The source material available for comparison comes from Szczecin, Wolin, Białogard, Kołobrzeg, and Gdańsk. Two places, Santok in Great Poland and Kruszwica in Kujawy—are presented as a backdrop for comparisons with the tradition that prevailed further away from the coast in the period 1000–1300.

As I stated in the section 'The ideological potter's wheel', presentations of the source material from Great Poland use a general division developed by Hensel and Kurnatowska, based on technological features of the pottery. The first phase of Late Slavic pottery is characterized by the growing specialization of manufacture and its concentration in specific places. This stage had already been passed in other parts of Central Europe but it did not reach the vicinity of Scandinavia until

the close of the tenth century. According to the view of development in Great Poland, Pomeranian pottery is primarily divided into three major technical groups depending on the extent to which the vessel was built up by hand and subsequently worked.¹⁰⁶ Group I is shaped wholly by hand, with no turntable, Group II is made by hand and then finished on a turntable to shape the rim or to round off the pot down to the shoulder, and in Group III the entire wall of the vessel shows traces of more rapid rotation. It is necessary to point out that this is not genuine wheel throwing; instead the vessels were shaped after they had been built up of strips of clay. Based on this classification, Late Slavic pottery ends up in Group III.

Late Slavic pottery is divided into typological families linked to Schuldt's system but with the names of the German find spots replaced with letter designations. According to the Pomeranian system, D means Menkendorf, E Woldegk, F Fresendorf, G Vipperow, H Weisdin, J Teterow, while K is a group of pots with tall cylindrical necks which Schuldt did not define, M means Bobzin, N refers to lids for the previous group, and R means Garz bowls.

According to Kurnatowska, the fourth and final stage in the technical development was wheel-thrown pots and firing in reduced atmosphere under controlled forms.¹⁰⁷ In important trading towns like Kraków these pots existed already in the first half of the thirteenth century; in the towns along the coast in Pomerania, sandy fine-grained clays which could be wheel-thrown came into use from the middle of the century. Not until around 1350 did the new technique begin to oust the traditional method used since the Early Middle Ages. The shift in this direction was distributed differently both between different towns and between town and country. In Poland the change was linked to the new urban structure affected by German influence, above all through the spread of the Hansa and the introduction of German urban law. The development presented briefly here can be said to be generally applicable to Pomerania. For comparisons with Baltic pottery in Scandinavia it is necessary to describe the forms carefully in words and pictures.

¹⁰⁶ Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 188.

¹⁰⁷ Dzieduszycki 1983, p. 117; Kurnatowska 1973b, p. 128; Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 201; Mangelsdorf 1995, pp. 41ff.

Wolin has its origin in an agrarian settlement from the seventh century beside a crossing point on the River Dziwna/Dievenow but it should be reckoned as an urban setting from the end of the eighth century.¹⁰⁸ During the ninth century the town had acquired a position among the exchange sites on the south coast of the Baltic, together with Hedeby, Ralswiek, Menzlin, and Truso. The differentiation of settlement within Wolin started at the transition to the ninth century, when a separate craftsmen's settlement arose north of the town on *Srebrne Wzgórze/Silberberg*. Around 900 there were major structural changes which affected both the topography and the activities. The town was given a defensive rampart of timber and earth, and production increased in scope. From this time Wolin is counted as a town, and it experienced its heyday up to the start of the eleventh century.

Polish scholars associate the decline in the first half of the eleventh century with the attack by Magnus the Good and the burning of the town in 1043. Yet Wolin was still important at the end of the century. In Adam of Bremen's description of the composition of the visitors we find Scandinavians, Saxons, and 'Greeks', that is, Orthodox East Slavs, as guests in the town.¹⁰⁹ The upswing in the second half of the century was a general phenomenon in the coastal towns of Wolin, Szczecin, Kołobrzeg, Puck, and Gdańsk which can be observed in archaeological sources in the form of increased craft activity and denser settlement.

Wolin was not incorporated in the Polish monarchy until after it was converted to Christianity in 1128. By then Szczecin was bigger and more important as the seat of the Pomeranian dukes and as a trading site. The town was also burnt down during Absalon's campaign against Pomerania in 1184, with the Danish chronicler Svend Aggesen as an eyewitness.

The Late Slavic pottery from Wolin is presented in a few works.¹¹⁰ The problem is that the quantitative relations between the different groups are not clearly stated in the two major works by Wilde and Białęcka. An excavation on the periphery of the town has been given a more detailed presentation, but the excavated area was small and the sequence of phases is broken for a period of about 50 years.

¹⁰⁸ Filipowiak 1989.

¹⁰⁹ Adam of Bremen 1984, p. 79.

¹¹⁰ Wilde 1939; Białęcka 1961; Stanisławski 1999.

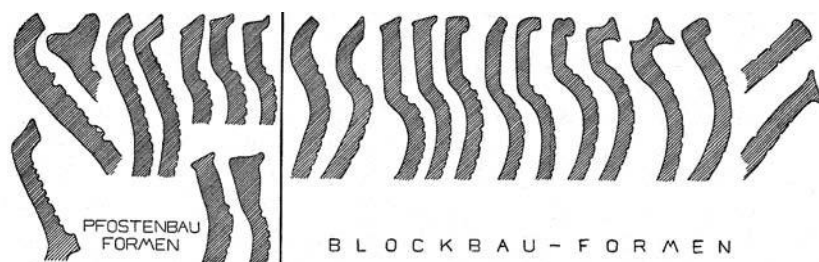


Fig. 47. Wolin. Wilde's classification of Late Slavic rim forms from the town. According to Kempke's reassessment of the dates, the Pfostenbau forms were in use from the late tenth century to the middle of the twelfth century, while the Blockbau period came between this time and around 1250. After Wilde 1939.

The conclusion that can be drawn from Wilde's work is that the inhabitants at the end of the tenth century had pots from the Menkendorf, Fresendorf, Woldegk, and Vipperow groups.¹¹¹ The datings in Wilde's publication have been reassessed by Torsten Kempke, who thinks that layers 8 and 9 should be placed just before 1050.¹¹² Wilde's datings, according to him, are slightly too late. Vessel shapes which seem to belong to the entire eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century are found in layers which are designated *Pfostenbau-periode Ib* (fig. 47). During this early period people used pots from the Vipperow group (W 15–18), the Teterow group, and the K group (W 17), Woldegk vessels (W 13, W 14), and a small number of Menkendorf pots (W 7–10). It should be noticed that Warder forms are concealed in groups W 18:1 and W 18:2. This observation strengthens the impression that the group belongs to an early phase of Late Slavic pottery. Wilde calls the next settlement horizon *Blockbauperiode II*, and there we find forms which belong in the time between c. 1150 and 1250. It is obvious that the Vipperow group still exists (W 19, W 22:4, W 23), but that the Teterow group has increased in proportion (W 21, W 22:1–3). A significant increase in the K group (W 20), that is, vessels with cylindrical necks, occurs at this time. It is also in the period 1150–1250 that we find Garz bowls (W 24) in Wolin.

Wilde's work on Wolin has chronological weaknesses and vague definitions of the forms that are most common in the different settlement periods. From excavation site 4 in the town Felicja Białęcka published a

¹¹¹ Wilde 1939, Taf. Ib.

¹¹² Kempke 1984, p. 74.

clearer account of ceramic development at the start of the 1960s which is still the most extensive description of Late Slavic pottery (figs. 48 and 49).¹¹³ Even so, we are faced with problems since she does not state the quantitative proportions of the different groups. In the early eleventh century there were considerable numbers of Menkendorf pots in the deposits, along with Fresendorf vessels. Vipperow pots seem to have been most common, and among them are also forms which belong to the Warder group. On the other hand, only a small number of Teterow vessels are illustrated. During the second half of the eleventh century Vipperow forms predominate, with a larger number of sharply everted rims. Teterow pots with short inverted necks and short, sharply everted rims are also included in the collection. At the end of the century, cylindrical necks occur together with the dominant Vipperow ware. The Pomeranian group K becomes noticeably more common at the start of the twelfth century and into the subsequent century. A characteristic feature of the Vipperow group is that the rims are short or medium-length throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is not until the following century that they become longer and gently flared. A distinctive feature of the decoration of the pots from all the groups in Wolin is a slightly raised strip at the shoulder with oblique incisions made with a toothed implement. This often marks the transition from the shoulder to the rim.

In the most recent presentation of an assemblage of pottery from the southern harbour area, phases V, IV, and III are interesting for the Late Slavic design tradition.¹¹⁴ Phase V is dated to the end of the tenth century and the start of the eleventh century. The composition is rather strange, with a considerable proportion of pots of Menkendorf type. Otherwise Vipperow forms are in the majority, while the Teterow group is represented by only a small number. A few Fresendorf, Woldegk, Warder, Weisdin vessels, and pots with cylindrical necks (group K) are found in the collection. Phase IV comprises the first half of the eleventh century, and there the composition is more typical of the southern Baltic area. The Vipperow group then dominates clearly, followed by Teterow forms and to a smaller extent by Menkendorf vessels. Occasional rims of Bobzin, Warder, Weisdin, Woldegk, Fresendorf, and group K account for the rest of the pots. According to the archaeologist

¹¹³ Białęcka 1961.

¹¹⁴ Stanisławski 1999.

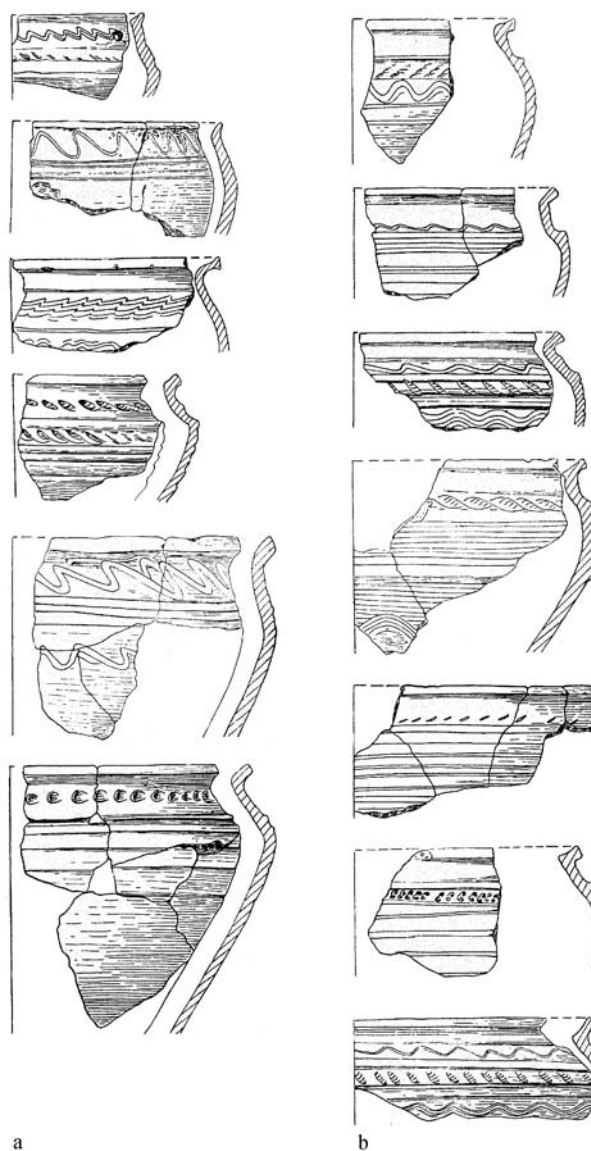


Fig. 48. Wolin. Vessels from (a) the first half of the eleventh century, (b) the second half of the eleventh century, and (c) the first half of the twelfth century. Scale 1:4. After Białęcka 1961.

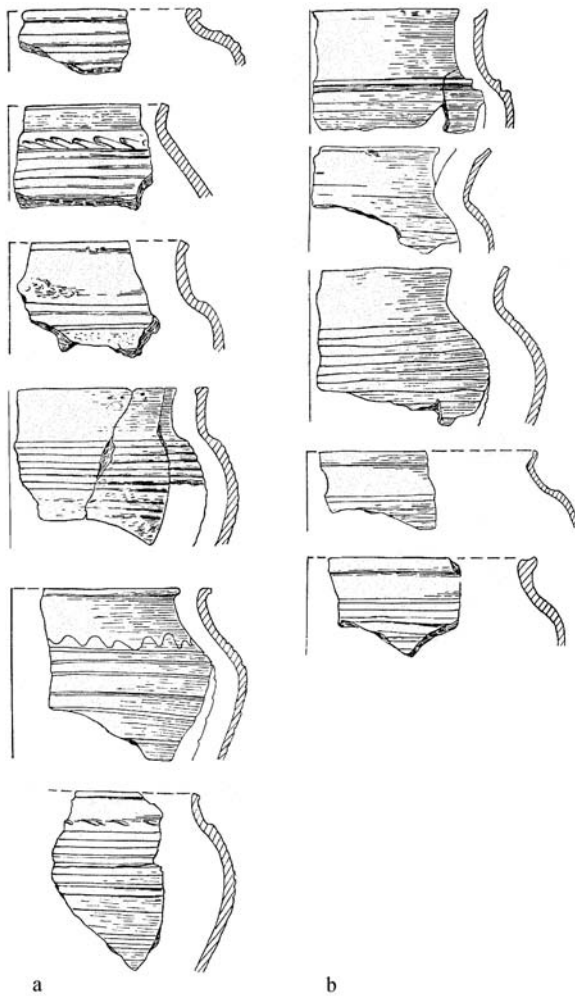


Fig. 49. Wolin. Vessels from (a) the first half of the twelfth century and (b) the middle of the twelfth century to c. 1200. Scale 1:4. After Białęcka 1961.

in charge of the excavation, Błisiej Stanisławski, there is a break in the settlement sequence during the second half of the eleventh century. This means that phase III covers the first half of the twelfth century. The only difference from the previous phase is that the Menkendorf pots have totally disappeared. The relative proportions of Vipperow and Teterow groups are almost exactly as they were before the break. The last few per cent are divided between the smaller groups Weisdin,

K, Warder, and Bobzin. The presence of the Warder group is strange in this late phase, since it vanished from the core area in Mecklenburg before the close of the eleventh century.

Szczecin took over Wolin's function as the most important place at the start of the twelfth century, but its origin is older than that. The site on the Odra/Oder had seen scattered settlement since the seventh century, which took on a new character in the second half of the ninth century with a rampart and suburbium.¹¹⁵ Up until the second half of the tenth century the town developed like other towns on the Pomeranian coast, and at the end of the century the settlement of traders and craftsmen closer to the river bank was also fortified. The role of primary stronghold of the Pomeranian dukes is clear from the fact that Otto of Bamberg based his missionary work there. In the second half of the twelfth century, merchants from Novgorod regularly visited *Szczecin* and were therefore called *szzeticinici*, 'Szczecin farers'. The Magdeburg code of urban law was adopted by the local Pomeranian duke some time between 1237 and 1243, which led to a further upswing for trade and increased Hanseatic influence.

Polish scholars have examined the pottery from *Szczecin* in great detail, and this is the source material that makes up the foundation for our knowledge of Pomerania.¹¹⁶ The ceramic groups can be followed for several centuries with clear quantitative proportions (fig. 50).

A noteworthy difference between *Szczecin* and the more coastal Wolin is the weak representation of the F group (Fresendorf) in the former town at the end of the tenth century. Wolin, together with Kołobrzeg further to the east, clearly had a different pattern of consumption, with specialists who made cooking pots and storage vessels. In *Szczecin* the D group (Menkendorf) was instead the most common residual Middle Slavic type of pottery. It did not disappear until the first half of the eleventh century. In the second half of the tenth century households started to use the first Vipperow pots with the whole body smoothed on a turntable. During a short period of about ten years the new technique gained a foothold and became widespread.

The general development in *Szczecin* can be divided into six phases, based on the chronological differences between the three technical

¹¹⁵ Cnotliwy *et al.* 1983, pp. 294f.; Filipowiak 1989, pp. 699ff.

¹¹⁶ Cnotliwy *et al.* 1983; Łosiński & Rogosz 1984; Łosiński & Rogosz 1986.

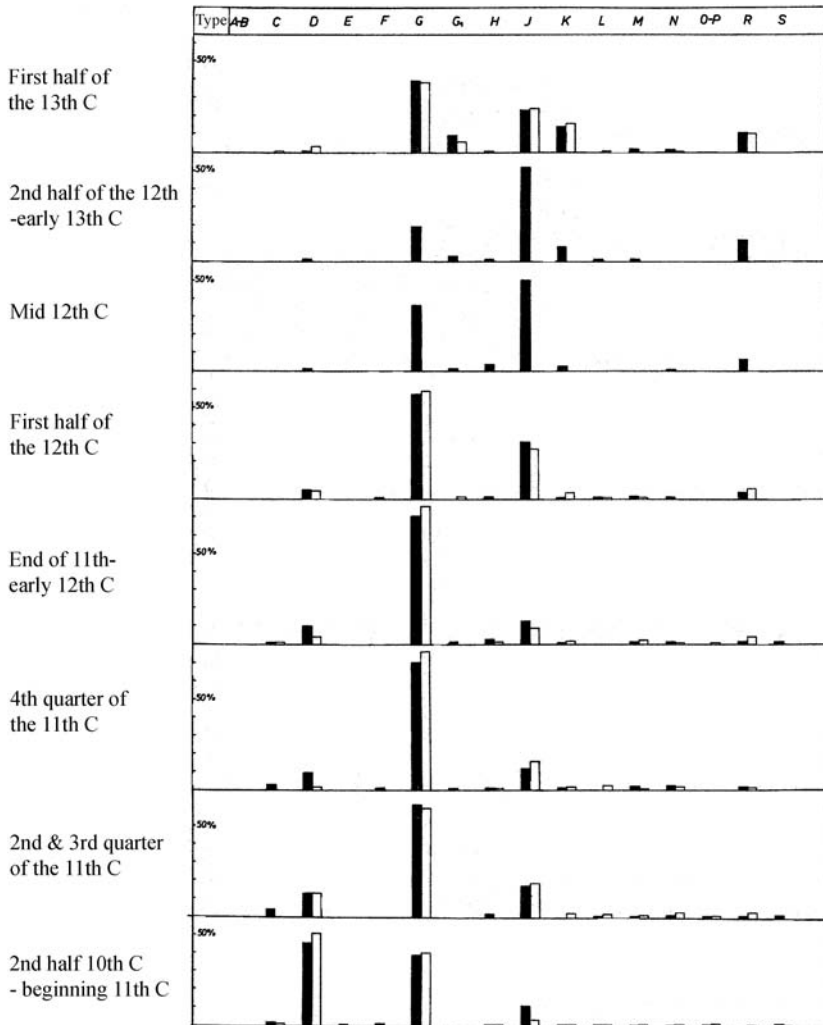


Fig. 50. Szczecin. Vessel types in use in the town from the second half of the tenth century to the first half of the thirteenth century. Using Schuldt's system from Mecklenburg, the following translation can be made: C – vessels of Feldberg type, D – Menkendorf type, E – Woldegk type, F – Fresendorf type, G – Vipperow type, of which G₁ is a late variant, H – Weisdin type, J – Teterow type, K – vessels with a cylindrical neck, L – Kowall type, M – Bobzin type, N – lids, O-P – bowls of various dimensions, R – Garz bowls, and S – flat plates. After Cnotliwy et al. 1983, p. 235, fig. 205.

groups to which I referred at the start of this section and the relationship between the type families from the earliest groups A and B (the Sukow group) to the latest forms of type family G (the Vipperow group). For us it is phases IV to VI that are of interest. The two dominant vessel types throughout the period are G and J (figs. 51 and 52). Phase IV began around 980, when the wholly turntable-finished pots dominated quantitatively over those which were only partly worked on a turntable.¹¹⁷ The transition is clear in several of the Pomeranian towns, such as Wolin, Szczecin, Kołobrzeg, and Gdańsk. Corresponding to the change is a greatly reduced number of pots of type D (Menkendorf), which were still made in households at the start of the eleventh century, and the growing number of pots of type G (Vipperow). In this type there were also forms that can be associated with the Warder group, but the most common are those with short or medium-length rims. Type J (Teterow) and occasional pots of type M (Bobzin) were also made in the eleventh century. The relative proportions of the groups were constant throughout the century. The subsequent period V, which is dated between 1130/40 and 1210/20, is characterized by an increase in pots of type J (Teterow) at the expense of type G (Vipperow), by vessels with cylindrical necks of type K becoming much more common, and by bowls of type R (Garz) reaching their zenith. The last phase VI came between c. 1210/20 and the second half of the thirteenth century. Once again the number of pots of type G (Vipperow) rose as type J (Teterow) decreased. At the same time, new varieties of the former type appeared, as did better firing techniques. A special subgroup of G with light-grey fabric, round forms, and a profiled rim edge (G1) already occurred in the last quarter of the preceding century, but reached a peak during the thirteenth century. In the middle of the thirteenth century pots with a cylindrical neck, type K, were at their most common.

The Slavic ceramic tradition can be followed until about 1250, with the cessation of deposits on the height in Szczecin where the Pomeranian dukes had their palace in the Middle Ages. The changes that followed had their roots in a general restructuring of power in the first half of the century. By then the town had a German population alongside the Slavs, and the lord of the town, Barnim I, had introduced the Magdeburg code. A German tradition represented by

¹¹⁷ Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, pp. 200f.

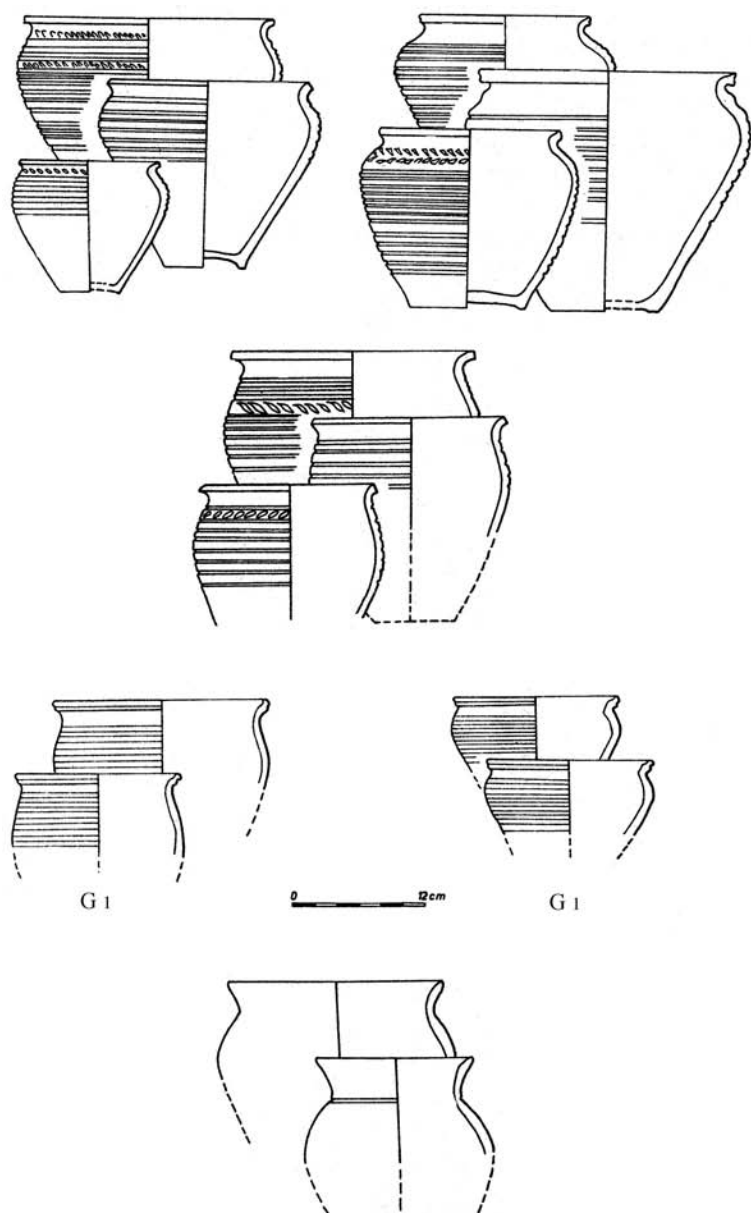


Fig. 51. Szczecin, some examples of vessel types G and G1. The latter variant occurs in large quantities only during the second half of the twelfth century and above all in the first half of the thirteenth century. Notice the “tulip-shaped” everted rims at the bottom right. These are also forms belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. After Cnotliwy *et al.* 1983.

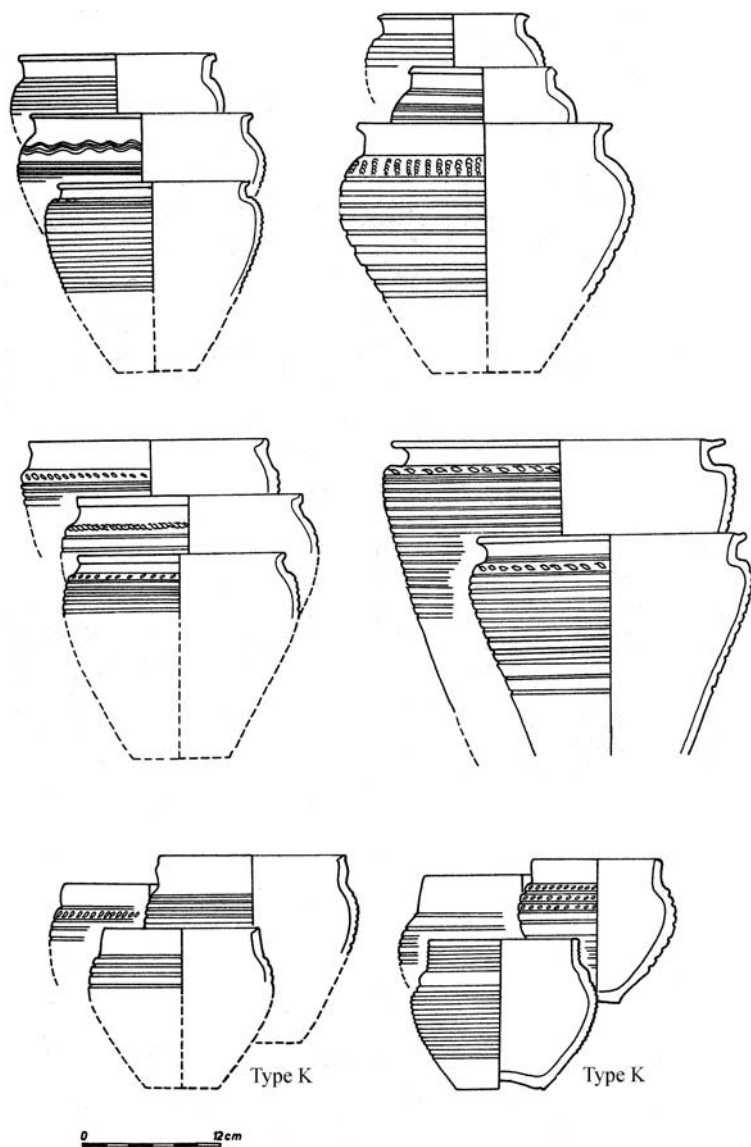


Fig. 52. Szczecin, Examples of vessel types J and K. After Cnotliwy *et al.* 1983.

Kugeltöpfe can be found in small quantities in the deposits from this time, but the proportion rose sharply in the middle of the century. It is still uncertain what development was like after that. Łosiński and Rogosz assume differences in the pattern of consumption between the visiting merchants and the Slavic population.¹¹⁸

Białogard is less than 40 kilometres from the Baltic coast, on the River Parsęta. The main town in the area was Kołobrzeg, a very important place of exchange already in the eighth century, with salt production as its speciality. It is therefore interesting to refer to a town of lesser dignity to see whether the pottery consumption differed from that in the bigger places.¹¹⁹ Białogard emerges as a very early fortified settlement around 600 and underwent a development similar to that of the other Pomeranian towns in the subsequent centuries. The difference was that Białogard did not end up playing as important a part in the exchange of commodities; instead Kołobrzeg became the place for meetings between mercantile interests. In the composition of pottery this is noticeable as a lack of pots of group F (Fresendorf), which are very common in the place closer to the coast during the tenth century. Another observation is that phase IV started later than in the other places. It is not until some time into the eleventh century that the wholly turntable-finished pots occur in larger quantities than pots only partly shaped in this way. Otherwise vessels from groups E, G, I/J, and K came to dominate from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Group I was treated by Cnotliwy as a form derived from group J, and I view them here as expressions of the same tradition.

The relative composition of the groups varies somewhat, however, with a total dominance of type D (Menkendorf) at the close of the tenth century and the time around 1000 (fig. 53). The picture is changed slightly in the first half of the century, with a larger proportion of pots of type E (Woldegk) and the first occurrence of types G, I/J, and K. It is not until the second half of the eleventh century that we find a picture that was normal for other contemporary Pomeranian towns. Then type G is in the majority, followed by type I/J, while D, E, and K are weakly represented. At the end of the century and the start of the twelfth century types G and I/J were closely matched in numbers

¹¹⁸ Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 201.

¹¹⁹ Cnotliwy 1986.

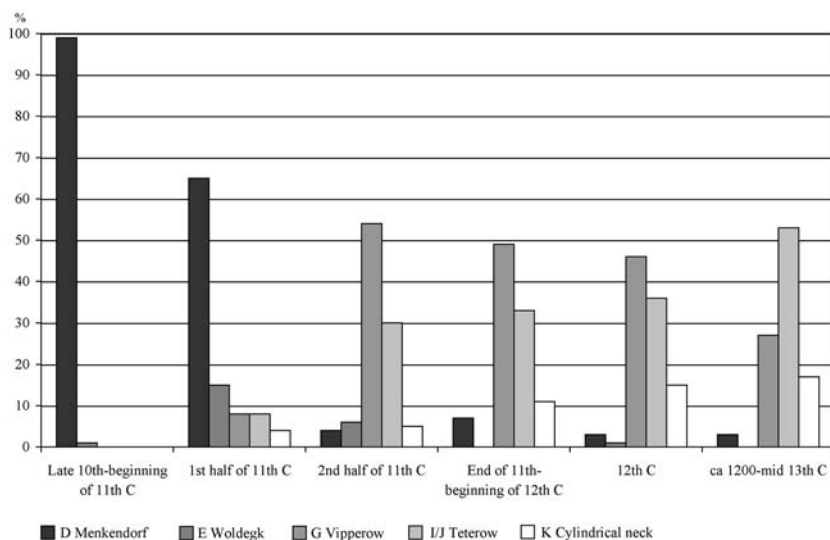


Fig. 53. Białogard. The relationship between the different types. n = 1356.

and type K became more common. Throughout the twelfth century type G dominates heavily followed by type I/J and type K, which now reach their peak. It is difficult to determine how to view the early types D and E in the source material. It may be the case that household production actually occurred in Białogard, or that the sherds have been redeposited from underlying layers. When we come into the first half of the thirteenth century we find type I/J in the majority, while types G and K are equally common.

Gdańsk at the mouth of the Vistula began as a Pomeranian stronghold established at the end of the tenth century, when a fortress was built on the site and built-up settlement grew up beside it. The town had a duke from Great Poland in 1127, when the supremacy over *Gdańsk* began to be stable, and in 1138 it was wholly integrated with Poland.

The Late Slavic ceramic tradition from *Gdańsk* can be followed from *c.* 980 to the start of the fourteenth century.¹²⁰ There is no common terminology for the pottery in *Gdańsk* and the other towns in western Pomerania or Mecklenburg. Barbara Lepówna, who has presented the

¹²⁰ Lepówna 1968.

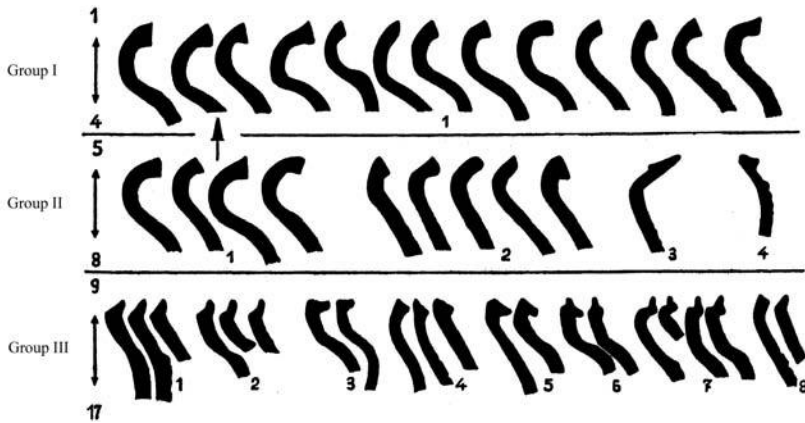


Fig. 54. Gdańsk. The variation in everted rims. They represent the gradual change of vessels in the town. After Lepówna 1968, p. 28, fig. 3.

source material, used some basic shapes to describe the development of style. According to her, pots with S-shaped rims totally dominated the group. Within this group, which can be compared with the Vipperow and Teterow groups in Mecklenburg and types G and J in western Pomerania, we can follow a development in three stages towards simplification and reduced diversity (figs. 54 and 55). During the time from roughly 980 to 1140 we find short rims, some of them rebated and angled sharply outwards. Among them are forms close to the Warder group in Mecklenburg (group III:1). From the middle of the twelfth century until *c.* 1230 there come rims which are medium-long to long and gently sweeping outwards. There are also simpler forms where the rim is set at a more acute angle to the body of the vessel (group II:2). The edge of the rim is thickened and facing obliquely outwards. In the last period, which extends from the middle of the thirteenth century until about 1300, the rims are long, gently flaring outwards, sometimes with a neck zone inserted between the shoulder and the rim. S-shaped rims account for between 80 and 90% of the total number of rims in each phase from *c.* 980 to 1308.¹²¹

The second group of pots which is relatively common has a cylindrical neck and can be assigned to group K according to the system for Szczecin (fig. 55). It is found in Gdańsk even before 1000 and accounts

¹²¹ Lepówna 1968, table p. 28.

1295-1308				
1275-1295				
1255-1275				
1230-1255				
1205-1230				
1180-1205				
1160-1180				
1140-1160				
1115-1140				
1090-1115				
1080-1090				
1065-1080				
1045-1065				
1020-1045				
1000-1020				
980-1000				

Fig. 55. Gdańsk. The variation in the everted rims over time. After Lepówna 1968, fig. 7.

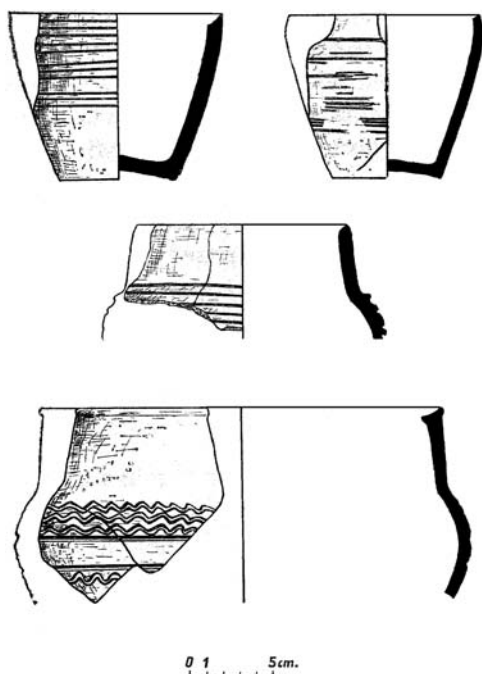


Fig. 56. Gdańsk. The cups at the top belong to a form that became frequent from c. 1180. Cylindrical necks were made in the earliest phase of the town, i.e., around 980. After Lepówna 1968, p. 271, fig. 48.

for between 4 and 15% of the total quantity of rims up to 1300. A clear concentration in the time after 1140 crystallizes.

From an early period in the town come low, squat pots with a very short rim, everted or inverted. Lepówna discusses possible similarities to the Bobzin type in Mecklenburg, which is partly correct. Among the forms from Gdańsk, however, there are rims which can best be incorporated in the Vipperow group. The forms are concentrated in the period between 980 and c. 1115. Lids also occur together with the pots.

Late distinctive forms are the cup-like pots, which have their centre of gravity from the end of the twelfth century to 1300, and bowls with a clearer presence at the same time (fig. 56). Large storage vessels with reinforced moulding also belong to the period after 1080, continuing into the twelfth century. Occasional examples are also found in phases up to about 1230.

The Late Slavic tradition in Gdańsk thus differs slightly from the source material further to the west with its large proportion of S-shaped rims and vessels with cylindrical necks. The technical development,

however, coincides in large measure. The transition to the Late Slavic pots with faster smoothing on a turntable took place, as further west, at the end of the tenth century. The next important stage came in the middle of the twelfth century when the forms were simplified and new clay recipes were used. Around 1230 the potters in Gdańsk further standardized production by using fewer rim forms, by tempering the clay with finer material and using a proper fast wheel to build up the pots.

In the late medieval town one can notice different traditions running parallel. People used turntable-shaped pots until the end of the fourteenth century in the parts that had a predominantly Slavic population. On the other hand, in the newly founded part of the town with more German inhabitants there was a greater tendency to have the new set of pots in the household. Already in the second half of the thirteenth century between 65 and 70% of the pots were of steel-grey reduced ware.

Two places constitute the backdrop to the ceramic tradition of the Pomeranian coast, one in Great Poland and one in Kujawy. *Santok* is one of them, situated in Great Poland on the Warta, about 150 km from the coast, but at an important communication point at the confluence with the Odra/Oder. The oldest settlement horizon is dated to the end of the seventh century or the start of the eighth century.¹²² In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Santok was a small fortress which served as the seat of a castellan. The horizons that are interesting for this study, VI (second half of the tenth century to the mid-eleventh century) and VII (mid-eleventh century to the twelfth/thirteenth century), show a similar picture. The difference between them is that the Menkendorf group occurs in the earlier phase together with Late Slavic forms.

No numerical values are available, so the estimate of the represented forms is based on tables and figures (fig. 57).¹²³ Among the Late Slavic groups, S-shaped everted rims seem to be clearly in the majority (types XIV, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX), but the pottery also includes vessels with a neck zone (type XVI) and examples with cylindrical necks (type XX). According to Dymaczewska, Santok was at the transition between two different ceramic traditions, those of Great Poland and Pomerania, which affected the shapes.

¹²² Dymaczewska 1972.

¹²³ Dymaczewska 1972, Abb. 15, 16, 17, 18.

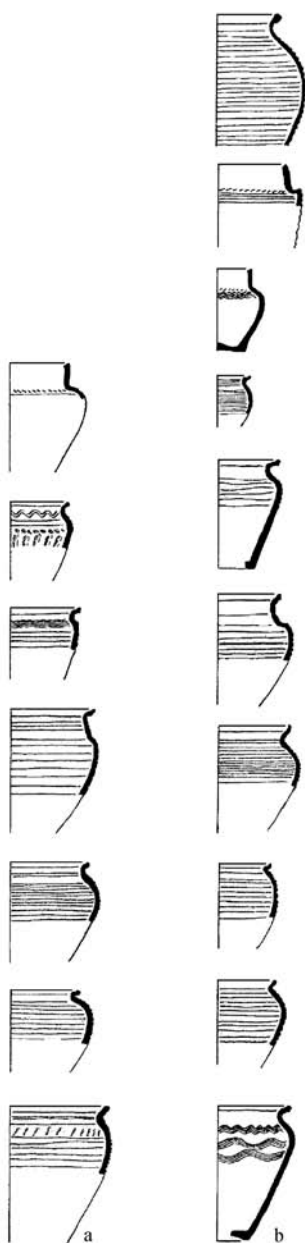


Fig. 57. Santok. Vessels from the Late Slavic groups with the whole body smoothed on a turntable. In the earlier collection there are also some pots of Menkendorf type. (a) Second half of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh century, (b) the middle of eleventh century to the twelfth/thirteenth century. After Dymaczewska 1972, Abb. 17.

Kruszwica is the other place away from the coastal area included in the study.¹²⁴ This site in the province of Kujawy by Lake Gopło developed from a traditional Slavic fortress in the eighth century into a town with a castle, suburbium, and ordinary settlement from the second half of the tenth century, under the Piasts. A qualitative change towards a distinctly urban character occurred in the second half of the eleventh century when settlement took on a more permanent structure, a church was built within the walls of the castle, and two others in the open parts of the town. In the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century, two open parts of the town grew east of the lake, with two new churches and a separate ford. Continued expansion and redistribution between the church and the secular power ensued during the Middle Ages.

The ceramic tradition was influenced by several different regions, such as Pomerania, Mazowia, Rus', and Little Poland. Among the Late Slavic forms, two main traditions are discernable. One of them consists of pots with gently curving S-shaped rims, the other of pots with cylindrical necks (fig. 58). A few pots with a neck zone between the shoulder and the rim stand out in the source material. Pottery was thus clearly dominated by everted shapes, much more than in Santok and the sites on the Pomeranian coast.

The development from the end of the tenth century to the start of the fourteenth century has been linked by Wojciech Dziędużycki to general socio-economic changes in *Kruszwica*. The seemingly homogeneous design followed patterns that arose as a result of outside contacts and technical innovations which can be associated with the pottery classification for Great Poland by Hensel and Kurnatowska. Dziędużycki's work is interesting because of the holistic perspective that permeates the interpretation, but far too much importance is attached to historical events such as marriage alliances and military campaigns as reasons for the alien stylistic features.

Dziędużycki was able to distinguish five phases in *Kruszwica*. The first came at the end of the tenth century, when the potters made vessels which were completely smoothed off on a turntable, and at the start of the eleventh century, when they made pots of an interregional character, especially those with cylindrical necks (fig. 58, form XXIV). In phase II, the second half of the eleventh century, the general economic upswing

¹²⁴ Dziędużycki 1982, 1983; Dziędużycka & Dziędużycki 1994, pp. 165ff.

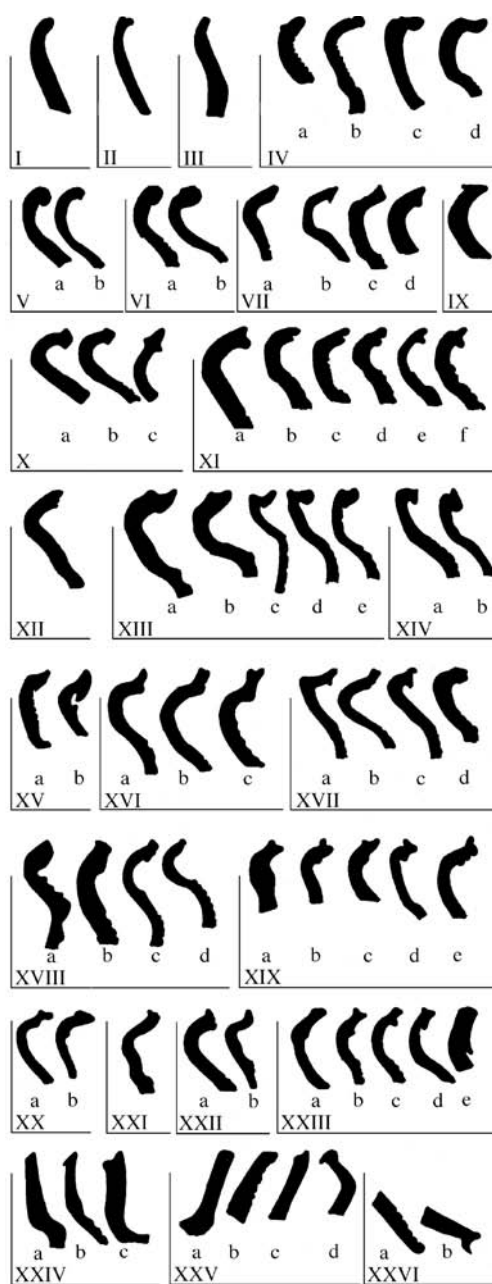


Fig. 58. Kruszwicza. All the rim forms used in the town between the second half of the tenth century and the middle of the fourteenth century. After Dzie duszycki 1982, p. 178, ill. XIII and p. 179, ill. XIV.

in Poland created the conditions for specialization and new contacts. A group of Rus' craftsmen was living in the town then, and Pomeranian pots are also represented. In 1093 the town was burnt down during civil strife within the Piast dynasty, which affected the infrastructure and the population composition. During phase III in the first half of the twelfth century, ceramic production was reinforced with more potters from Pomerania, as well as craftsmen from the surrounding countryside. The destruction at the end of the previous century led to new conditions for potters in the town. The period is distinguished by diversity in terms of quality and forms which also arose because Kruszwica acquired greater influence as a place of production. An intensification of the contacts with Kujawy, Mazowia, Little Poland, Rus', and also countries to the west is evident. During phase IV, the second half of the twelfth century until about 1270, production was further standardized, as expressed in increasingly small differences between pots and simplified decoration. Contacts were directed eastwards towards Rus' and also westwards, while the northern link with Pomerania was broken. Contact with the coast was established once again at the very end of phase IV, marked by a design tradition from Gdańsk occasioned by Hanseatic actors. The closing phase V in Dzieduszycki's study comes in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. The town was relocated according to German patterns, now on the west shore of Lake Gopło, and the new element in the population is visible through the steel-grey *Kugeltopf* tradition. From 1332 the town was under the control of the Teutonic Knights.

In northern Poland, contacts with the Hansa and the Teutonic Knights were significant for the ceramic tradition. Between 1250 and 1350, German *Kugeltöpfe* spread to several different social settings: small towns, monastery complexes, and castles.¹²⁵ But the Late Slavic pottery lived on in ordinary households. In the countryside especially, the older pattern of culture was retained, with local craftsmen as suppliers.

In the towns on the Baltic coast the situation was different. Conditions in Gdańsk have been commented on above. In Kołobrzeg/Kolberg, Marian Rebkowski has conducted an in-depth study of the patterns of consumption in the new *Gründungsstadt* that was established in 1255

¹²⁵ Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 201, note 20.

with the urban law code of Magdeburg.¹²⁶ The course of urbanization as a whole is one of the more complex, beginning with settlement around a salt-works in the seventh century.¹²⁷ Here on the River Parsęta a settlement with several different centres developed, with a complex established in the eighth century at Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo. Expansion there continued in the subsequent centuries when a castle, church, and harbour were built, along with a suburbium for craftsmen and visiting merchants. Visitors encountered a fully developed town in the twelfth century, but this was replaced in the mid-thirteenth century by a completely new structure. At this point the Late Slavic pottery accounted for roughly 40% of all vessels in Kołobrzeg/Kolberg but then slowly declined in popularity and vanished just after the mid-fourteenth century. In the newly founded town of Kolberg, then, the traditional Slavic pottery survived for a hundred years (fig. 59). All the rims are funnel-shaped. The forms are extreme, with very long, gently flared rims (type G) or pots with a neck zone (type J), along with vessels of type K. Rębkowski believes that this reflects the population structure, with people coming both from the earlier centre and new arrivals from the German Hanseatic towns.

During the Middle Ages the traditional Slavic ceramic tradition lived on in northern Poland. German *Kugeltopf* ware was consumed in special agrarian settings such as monasteries and castles, but did not extend further geographically than to westernmost Pomerania, with the Parsęta as the eastern limit of distribution.¹²⁸ Yet even there, as in the entire remainder of Poland, Slavic potters seem to have been working well into modern times.

Rus'

In Rus' potters began to make wholly turntable-shaped vessels in the first half of the tenth century (*primitivnokrugovaya keramika* and *krugovaya keramika*). The techniques were so well established that proper wheel throwing did not develop in the period that concerns us here, that is, up to 1300. The craftsmen were specialists and probably—like other producing groups—attached to families or estates. The boyars, the political elite, settled in large townyards (*dvory*) in urban settings such

¹²⁶ Rębkowski 1995.

¹²⁷ Filipowiak 1989, pp. 705ff.

¹²⁸ Rębkowski 1995, fig. 26.

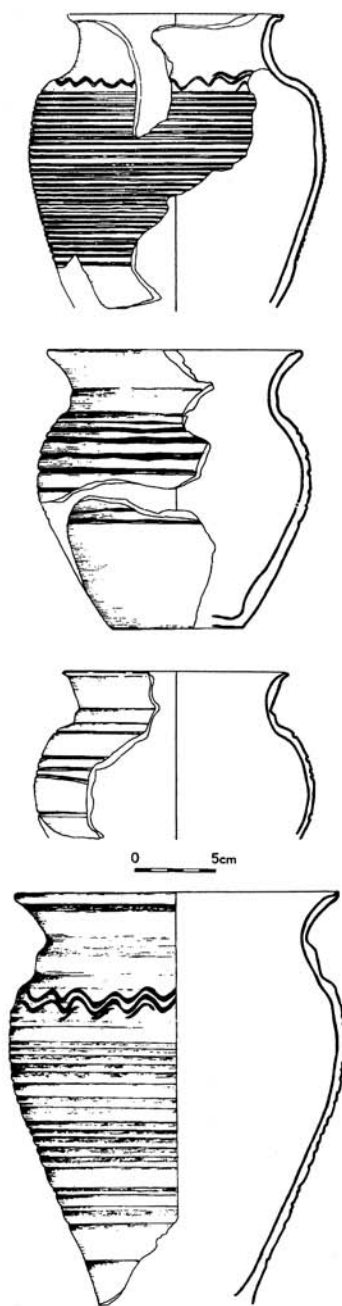


Fig. 59. Kołobrzeg. Late forms of traditional Slavic pottery, the bottom vessel from the first half of the fourteenth century, the others from the second half of the thirteenth century. After Rębkowski 1995.

as Novgorod and Pskov, while their immediate subordinates controlled their rural estates for them. The activities there were concentrated on animal husbandry and horse breeding.¹²⁹ The latter was particularly important for maintaining the status of mounted warriors. On the family estates there was far-reaching division of labour so that potters could develop their specialized skills. It is uncertain whether there were potters in the eleventh or twelfth century with the status of free burghers or semi-free slaves.

The social context of potters in the countryside is more difficult to grasp because of the research situation. The results of urban archaeology have been presented in more detail than the findings of excavations of agrarian settlements. In the villages the peasants (*smerdy*) were organized in communal food production. The villages were in turn teamed with other nearby settlements in communities based on older clans or tribes. Within the community people had the right to shared grazing land, meadow, forest, and fishing and hunting rights. Collecting wax and honey played a significant part in economic life. It was also these communities that were responsible for collecting taxes on behalf of the prince or the local boyar. In this organization there was less opportunity for ceramic specialization. Right up to the fourteenth century, people produced simple, hand-built pottery at the household level, parallel to the pots made on turntables in the hinterland of the central places.¹³⁰

The development of the north Russian pots made on a turntable can best be followed in the typology that has been drawn up for Novgorod, Pskov, and Izborsk. The first two of these places especially yielded good dendrochronological datings in the 1990s, corresponding to the typological development of the pottery in each place. No common typology has been worked out to cover all the ceramic material in northern Rus', but there seems to be a similar development in urban centres until the establishment of Moscow in the sixteenth century. Pots shaped on a turntable appeared everywhere from around 930 and then underwent continuous typological development which comprised both urban and rural material. For the pottery in Rus' it is difficult to capture regional differences other than a division into a northern and a southern tradition. In the south it proceeded from Kiev, which dominated urban craft production and also its immediate hinterland.

¹²⁹ Martin 1995, pp. 58ff.

¹³⁰ Spiridonov 1985.

The forms in the north follow general lines of development which can be observed in *Novgorod*, *Pskov*, and *Izborsk*. In Novgorod, Smirnova summed up her experience of the Nerevsky excavation from the early 1950s in an article.¹³¹ Work in the town has been continued by Valentina Gorjunova, analysing the source material from the Troitsky excavations (figs. 60–64). In Pskov and Izborsk, Sergej Beletsky has captured the change from the Finno-Ugrian tradition to fully developed mass production of pottery in the Late Middle Ages (figs. 65 and 66).¹³²

The earliest forms are simple, squat pots with rounded shoulders or almost straight upper sections with short vertical rims. Otherwise the predominant rim shapes were everted with the edge facing obliquely outwards. In the early eleventh century pots were given a rebate on the inside of the rim and also combined with rounded rim edges. Very early, at the end of the tenth century, pots with tall cylindrical necks appeared, and they also became very common in households in the eleventh century. The necks could have vertical or inverted rim edges and often clear rills or ridges on the shoulder. In the first half of the twelfth century we encounter the first long everted rims with obliquely in-turned edges and rebated insides. At this time we are in a transitional period when potters still worked according to the older tradition with variants of medium-long and increasingly longer everted rims. In the last quarter of the twelfth century the type is increasingly replaced by everted long rims with rebated edges on the inside. This tendency was reinforced in the thirteenth century when the rims became increasingly baroque, with sharply everted and very long rims gently bending inwards. The profile then was slightly rounded so that the inside was cupped. Sometimes a neck zone was introduced as an extra element. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the pots became low and squat with short everted rims, sometimes with a clearly rebated or protracted lower rim edge. These rough tendencies in stylistic development can be traced throughout the north-west Russian area, also confirming the close links that existed between the central places in the region.

The composition of household pottery varied somewhat in the time from 1000 until the fourteenth century. In Novgorod Smirnova showed that already in the eleventh century there were low bowls or oil lamps alongside cooking and storage pots. They were still used in households

¹³¹ Smirnova 1956.

¹³² Beletsky 1979; Beletsky & Lesman 1982; Beletsky 1996.

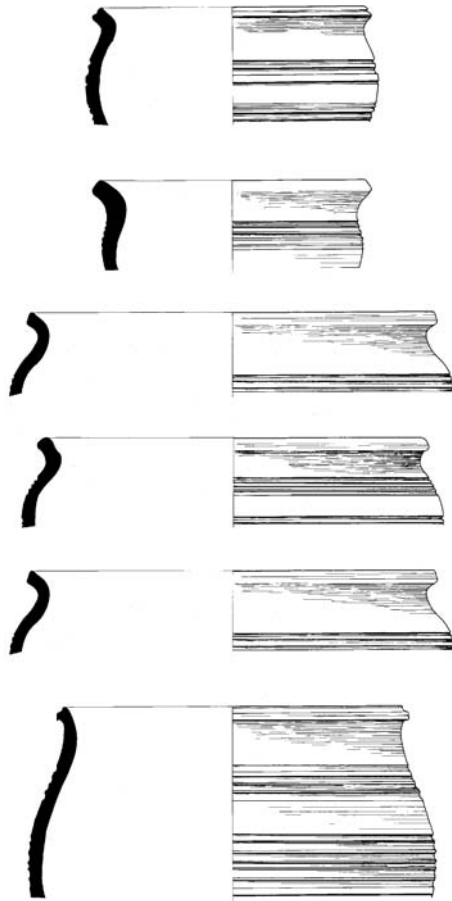


Fig. 60. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Just after 1000. Scale 1:4.

from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. During the thirteenth century potters developed squat vessels with sharply angled shoulders and wide mouths. In the same period cooking pots were equipped with heavily profiled lids which were very like the lower bowl-like shapes. The volumes of the ordinary household pots varied considerably. In the twelfth century people used large pots with broad rims for storage purposes. The fabric could be coarse, with tempering grains with a diameter of three millimetres, which made the surface rough.

The urban centres in Rus' probably had a population which very soon began to specialize in different crafts. We therefore find great similari-

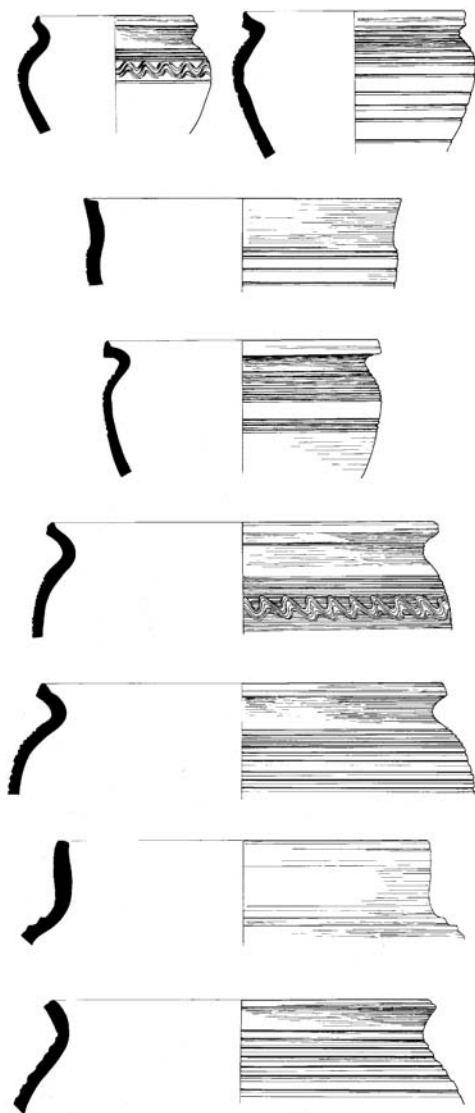


Fig. 61. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Around 1050. Scale 1:4.

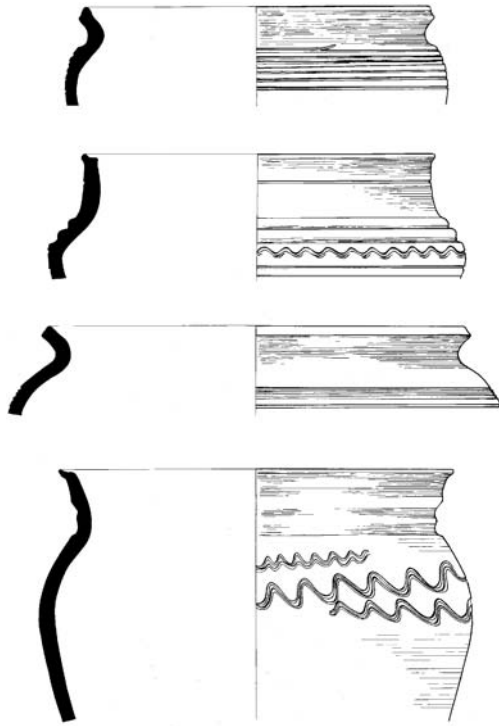


Fig. 62. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Second half of the eleventh century. Scale 1:4.

ties between pots in the northern area, where Novgorod and Pskov occupy a special position. But how was the pottery in the countryside distributed? South-east of Lake Ladoga the graves allow us to follow the ceramic tradition until around 1200.¹³³ Outside Staraya Ladoga, which was the closest urban centre, up to the start of the thirteenth century the peasants buried their dead with the hand-made pottery they had used in life. Parallel to these we find turntable-shaped pots. The latter show similar forms to the pottery in the towns, and they clearly belong in the twelfth century with their long everted rims. As I said in the previous section of this chapter, the hand-made pots disappear from Staraya Ladoga and Novgorod at the end of the tenth century. This gives us a fascinating contrast which suggests differences in production

¹³³ Spiridonov 1985, 1989.

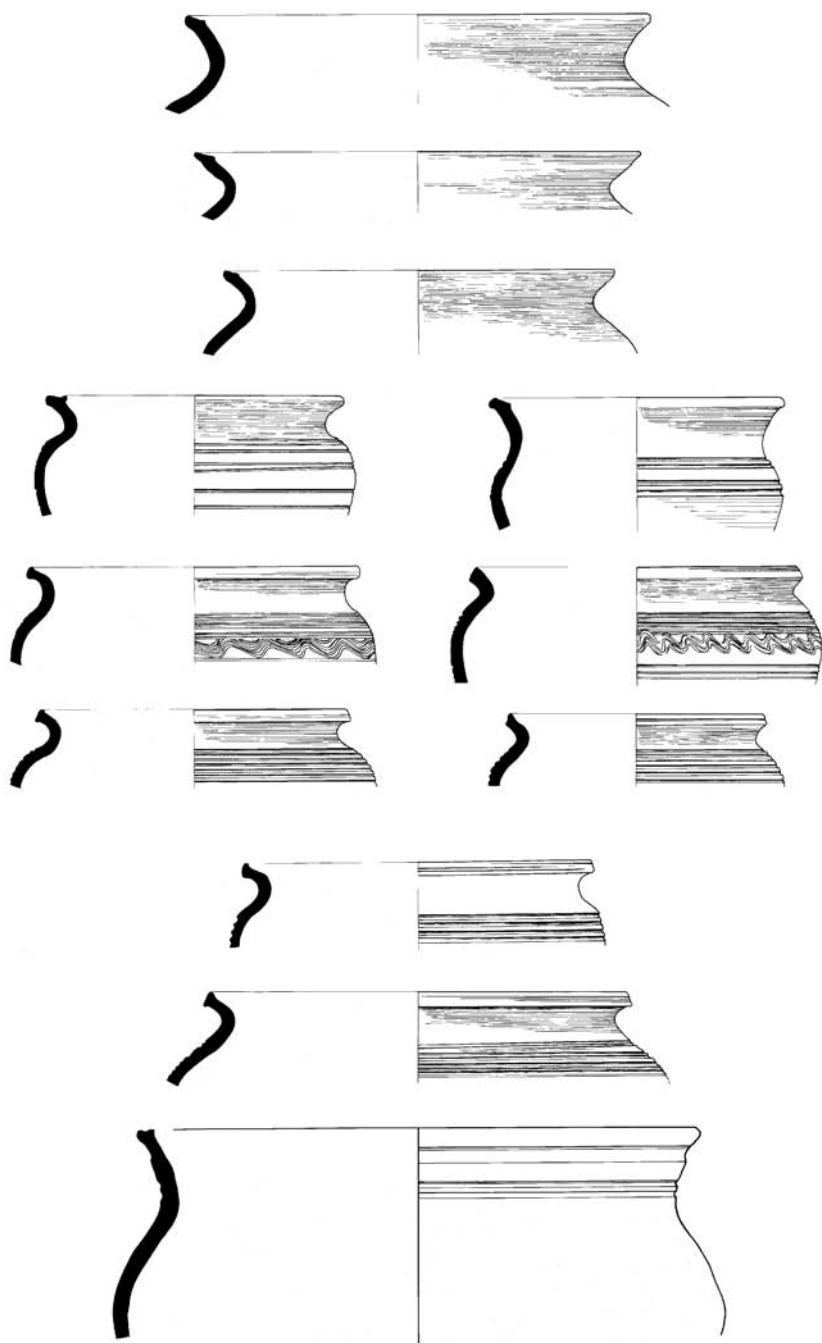


Fig. 63. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. First half of the twelfth century.
Scale 1:4.

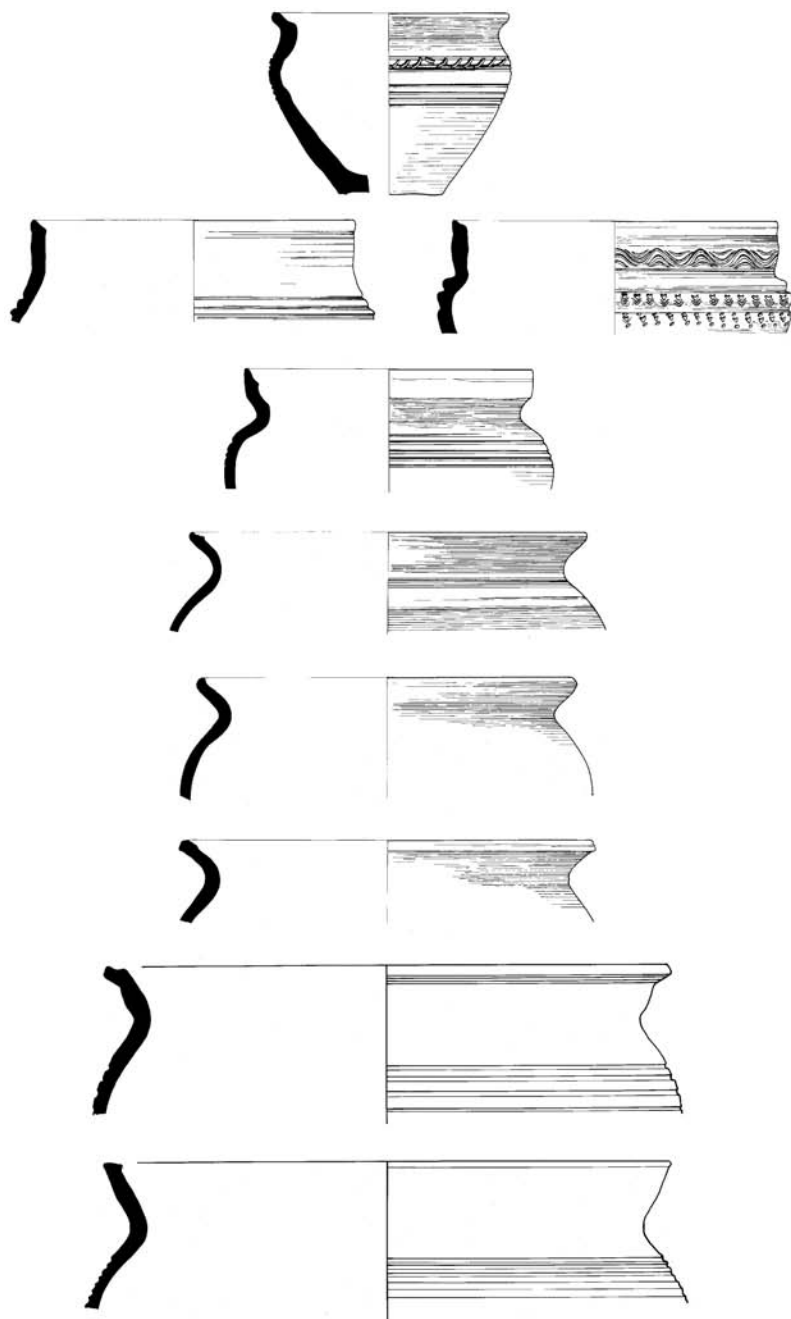


Fig. 64. Novgorod, the Troitski excavation. Second half of the twelfth century.
Notice the large storage vessels with wide rim diameter. Scale 1:4.

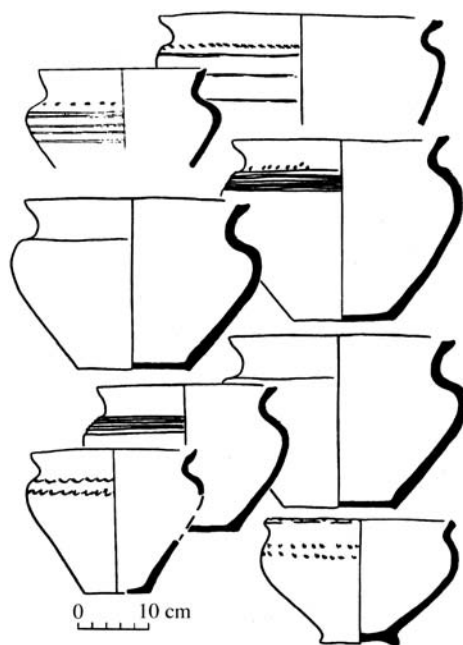


Fig. 65. Izborsk. Vessels from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After Beletsky 1996, p. 28, fig. 8. Not to scale.

conditions in the urban and agrarian settings in north-west Rus'. This may be partly due to the mixed ethnic composition in the area between Ladoga and Beloozero, where Finno-Ugrian people retained their own traditions for a long time. The graves in the countryside, even near such an important place as Novgorod, still had deposited gifts in the twelfth century. A couple of vessels from Derevjany, Borovich, and Dregli come from burial mounds which, despite their pagan touch, must have been perceived as Christian by people at the time (fig. 67).

Ever since it was established, *Kiev*, as shown in the previous section, had close connections to the south and west, with the Byzantine Empire and the Moravian state. Especially in the former and in the Danube area, the late classical tradition of wheel-turned pots had never ceased. Contacts with the invading Slavic tribes in the seventh century reinforced the integration between Byzantine and Slavic ceramic traditions. In Kiev no turned pots were made, but there were tall vessels with everted rims shaped on a turntable and with decoration consisting of wavy lines, wavy bands, and parallel lines (fig. 68). This ware differed in its

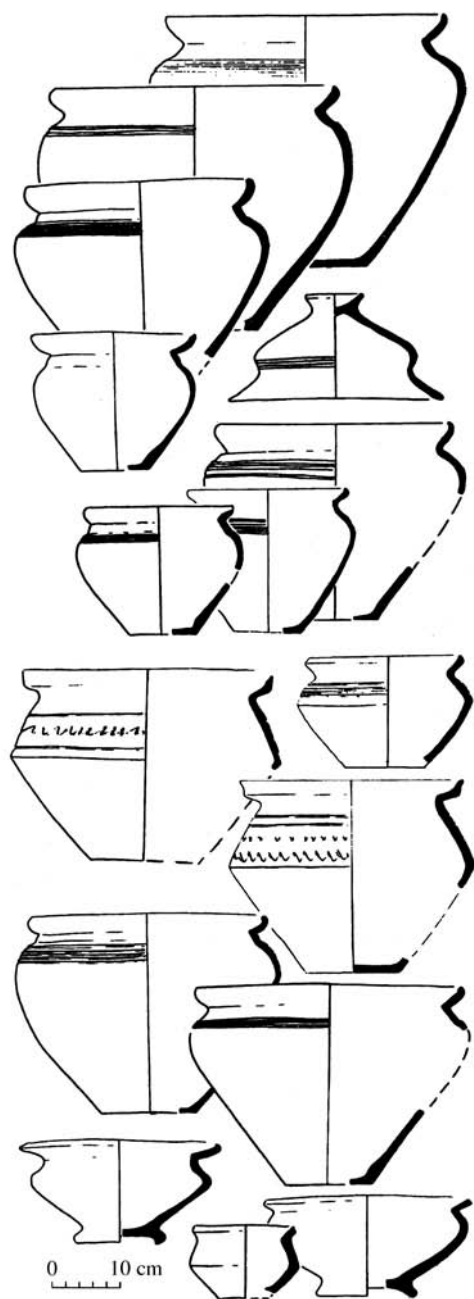


Fig. 66. Izborsk. Vessels from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
After Beletsky 1996, p. 28, fig. 9 and p. 29, fig. 10. Not to scale.

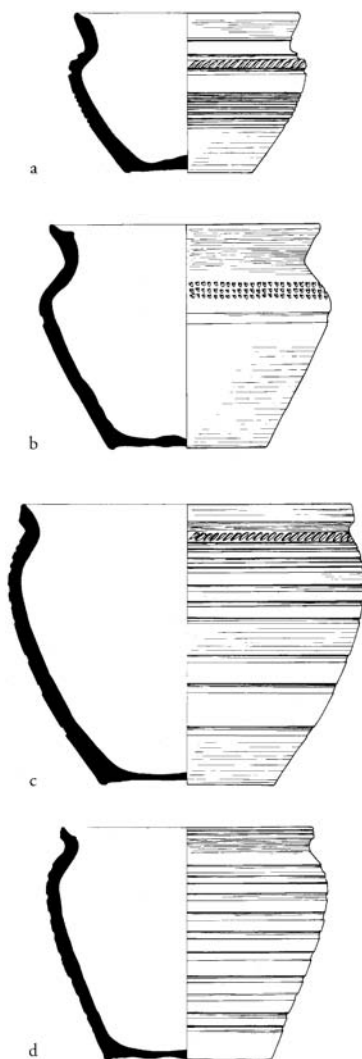


Fig. 67. Grave vessels from the hinterland of Novgorod. (a) Derewjanitzi, twelfth century, (b) Borowitsch, twelfth century, (c) Dregli, eleventh century, and (d) Derewjanitzi, mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century. Scale 1:4.

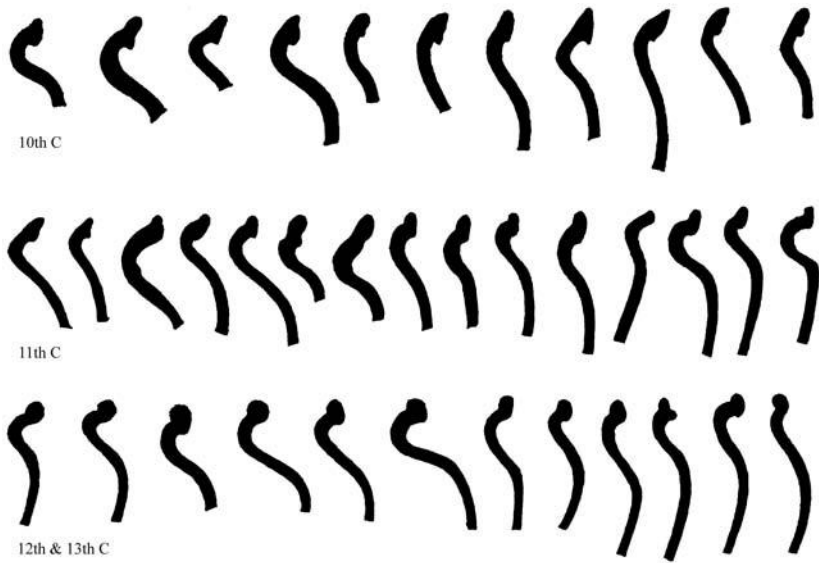


Fig. 68. Kiev. Rim forms from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. After Tolochko 1981, p. 300, fig. 131.

proportions from the northern pots which were lower and squatter. It is therefore difficult to see any direct links between pots from the southern and northern parts of Rus'. Eleventh-century pots had long, greatly everted rims, with their edge bent sharply outwards or rounded.¹³⁴ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they became increasingly rounded, club-shaped, with the lower part of the rim edge drawn out to make a lip, typical of southern Rus'. In the eleventh century the pots were often completely undecorated, while the decoration was later confined to parallel lines within a narrow zone on the shoulder. In the twelfth century ceramic production in Kiev expanded quantitatively, but also qualitatively, as potters began to extend their range of forms with bowls, ladles, jugs, drinking vessels, and local amphorae for storage.¹³⁵ New technical methods were developed to make the pot walls thinner, which required less fuel when firing.

¹³⁴ Tolochko 1981, pp. 299f.

¹³⁵ Franklin & Shepard 1996, p. 281.

CONCLUSIONS

In the first part of this chapter I tried to paint a background to the Early and Middle Slavic ceramic tradition in Central and Northern Europe. One finding is the powerful association between political supremacy, craft specialization, and changes in the composition of pottery. For comparisons with the Scandinavian source material, the Late Slavic style is more important than the Early and Middle tradition.

From the second third of the tenth century in Rus' and from around 980 in the West Slavic area south of the Baltic Sea, there was a qualitative change in pottery manufacture. According to Kurnatowska's model of stages in the development, we are between stage two and three, when potters introduced the turntable and the craft became more specialized, linked to specific places in the socio-economic space.

Among the forms we see some characteristic tendencies. For the West Slavs in today's Germany and western Poland, Menkendorf ware still played a part in household production up to the first half of the eleventh century, but then disappeared. The Fresendorf group seems to be distributed in north-east Mecklenburg and the Oder estuary, and also found at points along the Pomeranian coast.

In the seemingly homogeneous Late Slavic tradition we can distinguish regional variation. Schleswig-Holstein and western Mecklenburg constitute an area where we find in the eleventh century a group of pots with inverted rims, but this type was soon outnumbered by pots with everted rims. In eastern Mecklenburg, especially Rügen, and at the mouth of the Oder, a survey suggests that potters preferred the inverted forms of Warder type. A task for the future is to investigate whether this division is chronologically conditioned or arose from a culturally determined view of what cooking pots were supposed to look like. Cylindrical necks also occurred in the easternmost parts, although the real core area was east of the Oder.

In the western Pomeranian towns of Wolin and Szczecin there was a tradition connected to what was found further to the west. We find the Warder group as an early Late Slavic form there too. Everted forms of Vipperow type (G) dominated during the eleventh century, while the Teterow types (J) increased towards the end of the century. There was a difference in that cylindrical necks of type K became common in the east, particularly in the twelfth century and the thirteenth.

Further east in Pomerania, the composition of forms in medieval Gdańsk was of a somewhat different character. There were similarities

with the west Pomeranian tradition, but S-shaped rims whose closest equivalents are the Vipperow type dominate heavily from the end of the tenth century until the start of the fourteenth century. Cylindrical necks are also common in Gdańsk from the twelfth century.

If we turn inland, we find that Santok and Kruszwica had traditions clearly differing from those on the coast. Everted S-shaped rims dominate totally from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, although pots with cylindrical necks were also made.

Rus' had a development of its own, although external contacts also had some impact on the ceramic tradition. Everted rims in a great many variants were the standard form throughout the time from the second third of the tenth century onwards. Yet the difference from the tradition in the west is noticeable in the way that people in Rus' did not make pots with neck zones of Teterow type at all. Potters began to manufacture cylindrical necks among the East Slavs at the end of the tenth century, slightly earlier than in Poland. Inverted rims were likewise extremely rare. A distinct change took place in the first half of the twelfth century, when long, gently flared rims left the potter's turntables. The difference with respect to the West Slavic tradition was further reinforced in the thirteenth century, when increasingly baroque rim shapes found a place in the kitchen.

At the close of the tenth century, the production of everyday pottery in the Slavic lands had a more permanent organization than that in Scandinavia. Manufacture was partly at household level, but a specialization can be discerned in Poland as early as the eleventh century, when selected villages near a lord's residence were ordered to produce pots for his needs.¹³⁶ The long time when Menkendorf ware was used in Pomerania shows that, until the middle of the eleventh century there was a need for local low-technology manufacture. A hint of more market-oriented production is that the fast wheel was used for turning pots which were then fired in covered kilns. In Rus' the potters were specialized in the same way as among the West Slavs. It is difficult to say when or whether turned pots were produced in the East Slavic area. In north-west Rus' we find pots made on a turntable from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century wholly dominating consumption in town and country alike.

¹³⁶ Buko 1990, p. 164.

In the discussion of Late Slavic pottery, Scandinavian scholars have not paid any attention to the regional differences that arose when the tradition came to an end. Just like the development of forms, the end of the Late Slavic tradition was heterogeneous and was part of a larger political process. Under the influence of the eastward German expansion one can perceive the decline of Slavic forms just after the start of the thirteenth century in Schleswig-Holstein and western Mecklenburg. In eastern Mecklenburg the new German traditions and the earlier Slavic tradition existed side by side for a time until the last quarter of the thirteenth century. In Polish Pomerania there were great contrasts between town and country. In a place like Kołobrzeg, Slavic forms ceased to occur after the middle of the fourteenth century, while people in the countryside continued with the tradition. The Parsęta marked the eastern boundary of the German *Kugeltöpfe* in the countryside. In the rest of Poland, as in Rus', and later Russia, the Slavic ceramic tradition never ceased; it can even be followed in ethnological sources up to the present day.

From this survey of the development of Late Slavic pottery we can draw two conclusions. One is that it is possible to trace distinctive regional stylistic traditions, and the other is that the Late Slavic pottery that reached Scandinavia belonged to a different socio-economic context from the indigenous ware of the late Viking Age. These two findings help us to understand the transfer of style that created Baltic pottery.

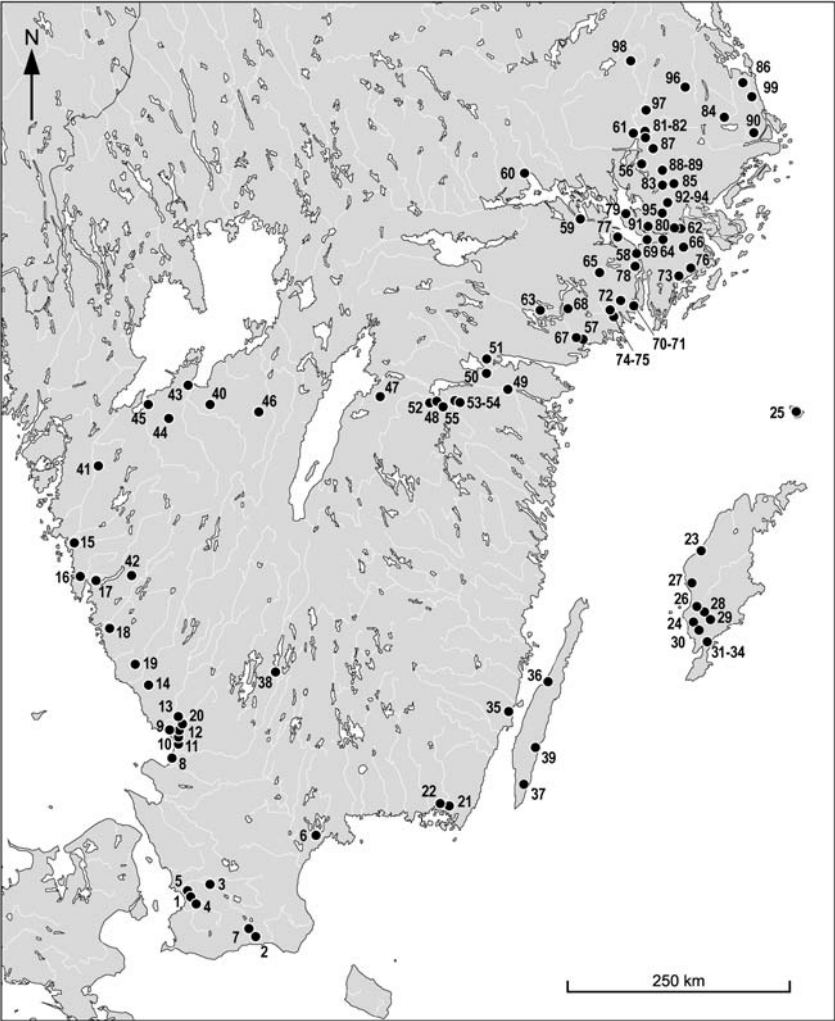
CHAPTER FOUR

SCANDINAVIAN RECEPTION

The question of Slavic influence on Scandinavian culture undoubtedly includes the use of Slav-inspired pottery. If we consider the jewellery of eastern origin that is included in Norrland finds, it is obvious that contacts occurred throughout the Middle Ages without pottery being a part of the exchange. Settlements north of Uppland are virtually aceramic during the Middle Ages, but the metal objects are a sign of the close connections between areas with rich natural resources.¹ It is impossible, however, to envisage any *personal* presence of Slavic people without the use of ceramic vessels. In the areas from which the Slavs originated, the consumption of simple pottery in the household was a matter of course, which makes it difficult to accept that there could have been any protracted and profound contact between Scandinavians and Slavs without some reflection of this in the form of sherds in household waste. This insight greatly limits the geographic extent of Slavic presence. It is thus not just the contrast between the use of indigenous ware and Baltic ware inspired by Slavic vessels that testifies to cultural influence. One can rather speak of three levels associated with the geographical spread of the innovation. The first is the use of pottery at all, the second concerns the presence of genuine Late Slavic vessels, and the third is the extent of Baltic ware in relation to an indigenous tradition with its roots in the simple household pots of the Late Iron Age. To grasp what the contacts looked like, a study of regional conditions must be brought into the discussion. It is therefore time to approach pottery in Scandinavia as a source for understanding Slavic-Scandinavian contacts.

Is Baltic ware as stylistically homogeneous as has been claimed? To what extent is Baltic ware Slavic or Scandinavian? If there was an assimilation of Slavic stylistic features, why did it happen? Questions like these are fundamental if we are to understand relations between Slavs and Scandinavians in the Early Middle Ages, and in my opinion they are the most important contribution to the discussion because with

¹ Zachrisson 1984; Wallerström 1995.



Skåne	Småland & Öland	Mälardalen
1. Lund	35. Kalmar	56. Sigtuna
2. Bjäresjö	36. Köpingsvik	57. Nyköping
3. Gårdstånga	37. Eketorp	58. Södertälje
4. Kyrkheddinge	38. Berga	59. Strängnäs
5. Önnerup	39. Skärlev	60. Västerås
6. Fjälkinge		61. Uppsala
7. Mölleholmen	Västergötland	62. Stockholm
	40. Skara	63. Löta
Halland	41. Lödöse	64. Alby
8. Skummeslöv	42. Berghem	65. Blacksta
9. Trulstorp	43. Råda	66. Länna
10. Ösarp	44. Finnestorp	67. Skavsta
11. Östorp	45. Rättaregården	68. Oppeby
12. Kärragård	46. Assartorp	69. Talby
13. Eldsberga		70. Husby, Trosa
14. Hörsås	Östergötland	71. Husby, Vagnhärad
15. Träslöv	47. Skänninge	72. Nora
16. Varla	48. Linköping	73. Västnora
17. Bräcka, Fjärås sn	49. Söderköping	74. Björke
18. Grimeton	50. Borg	75. Sille
19. Okome	51. Pryssgården	76. Årsta
20. Öringe	52. Västra Bökestad	77. Ekensberg
	53. Översta	78. Linga
Blekinge	54. Solberga	79. Stenby
21. Augerum	55. Landeryd	80. Bromma
22. Gärestad		81. Danmarks Söderby
		82. Nedre Sävja
Gotland		83. Älvsunda
23. Visby		84. Rekinde
24. Silte		85. Sanda
25. Gotska Sandön		86. Ytterbyn
26. Rondarve		87. Tärn
27. Västergarn		88. Säby
28. Fardhem		89. Valsta
29. Hemse		90. Virö
30. Havor		91. Edeby
31. Barshaldershed		92. Tors backe
32. Roes		93. Flytorp
33. Norrkvie		94. Tuna, Sollentuna
34. Uddvide		95. Stora Tensta
		96. Tuna
		97. Vaksala
		98. Husby, Vendel
		99. Stapelhofen

Fig. 69 a and b. Map showing the places mentioned in the study of Baltic ware. It does not show all finds of Baltic ware in Sweden, just the source material providing information about rim morphology and fabric type. The amount of vessels varies greatly, from 2,427 units in Lund to the occasional pots from graves in the Mälaren valley. Map by Henrik Pihl.

Baltic ware we get close to the structures of everyday life. It is now time to stoop and enter the low medieval houses to study the regional ceramic traditions.

This section will present a description and analysis of Baltic ware in what is now Sweden. Since the search for analogies between Baltic ware and Late Slavic pottery is dependent on highly detailed descriptions of all the forms and the chronological differences they display, the complex of finds from each site is described separately. For obvious reasons the presentation of them will also mainly concern chronological variation in forms. Comparisons with the Slavic ceramic traditions follow for each site (figs. 69a and 69b). The description proceeds from west to east and from south to north, starting in eastern Denmark and ending in the Mälaren valley.

BALTIC WARE—A DEFINITION

Pottery has been important source material for identifying Slavic culture on the continent. It is therefore natural to choose the huge and multifaceted corpus of Baltic ware for a study of this kind. A complete survey of Scandinavian research on the topic is difficult if one wants to include every text where the ware is mentioned. Virtually every excavation from eastern Denmark and southern Sweden with Gotland would then be included. I have been forced to confine myself to works dealing with Baltic ware in order to define the groups of ware or to put it in relation to ethnic identification. The following is thus a historical survey summing up the knowledge we possess today.

In the quest for the origin of peoples, scholars in the nineteenth century tried to separate Germanic and Slavic finds. Pottery became a key artefact which attracted attention at an early stage. The first step came with the ability to distinguish Slavic pottery in Germany, Poland, and Russia from other traditions. This happened in mid-century when the German archaeologist Lisch identified the pottery decorated with wavy bands and lines as Wendish, distinct from earlier Germanic vessels and German *Kugeltöpfe*.² The second step came with Beltz's discovery of an early and a late group based on well-dated hoard finds and historically

² Lisch 1847.

known strongholds.³ The bipartite division was still relevant around the year 1000, and the terms *altslawisch* and *jungslawisch* are still employed for simplified classifications.

It was not until the turn of the century that Götze undertook a finer division of Slavic pottery into three groups based on a *Schwedenschanze* in Kreis Havelland. It turned out that this was not a survival of the Thirty Years War but a Slavic stronghold.⁴ Through stratigraphic observations he was able to divide the Slavic tradition into *Stile I*, *Stile II*, and *Stile III*, which correspond to undecorated Early Slavic, decorated Early Slavic, and Late Slavic ware. In 1919 Schuchhardt came to comparable conclusions from other historically dated Slavic strongholds and proposed that the terms *früh*-, *mittel*-, and *spätslawisch* should be applied. This tripartite division which gradually emerged in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century still persists today.

This was the starting point when Georg Karlin presented the origin of the vessels found in Lund at the 1922 archaeological congress in Stockholm.⁵ He had probably followed the publication of the sources in Germany and he presents vessels that he himself had drawn when visiting museums there. In the text he mentions the term *Wendenscherben* as if it was generally accepted in the area of origin. It is possibly here we start to get the unfortunate link with the term 'Wendish black ware' which has long been in use. An important observation made by Karlin was that

... they by no means coincide with Slavic settlement, however, as is shown by their general occurrence on the whole Baltic side of Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea provinces all the way up to the Åland Sea and the Gulf of Finland, with a particular density in Skåne.⁶

The time he assigned to the use of the ware, on the other hand, was rather too narrow. He writes that we find it first at the start of the tenth century and that it disappeared at the end of the twelfth century. We know today that the time span was longer than this. Most interesting is his statement that

The forms distance themselves even further from the classical point of departure and finally develop in the eleventh century into a type that I would no longer call Slavic or Wendish but Baltic with a strong concen-

³ Beltz 1893.

⁴ Götze 1901.

⁵ Karlin 1923.

⁶ Karlin 1923, p. 150.

tration in Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and above all Skåne, where Lund in the eleventh century and the start of the twelfth century provides the fullest evidence.⁷

In the article he alternates between the terms '*Wendish-Baltic*' and '*Slavic-Baltic*' ware and notes that this pottery was not used west of the Elbe or beyond the Sound and the Belts. Although the term is vague, he was thus the first to observe what is today called Baltic ware.

When he stated that Baltic ware is like Late Slavic pottery he simultaneously made an ethnic identification. The origin was emphasized early on, although the question of who produced the black pottery decorated with wavy bands was not easy to answer. This was partly because the number of find spots was limited, making it impossible to discern a clear core area in quantitative terms. When K. A. Wilde presented the 1934 excavation in Wolin he interpreted some of the Slavic vessels as 'North Germanic'. The interpretation may have a touch of chauvinism since, as a member of the NSDAP, he was instrumental in the conscious effort to build up archaeology as a national science. Later, however, it is also clear that he proceeded from the situation at Birka, where the largest amount of intact pots had been found at this time and where the datings were moreover assumed to be older than those from Wolin.⁸ He was in contact on the matter with Holger Arbman, who informed him that the origin and dating from the Swedish perspective was uncertain, but it was assumed that vessels similar to those in Wolin came from the Slavic area. Wilde also had access to a preliminary report from the Trelleborg excavation when he wrote about Wolin; it was written by Nørlund, who was likewise hesitant about the origin of the vessels.⁹ This hesitation was also evident in his final report where he presumed that the vessels had come from Hedeby or Birka.¹⁰ With his political position it was perhaps natural for Wilde to welcome the 'North Germanic' Vikings as possible producers.

In autumn 1936 Wilde visited Stockholm, Sigtuna, Lund, Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, and Copenhagen, a grand tour intended to find analogies with his own material. One of the copies of *Die Bedeutung der Grabung Wollin 1934* which is still in the library of the Department of

⁷ Karlin 1923, p. 150.

⁸ Wilde 1939, pp. 54f.

⁹ Nørlund 1936.

¹⁰ Nørlund 1948.

Archaeology and Ancient History in Lund has a dedication by Wilde, dated 'Wollin, 8 June 1939', in gratitude for the assistance he received when visiting the university. Three months later the possibilities of further publication changed with the German invasion of Poland on 1 September. In retrospect we may deplore the fact that the work could not be completed. In the documentation material from Wilde's excavation there was for the first time an opportunity to make stratigraphic observations. Despite the detailed presentation, a more in-depth analysis could have brought research on Slavic pottery to a higher level. As ever, though, external circumstances affected archaeology.

In other scholars, political motives likewise influenced the interpretation of the pottery with wavy band decoration. Its origin was questioned by the German archaeologist Bolko von Richthofen, who believed that the vessels were Scandinavian, exported to Slavic territory, since Slavs could not possibly have produced such high-class ware.¹¹ As director of the museum in Königsberg he was the main adversary of Kostrzewski, firmly resolved to combat all territorial claims by Poland and eager to demonstrate the low cultural status of the Wends.

A major contribution to the chronology of Baltic ware was made by Ragnar Blomqvist with two articles about early black earthenware in Lund.¹² Above all in the article "Early Medieval Black Earthenware in Lund" he treated it from a comparative and chronological perspective. He stressed the importance of first getting a grasp of the local typology before making comparisons with the production of other regions.¹³ By working with closed contexts associated with historically dated buildings, as in classical archaeology, Blomqvist narrowed down the material. He found the oldest known sherds in layers under the stave church of *Sancta Maria in Foro* from the mid-eleventh century and the youngest in the material from Saint George's hospital just east of the town wall, with the earliest dating to the reign of Valdemar I between 1157 and 1182. The results do not withstand detailed scrutiny today, but they constitute a qualitative framework within which we still operate. This was the first time the differences were pointed out in Lund between an earlier type of what we today call Baltic ware and a later type. He writes that

¹¹ von Richthofen 1933, 1936.

¹² Blomqvist 1948, 1950.

¹³ Blomqvist 1948, p. 152.

... it is found that the younger fragments are slightly thinner than the older. It is also easy to see that the younger fragments are generally from smaller pots than the 11th century fragments, but the difference in thickness also exists between fragments from pots of roughly the same size.¹⁴

The merit of this article and also the later studies is the clear discussion of chronology and the wealth of illustrations. The results from these first articles came into immediate use in the excavations that Blomqvist directed. As regards the provenance, he was convinced that Slavic pottery from the Oder estuary was of particular importance. His knowledge of Wolin is obvious, and Blomqvist refers both to Wilde's visit and to the publication from 1939. The hypothesis that contacts between Lund and Wolin were intensive has been difficult to eradicate since then as regards pottery in eastern Denmark. Even today archaeologists refer to trading connections between the towns as a reason for the spread. Blomqvist's major contribution was that he deliberately wanted to establish a locally dated type series so that the search for analogies could then be continued. This methodological approach was, and still is, necessary since many comparisons even today are made totally without any context. A rim from the ninth century is compared with one from the eleventh century, and a certain similarity is said to confirm trading connections with the lands on the south coast of the Baltic Sea.

The roots of this kind of generalization can be found in Dagmar Selling, who largely based her categorization on technological aspects such as firing temperature and atmosphere and paid less attention to form and variations in decoration.¹⁵ It was her original intention to treat the entire Swedish ceramic material from the Viking Age and Middle Ages in comparison with the finds from Birka and Kalmar, a project she had to give up because of its enormity.¹⁶ Instead she concentrated on what she called A-ware, porous vessels fired at temperatures up to 550°C. The typology was based on the form of the vessel body and not so much on the morphology of the rims. In group AII she placed all vessels showing features of the Slavic ceramic tradition. She then divided these roughly into vessels with inverted, everted, short vertical rims, and vessels with cylindrical necks. As a subgroup of the inverted rims she had vessels with moulded rim, which corresponded to the Fresendorf vessels she had noted in the graves on Björkö. In making

¹⁴ Blomqvist 1948, p. 161.

¹⁵ Selling 1955.

¹⁶ Selling 1955, p. 12.

this division of forms she was already grafting the chronological and geographical problem into the investigation.

One of the main problems with Selling's definition of the different ceramic traditions was the attempts to combine tempering, firing, and provenance into a common group of ware. Although the clay-mineralogical analyses revealed a local manufacture for parts of the AII group, she did not abandon the idea that the pots were imported. With her categorization Selling created an instrument for understanding pottery consumption in Sweden in the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. She chose a level which made it possible to analyse the material from the graves on Birka, but caused difficulties for the classification of the medieval source material which was produced in different conditions in a new historical context.

The search for the provenance of the AII ware was problematic for Selling. She was working in the period 1937–1943 with the main task of sorting the pottery for Holger Arbman's publications about Birka. In addition, she worked in the summers in Kalmar, ordering the finds from an excavation in Slottsfråden, the old harbour of the town. In the war years 1942 and 1943 she visited museums in Sweden for her studies, and in 1948 she went to the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and England, and in 1949 to north-west Germany. She made a trip to the Rhineland and southern Germany in 1951. Her perspective on the AII ware was therefore influenced by the area south of the Baltic Sea. Visiting the Soviet Union during and after the war was impossible for both practical and political reasons. In her survey of research on AII ware there are nevertheless numerous works from Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. She also mentions Russian scholars' works from which she notes the frequent occurrence of everted and short vertical rims and cylindrical necks. She thus had access to some literature and made observations based on it, but she rejects the possibility of any influence from there making itself felt. As a reason for not considering the possibility that East Slavic vessels could have come to Sweden and influenced the ceramic tradition she says:

Da jedoch diese Funde nur in begrenztem Umfang datierbar sind und da ausserdem das Schrifttum überhaupt nur sporadisch zugänglich ist, kann eine Abwägung eines eventuellen Einflusses vom Osten gegenüber der nachweislich starken Einwirkung, die vom südlichen Ostseegebiet her stattgefunden hat, hier nicht vorgenommen werden.¹⁷

¹⁷ Selling 1955, p. 70.

Here she is arguing in circles. Before the study started she correctly pointed out the problem of the few datings and the language problem occasioned by the Russian literature. On the other hand, it is rather hasty to refrain from the possibility of investigating whether there was influence from the east as opposed to what she calls the demonstrably strong influence from the area south of the Baltic Sea. If she had only been analysing the material from Birka this would have been understandable, but when she moved into the Middle Ages and geographically touched on the Mälaren valley and Gotland she was guilty of mistaken thinking. On one occasion she made higher demands of proof of Russian origin than of West Slavic. From grave 914 at Birka there is a vessel of Russian origin.¹⁸ She found typological analogies in the material from Wolin and the area between the Elbe and the Oder, but also mentioned that similar forms occur in Russia. But she questioned this possible origin by stating that it can only be demonstrated with a mineralogical investigation.

What became of the results of Selling's study of AII ware? The inheritance with which we have lived since 1955 is problematic. Selling's dissertation was the first attempt at an overall investigation of early black earthenware in Sweden. The typology, however, was impaired by ambiguous identifications of provenance and chronological errors which still influence scholars and—as I see it—hamper research. Because West Slavic pottery from different periods was brought together with Baltic ware manufactured in Scandinavia, and because the influence of other countries was not recognized, the provenance was too narrowly pinned down in the area south of the Baltic Sea. In her text Selling narrows this down even more, writing that we should look for the origin in the region from Silesia in the south, along the Oder and up to the coastal area at the estuary of the river.¹⁹ She believed that Wolin was the most important export harbour. In my opinion this was because she found there the largest body of ceramic material deriving from one period. The same erroneous conclusion that Wilde drew, that some of the Wolin vessels originated in Birka, creeps in here. For the medieval AII vessels, especially those from Sigtuna and Kalmar, she states the Wisła/Vistula as the area of origin, particularly the town of Gniezno, probably because it was the only documented and published material

¹⁸ Selling 1955, p. 111, Abb. 28.

¹⁹ Selling 1955, p. 217.

available to her in her search for analogies. She considered that the pottery had spread through trade and itinerant foreign craftsmen, since certain clays were demonstrably Swedish. As regards methodology, the comparisons could only be confined to analogies between individual vessels which are mostly totally lacking any context.

Although this survey of research focuses on Scandinavian works specifically discussing the definition of Baltic ware or its ethnic affiliation, Schuldt's work on Slavic pottery in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern cannot be ignored.²⁰ He divided the entire Slavic ceramic material into ten groups and named them from the sites where they were particularly frequent. The problem with the distribution maps that were drawn for each group is that no quantitative information was available. What has not been used in Sweden is the subgroups or *Reihen* defined by Schuldt. These give the opportunity to make clearer typological studies, an opportunity that has not been utilized. In the introduction to *Die slawische Keramik in Mecklenburg* Schuldt stressed that his classification was just the starting point for continued studies with finer typologies and chronologies as the goal. The Sukow group has since been added, the Kowall group has been absorbed in the Weisdin and Teterow groups, and a separate Warder group has been established.

Another important work should be mentioned in this context since it has been available as long as Schuldt's has. In the same year as he published the West Slavic vessel groups, Smirnova published her article with the classification of Novgorod pottery.²¹ Before this, only occasional vessels or parts of find complexes had been available in the literature.²² In Novgorod Smirnova had the opportunity to provide both quantitative and chronological information about the forms occurring. Today the datings should be checked if they are to be used for analogies since there is new information from dendrochronology. Despite this, her pictures of pottery divided up by century are very important if one is to understand the development of Baltic ware in Scandinavia.

The first time we encounter the designation 'Baltic ware' is in Hübener, who coined the term *Ostseeware* when analysing the pottery from

²⁰ Schuldt 1956, 1964.

²¹ Smirnova 1956.

²² Selling 1955, p. 70.

Hedeby.²³ The background to the term was the difficulty of making the local type series fit the general typology for Germany developed by Schuldt. He was also aware of the possibility that the vessels were not made by Slavs but produced in an environment with several actors. The problem with Hübener's definition was that it included several different chronological strata. Although he used it for Slavic or Slavic-inspired vessels, he made the same mistake as Selling by placing both Middle Slavic and Late Slavic vessels together. His Haithabu A or *Doppelkonische Gefäße* were Middle Slavic Menkendorf vessels and others with biconical bodies. Haithabu B or *Halszonengefäße* correspond to the Teterow type according to Schuldt, and Haithabu C or *Kragengefäße* to the Fresendorf type. The last group, Haithabu D, was an assemblage of different forms which, judging by the illustrations, belong to the Vipperow group. Finally, Hübener noted that there were decorated lids among the sherds.

In a way both Hübener's and Selling's works represented a step backwards compared with the knowledge represented by Götze and Blomqvist. Selling defined the AII vessels with the same chronological span and geographic limitations as Hübener, and the latter added the name *Ostseeware*. It was thus with them that the concept of Baltic ware acquired the far too broad scope that has influenced studies of this pottery.

From the start of the 1970s the 'rediscovery' of pottery in general led to an increased interest in Baltic ware in Scandinavia. The focus became increasingly local, with several urban centres represented. The *Pfalz* of the Danish king in Dalby had an early predecessor in a wooden building from the first half of the eleventh century. Karin Andersson tackled the 'Wendish' pottery from the site and was able to conclude that the forms occurring at the royal estate had obvious parallels in material from Mecklenburg.²⁴ She also devoted great effort to finding analogies both in contemporary material from Skåne and in rims from Vindeboder near Roskilde and Lilleborg on Bornholm. In the introduction she expressed a very important standpoint which is still relevant.

²³ Hübener 1959.

²⁴ Andersson 1971.

The only negotiable way to a more complete and certain picture of the morphology and chronology of the pottery thus seems to be a series of intensive local studies which do not content themselves with observing that one or other type of pottery occurs resembling others from other places, but also ask the question how many distinctly described variants there are and in what frequencies. Only when this is done is a comparison with another place adequate and likewise the question why we have this demonstrated variation in pottery types.²⁵

The advantage of Andersson's work is her finer division of rim forms which makes comparisons with other bodies of source material more manageable.

Visby in the middle of the Baltic Sea deservedly attracted attention in a dissertation on pottery from there in the mid-1970s.²⁶ The main aim was to find a method using computer processing to classify all types of ware on the basis of measurable criteria. In Forsström's Group 1 we find Western European pottery together with what she calls Wendish black ware. The placing of the two in the same group makes it more difficult to determine the provenance, but it is possible to obtain an idea of the quantitative proportions from the description of the individual rim types. Analogies are constantly sought with Schuldt's material in Mecklenburg and the result, not surprisingly, is in line with this. Forsström believes that the main contacts in the eleventh century were with the Slavs in this area, whose place was then taken by the German Hanseatics after they had established themselves east of the Elbe.²⁷ On the other hand, she explicitly declares that there is nothing to indicate any connections with the countries east of the Baltic Sea.

Nils-Knud Liebgott used the term *Ostseekeramik* and presented his observations, above all from Danish hoard finds and his own excavation at Pedersborg in Sjælland.²⁸ He pointed out the lack of traditional typological series of rims as a difficulty, even if they have to be combined with clay-mineralogical analyses. Through his contribution Liebgott managed to show the characteristic spread of Baltic ware in eastern Denmark and dated individual vessels used as containers for hoards. The position of Baltic ware as a regional tradition compared to other vessel forms has since been given more distinct boundaries.²⁹ Liebgott

²⁵ Andersson 1971, p. 3.

²⁶ Forsström 1976.

²⁷ Forsström 1976, p. 204.

²⁸ Liebgott 1979a.

²⁹ Madsen 1991.

also noted the differences between an earlier type of Baltic ware and those which occurred in the Pedersborg material. In the article he also differentiates the pottery in the Danish core area by singling out Lolland, Falster, and Bornholm as being particularly close in cultural terms to the Wendish area.

In the same year as the survey article appeared, Liebgott published the Pedersborg excavation, in which the pottery occupied a large amount of space.³⁰ To classify the forms he used Selling's typology, but developed it by adding subgroups based on differences in the details of the rims. Here he rightly noted the problem of excessive contrasts in the classification.

The analysis must be, on the one hand, so detailed that it ensures that any distinctive features in the pottery emerge clearly. On the other hand, the aim must be that the subdivisions are not so unreasonably detailed that special forms and chance deviations in a rim type receive too much attention at the expense of overall clarity.³¹

Thanks to this sensitivity to the character of the source material, his analysis is more useful for seeking analogies with other places. The material from Pedersborg is interesting because of the narrow chronological frame between *c.* 1150 and 1200. Liebgott believed that these vessels were obviously made by indigenous potters. The find complex agrees well with the result presented by Ragnar Blomqvist in 1948, when he demonstrated a bipartite division of Baltic ware in Lund. The criteria for his late group agree well with the set from Pedersborg.

Fully developed ideas about the reasons for the presence of Baltic ware were presented in another text of a popular kind.³² There he says that it was trade and production by Slavic craftsmen that brought the tradition to Denmark. The prolongation of the tradition into the twelfth century was partly due to slaves brought to the country during the crusades and the development of a distinctive Danish style.

Selling's term AII and the designation 'pottery of Wendish type' were used by Birgitta Broberg and Margareta Hasselmo in their analysis of artefacts from several medieval towns in Sweden.³³ In their opinion the sherds in Lödöse, Nyköping, Söderköping, and Visby reflect early

³⁰ Liebgott 1979b.

³¹ Liebgott 1979b, p. 133.

³² Liebgott 1982.

³³ Broberg & Hasselmo 1981.

connections with the West Slavic area, more specifically with Holstein and Mecklenburg. For the first time we meet here an attempt at an overall description of Baltic ware from several places, an approach which is very important if we are to be able to answer the question of provenance. The authors were aware that a large number of vessels were manufactured on Scandinavian soil, but trade was invoked as the most important explanation for the presence.

Trade as an incentive was likewise the bearing hypothesis for Kristina Carlsson when she explained the presence of Baltic ware in Lödöse.³⁴ She too called it 'Wendish type' and pointed to the area east of the Elbe as the origin. In her analysis of Lödöse's contacts with the outside world she declared that the majority of the pottery in the town was imported, including the Wendish ware.

Instead of the mercantile explanation, Wilhelm Gebers demonstrated a local basis for Baltic ware at the sites of Lilleborg on Bornholm, Jernløsegård and Roskilde on Sjælland, Vejleby and Pallerup on Lolland, and in the town of Odense on Fyn.³⁵ The ambition was to study *Ostseekeramik* within a larger area, but the limited time and other duties affected what was possible. The well-classified find groups were treated with combination statistics to yield answers to some fundamental questions about how Slavic pottery was connected to Baltic ware in Denmark. The study was part of the overall research within *Sonderforschungsbereich 17* at Kiel University concerning social and political contacts in the Baltic Sea region in the Middle Ages. The results of the study were interesting. Gebers drew attention to the close connection with Schuldt's Fresendorf group, *Reihe 3*, in the vast majority of the rims from all the sites, which must originally have been made by Slavic potters. But it is not pure copies that are found. The only possible way that this manufacture could have begun, according to Gebers, was with the direct presence of Slavs. The subsequent development, however, was separated from what happened in Slavic areas, making up a distinct tradition with a local foundation. He thus denies trade as the most important driving force and indirectly turns the discussion towards the composition of households. Although he did not elaborate on this idea, Gebers' article is a step forwards since the study covered several places and the pottery was put in a new social context. The

³⁴ Carlsson 1982.

³⁵ Gebers 1980.

weakness was that no chronological division could be undertaken, so there is a risk that the differences he saw in the material are due to differences in the dynamics over time.

Ostseekeramik was likewise used as a term by Hartwig Lüdtke in his presentation of a complete complex of pottery from the Schildt excavation in Schleswig.³⁶ The town was Danish during the Middle Ages and is therefore considered here. Baltic ware accounted for only 6% of the total 55,000 fragments and is assigned to the types of ware produced locally. The presentation is amply illustrated, but unfortunately there are no details of the relative proportions of different rim forms. The most important thing is that Lüdtke refrains from invoking the trade hypotheses to explain the presence of Baltic ware.

A dissenting voice is that of Jens-Aage Pedersen, who thinks that 'Slavic ware' (*slavisk vare*) is a more correct term than Baltic ware. He presented the arguments for this in the book *Falsterundersøgelsen*, produced as part of "The Nordic Deserted Farms Project".³⁷ During his work dating the 'old villages' (*Gammelbyer*) on Falster, pottery was important source material. On the basis of closed find complexes in waste pits, find combinations in them, and coins, Pedersen was able to draw up a chronology. His choice of name was due to the risk of confusion with all the Slavic pottery from Northern and Central Europe and vessels from Scandinavia. Because it is not methodologically possible, according to Pedersen, to distinguish genuine Slavic pottery from Baltic ware one should use the term Slavic ware.³⁸ It is therefore surprising that Pedersen chooses a name for the German *Kugeltöpfe* which is similar to the one he criticizes, namely 'North Sea ware' (*Nordsovare*). My view is that Slavic ware is a designation with a strong ethnic indication and that one can instead limit misunderstandings by a clear definition of what Baltic ware stands for. Through typological and clay-mineralogical methods one can moreover obtain knowledge of whether there is imported genuine Late Slavic pottery in a set of finds. Baltic ware is a more ethnically neutral term than that proposed by Pedersen. His contribution to the discussion is the detailed evidence that Baltic ware continued in use on Falster until the second half of the thirteenth

³⁶ Lüdtke 1985.

³⁷ Pedersen 1989.

³⁸ Pedersen 1989, pp. 38f.

century.³⁹ This deviates from the general view that the tradition began at the end of the tenth century and went out of use around 1200.

Hans-Jørgen Madsen uses 'Baltic Sea ware' (*Østersøkeramik*) as the name for one of the geographically limited ceramic traditions in Denmark.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, he combines Middle and Late Slavic pottery with the Baltic ware found in Scandinavia in a way that is in line with Selling and Hübener. Since the genuine Middle Slavic types are so weakly represented in Denmark, as in Scandinavia as a whole, the term will indirectly have a more limited meaning.

It is clear how the definition of Slavic pottery has been increasingly fine-tuned from the coarse groupings of the nineteenth century to today's detailed studies of sherds at a microscopic level. Yet even this development has not brought exhaustive answers. In many works scholars have pinned their hopes on scientific methods as a way to determine provenance, but these methods have not yet succeeded in answering such questions. Through the history of research there has also been vacillation between studies covering several regions and individual places with find complexes. Both approaches have their advantages, but it is best to be able to work with both breadth and depth. There is also a tendency in all the works cited above to underline the close connection of Baltic ware with Slavic tradition. But what explanations have been invoked for the occurrence of this ware in Scandinavia? Most archaeologists leave far too many doors open in their interpretations. Trade is the most commonly cited reason. Baltic ware is then seen both as a commodity in itself and as a container for other goods. In the first case the preference was steered by demand, since the Slavic vessels were technically superior to indigenous pots. In the other case imports from Slavic areas, such as honey, salt, or wax, are supposed to have been packed in the vessels for shipping to Scandinavia. More or less free individuals are another explanation for the movement of the tradition across the Baltic Sea. Here the social positions of the different actors are diametrically opposed: on the one hand slaves with no rights of their own, and on the other hand freely roaming craftsmen who follow market principles of supply and demand. The simplest explanation is that no Slavic presence was necessary at all, but that the style was transferred

³⁹ Pedersen 1989, p. 120.

⁴⁰ Madsen 1991.

when Scandinavian potters saw Late Slavic vessels. These suggestions may be good but there are too many of them and they usually lack a firm foundation in a historical and socio-economic context.

In the question of provenance the pottery is regarded as clearly West Slavic, but the analogies on which the observation is based are governed more by chance than by thorough studies in several Slavic countries. Wilde's publication of Wolin had a great influence as a result of his personal contacts and the detailed presentation of stratified source material. It is strange that individual scholars are reluctant to look eastwards to Russia. Both Arne and Selling knew about Russian publications, and the former was familiar with archaeology in that country. Yet both regarded it as impossible that any such connection could have had an impact on Scandinavia in the Viking Age and the Middle Ages. Forsström expressly says in her study of Visby that there are no finds from there. The reason for this denial is difficult to understand, but the effect has been that an important part of medieval cultural history is concealed in the multitude of sherds.

This study is based on the concepts of analogy and contrast, or similarity versus difference. Even a superficial glance shows the similarity between Baltic ware found in Scandinavia and the Late Slavic originals, and the difference between the indigenous vessels of the Late Viking Age and Baltic ware. The interesting thing is what the similarity consists in and how deep it is. Does it concern the form, decoration, and technology or just parts of the whole? How closely are the Late Slavic vessels and Baltic ware tied to a specific mode of production? In concrete terms this means that methods which consider both form and decoration and the choice of raw material must be included in a study. Karin Andersson's observation still stands—that it is only through intensive local studies with a clear account of the quantitative relations between different forms that good results can be obtained. The problem, however, has been that the studies which have been conducted have not been incorporated in synthesizing analyses. It is therefore also important for an individual scholar to work with several places covering a wide geographical area. Only then will contrasts and similarities emerge in a more direct way than through verbal descriptions. Personal knowledge of Slavic pottery is crucial for the quality of the analogies invoked. Pottery is a form of source material that requires individual experience and empathy.

My definition of Baltic ware is close to that of Gebers. I think that it is a tradition with its roots in Slavic pottery made outside the Slavic-speaking countries from the time around 1000 A.D. As regards technique, the pots are built up on a turntable, decorated and fired in an open hearth or pit. When vessels with Slavic features appear in Scandinavia they should be examined to see whether they are Late Slavic, that is to say, either imported or made by a Slavic potter, or belong to the Scandinavian cultural sphere, that is to say, are Baltic ware. This judgement should be based on typological elements and distinctive features of clay mineralogy.

Baltic ware in Scandinavia shows obvious features of Slavic ceramic manufacture. The question one should ask is how similar the two kinds of pottery are to each other. Some have only the decoration in common, while others are so similar that one may suspect direct import from Slavic territory. In both cases one makes an indirect statement about the ethnic origin of the pottery. Determining what constitutes similarity and difference and identifying the historical context in which the vessels functioned is therefore an important step on the way towards an answer.

EASTERN DENMARK

Lund

The eastern Danish town of Lund was founded at the end of the tenth century. By reaching agreements with the local elite and by stationing loyal men in the eastern parts of the kingdom, a king with his ancestral estates in Jutland gained political influence on the eastern side of the Sound. As a stage in the political expansion, Lund was founded in the most important area of the region. Uppåkra, just outside Lund, had been an important point of assembly during its thousand-year existence where political aspirations took shape and found justification through a shared cult. The new place likewise acquired administrative and religious functions, albeit of a different kind. In particular, the coins minted reflect a deliberate endeavour to build up a central place. Some of the men in the leading stratum are known by name. A runic stone found in the All Saints Monastery just north of the settlement, known

as the Lundagård stone, mentions Thorgisl, son of Asgir Bjarnarson, who “raised these stones in memory of his two brothers Olaf and Ottar”.⁴¹ The same Asgir Bjarnarson is named on a runic stone from northern Jutland, and the content has been taken as evidence that royal representatives originally from the western parts of the kingdom were in the town from the beginning. Yet another runic stone from the centre of Lund tells of the deeds of local powers. The inscribed stone was found in a fence in Stora Södergatan, recording that “Toki had the church built and ...”.⁴² A dating in the first half of the eleventh century has been suggested. Together with Thorgisl, Olaf, and Ottar, this Toki belonged to the powerful elite in early Lund.

The earliest archaeological evidence for the existence of the place comes from dendrochronologically dated wooden coffins found in the oldest cemetery in the town. Traces of a stave church erected around 990 can be associated with the graves, but secular buildings from the earliest days of Lund just before 1000 are more elusive. The population had access to land which was used non-intensively in comparison with the later part of the century.⁴³ The environment of Lund at the start of the millennium has also been captured in the macrofossils deposited in the oldest layers. From a well in the Sankt Märten block there are indications that the vicinity had vegetation typical of arable, meadow, and pasture.⁴⁴ Excavated plots from the early eleventh century also show that the houses had a disposition similar to those in the countryside, with a combination of long-houses and smaller outbuildings making up the farm unit. It was not until around 1020 that the agrarian properties were given a different structure with an urban character. The plots became long and narrow, with room for more houses and inhabitants. The only wooden church in the town was followed by several others around 1050, reflecting the first attempt at parish formation and a growing population. The changes from this time until around 1130 were extensive both for the town’s settlement structure and for the ecclesiastical topography, which differed increasingly from the surrounding countryside. For people working with crafts and trade, life changed radically. A new type of house connected with craft grew up along the street by the square, and activities located in

⁴¹ Andrén 1980, p. 80.

⁴² Blomqvist 1951, p. 155.

⁴³ Andrén 1985, pp. 72ff.

⁴⁴ Carelli & Lenntorp 1994, p. 94.

these houses increased. Above all metal casting and antler/bone crafts have left traces in the deposits, whereas it is harder to find concrete evidence of trade. A freer form of dependence was accepted, with relaxed conditions for craftsmen attached to institutions or powerful families, although feudal dependence was still the rule.⁴⁵ A really large change in this direction took place in the second half of the twelfth century, when the progress of craftsmen towards freedom had reached a level where market-oriented production can be discerned. At the same time, the potential and desire for consumption increased in Lund when the agrarian surplus ended up in the town and there was a greater flow of goods brought in by foreign merchants. Development in the following two centuries continued on these lines, with the control of trade which was increasingly concentrated in the square, while the exercise of craft work simultaneously became freer.

Of special interest for this study are the external relations maintained by the town between *c.* 990 and 1300. The character of the visitors changed during this period, from people associated with the king or the church to merchants and craftsmen in varying degrees of dependence. External contacts are reflected in the archaeological sources, with the great diversity that may be expected in a Scandinavian metropolis and an archbishop's see. In the eleventh century an English, or rather Anglo-Scandinavian, population is already present in the form of minters, goldsmiths, and administrators. The production of hat-shaped brooches could possibly be connected to a Saxon population element at the same time since the forms are clearly Ottonian. German and English merchants are otherwise well represented in the written sources, which describe them as guests in Lund in the later part of the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ Other people arriving from outside are more anonymous. The non-Scandinavian objects found in deposits in Lund are more numerous but there are too many possible ways they could have ended up there for them to be taken as direct evidence of the personal presence of foreigners.

One category of artefacts often used as evidence of trading contacts is pottery. The problem of using imported vessels for interpretations along these lines reveals itself if one attempts a quantification. Is a large amount of pottery from a specific region proof of direct trade with that

⁴⁵ Andrén 1985, pp. 84ff.

⁴⁶ Blomqvist 1951, pp. 294ff.

region? In one investigation in Lund the archaeologists found that, out of 33 medieval and post-medieval ceramic types, as many as 27 were imported.⁴⁷ This might seem like clear evidence of the significance of external contacts for Lund and of the considerable trade in pottery. If we look instead at the quantitative information, it turns out that only 10% of the sherds come from imported ware. As much as 90% is locally produced, which underlines the minor importance of imported pottery for trade, and hence also for households.

Awareness of what the set of pottery types in Lund looked like has grown ever since the days of Karlin. Our knowledge today is at a higher level, but many vessels of unknown provenance are still concealed in the stores of the Kulturen museum in Lund. Among the low-fired early black earthenware there is a heavy dominance of Baltic ware. It is found from the earliest days of the town, while the amount of big German round-based pots is low in the early eleventh century, although increasing in the latter part of the century (fig. 70). Anglo-Scandinavian glazed vessels and big pots of black earthenware from the same tradition are also a distinct element during this century, and other types from the same area can be found (fig. 71). Occasional sherds of the local Late Viking Age type sometimes occur, but the number in the town is extremely marginal (fig. 72).

In the second half of the twelfth century the older tradition gives way to types of ware which can be described as thrown, finely tempered, and reduced. This later black earthenware with round bases initially had the same forms as the older cooking pots, and it was not until the start of the thirteenth century that they were given three legs and handles. Baltic ware simultaneously underwent changes in fabric and form, accounting for a smaller proportion of the pots in households. At the close of the twelfth century and for a short time into the following century pottery in Lund was enriched with imported vessels from a large number of places. The set from the excavation of the 1994 exhibition of the White House in Kulturen's own grounds may stand as an example of a ceramic complex from the High and Late Middle Ages (Gaimster 1996). Apart from south Scandinavian glazed red earthenware and jugs of Aardenburg/Bruges type there are also a couple of variants of ware from London, Grimston, four undefined English types, green-glazed and polychrome Rouen ware, Andenne

⁴⁷ Gaimster 1996; Carelli 1998, pp. 13ff.

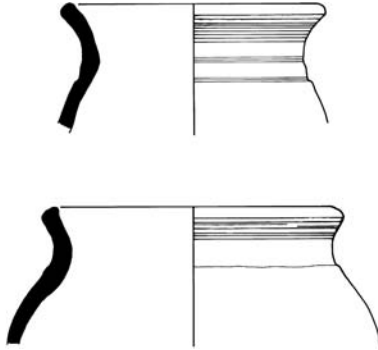


Fig. 70. Kugeltöpfe from Lund. Scale 1:4.

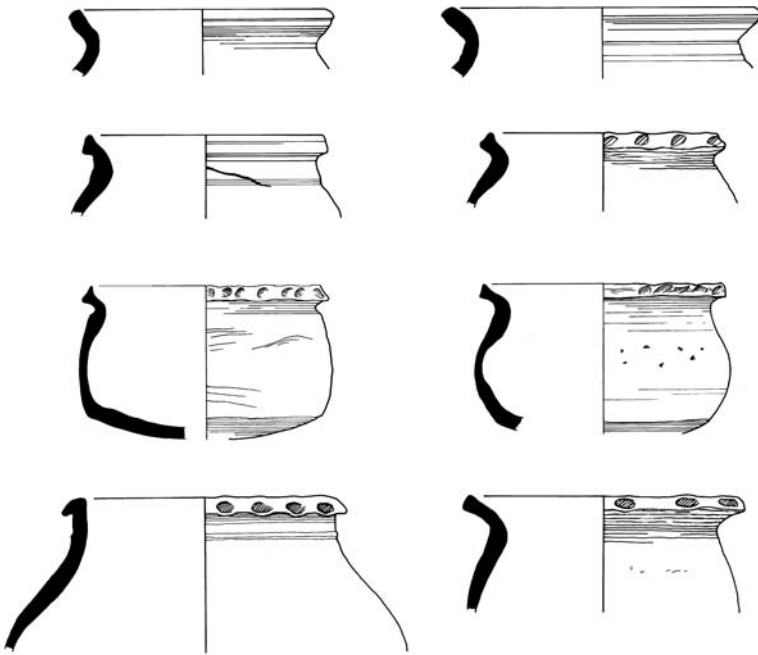


Fig. 71. Lund, Anglo-Scandinavian black earthenware. The two vessels at the top have not yet been identified, but an Anglo-Scandinavian origin is probable since the type has lenticular/convex bases like the others. Scale 1:4.

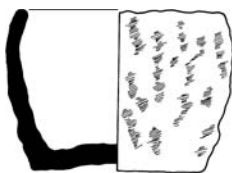


Fig. 72. Lund, vessel of indigenous Late Viking Age type. Scale 1:4.

ware, Pingsdorf-like ware, violet-slipped early stoneware, proto-stoneware from Siegburg, stoneware from Siegburg, Waldenburg, Raeren, and Langerwehe. From other parts of Lund come Spanish lustre-glazed ware, and a sgraffito-decorated dish and several amphorae from Byzantium.⁴⁸ From the set described above one can draw the conclusion that the inhabitants of the metropolis of Lund consumed pottery from much of the known world.

Lund between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

The Baltic ware in Lund can be described in drastic terms as showing both diversity and limitation. The diversity concerns the quantitative predominance throughout the eleventh century in comparison with other ceramic traditions found in the town. The size and function also vary a great deal; we find large storage vessels, hanging vessels for boiling over a fire, smaller household vessels, oil lamps, and lids. Moreover, we can observe the dynamic development of production, which resulted through time in changes in the choice of clays and forms. On the other hand, the range of forms is very limited, with an almost boring repetition of set shapes and decorative elements. To obtain an answer to the question why the tradition was established in the town and in eastern Denmark as a whole, we must also view the manufacture against the background of the contemporary socio-economic situation as far as we know it today. Among all the proposed explanations for the establishment, one ought to be more reasonable than the others from this perspective. For the analysis I proceed from the 2,427 sherds retrieved by excavation in the blocks of Apotekaren and Sankt Mårten.

The variation in Lund is marked by the two types of ware that exist within the tradition, Baltic ware and Late Baltic ware. They have proved

⁴⁸ Gaimster 1998; Roslund 1997a.

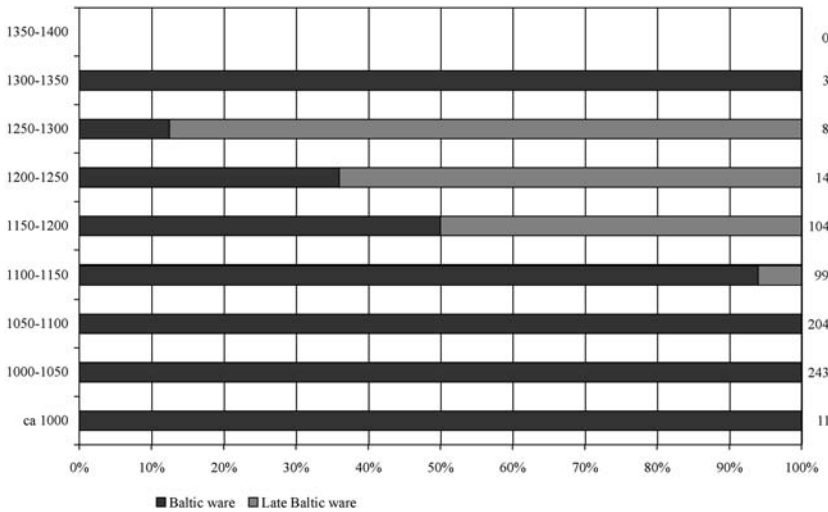


Fig. 73. Lund, Apotekaren 4. Percentages of Baltic ware and Late Baltic ware in different periods. To the right is the number of units of both types of ware for each period. After 1200 there are very few units, which suggests a residual character, at least as regards the Baltic ware. $n = 686$.

to occur with a chronological shift and with both different and shared forms. The chronology becomes clear when all the units of cooking and storage vessels from both types are brought together (fig. 73). Baltic ware was established as a ceramic tradition around 1000. Exactly when this happened has not been ascertained since the initial phase is very elusive in Lund. The appearance and extent of the town at this time is still obscure. What is certain is that Baltic ware was made on a large scale in the first half of the century and the initial course was very rapid. Indigenous Late Viking Age ware exists only as occasional sherds in Lund, which gives the Baltic ware a dominant position, although Anglo-Scandinavian black earthenware with its roots in Thetford and Torksey and German round-based black earthenware pots were used at the same time. The production of early glazed Anglo-Scandinavian vessels of Stamford type should also be mentioned as part of the set of pottery in this century.⁴⁹ During the last quarter of the eleventh century a slight change in production becomes discernable. The tradition of building cooking vessels, with its roots in Anglo-Scandinavian

⁴⁹ Christensen *et al.* 1994.

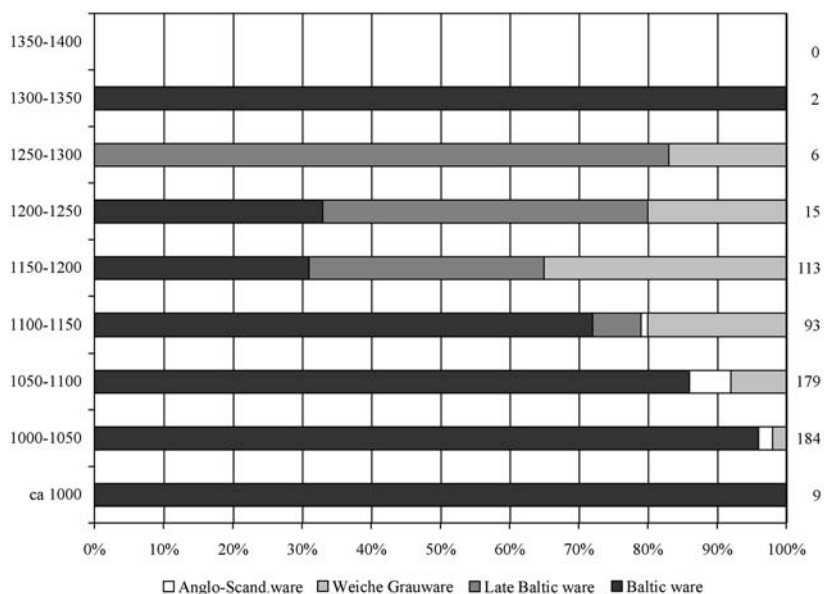


Fig. 74. Lund, Apotekaren 4. Early black earthenware distributed by ware group over time. Percentage of units of each group in relation to the others within each period. To the right is the number of units on which the calculation is based. The few sherds after 1200 suggest that they are residual. After this time Baltic ware is represented by only 7 units and Weiche Grauware by 4 units. $n = 601$.

pottery, died out. For Baltic ware it seems that the amount of vessels decreases, the manufacture of other main forms than the inverted-rim type increases, and the new cylindrical necks enter as a new element in the homes. The foundation for what happened in the first half of the twelfth century was thus laid at the end of the previous century, while a couple of other changes may be noted simultaneously. Baltic ware coexisted with other types of ware which arrived with the new century and accounted for an increasing share of the consumption (fig. 74). Already in the preceding century there was German pottery as a recurrent element in the range of pottery. In the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century there was a change in that the round-based vessels grew in numbers.⁵⁰ The first five

⁵⁰ Blomqvist 1948, p. 165.

decades of the new century show further changes in the composition of pottery. A few rims of Late Baltic ware hint that this pottery was introduced some time in the second quarter of the twelfth century. The relative proportions of the three early black earthenware traditions that still existed in Lund between 1150 and 1200 indicate that they were manufactured in similar quantities. When all the representatives of the early black earthenware tradition disappeared is still hard to say. The small number of rims of Baltic ware which occur after 1200 may be redeposited. In the same way it is difficult to know what value to attribute to the evidence of the few remains of *Kugeltöpfe* and Late Baltic ware that we find still lingering until around 1300, but a hypothetical interpretation is that these both disappeared by 1250 at the latest. This is particularly relevant for vessels of *Kugeltopf* type, which underwent a change in the first half of the thirteenth century towards clearly thrown vessel bodies with horizontal grooves at the neck, three legs, and handles.

Vessels of different size with inverted rims were the basic eleventh-century equipment for work in the kitchen (figs. 75 and 76). They were found in the houses as large, thick-walled storage pots and above the open fires as hanging vessels with a capacity for large communal meals, as smaller vessels standing on the fire or sunken as ember containers just beside the fireplace.

Towards the end of the century and above all in the first half of the twelfth century there was a major change in the composition of household pottery. Inverted rims were manufactured to a decreasing extent and long, everted rims became more common, and above all cylindrical necks arrived as a new form (figs. 77 and 78). By 1100 the design tradition which had been kept relatively constant since the early eleventh century was discontinued, and a new set of vessels emerged between the potters' hands. The tendency was already clear around 1075, when new forms for the first time are fewer in number than those which disappear, resulting in a negative trend in innovation. This might mean that manufacture stagnated for different reasons.

Just before the mid-twelfth century there was a thoroughgoing change. With old and completely new forms in mind, potters began to make Late Baltic ware. Initially the majority represented a technical improvement on earlier vessel forms, with base marks and decoration as before. In the second half of the twelfth century, however, they were already distancing themselves from the old pattern, and it was at this

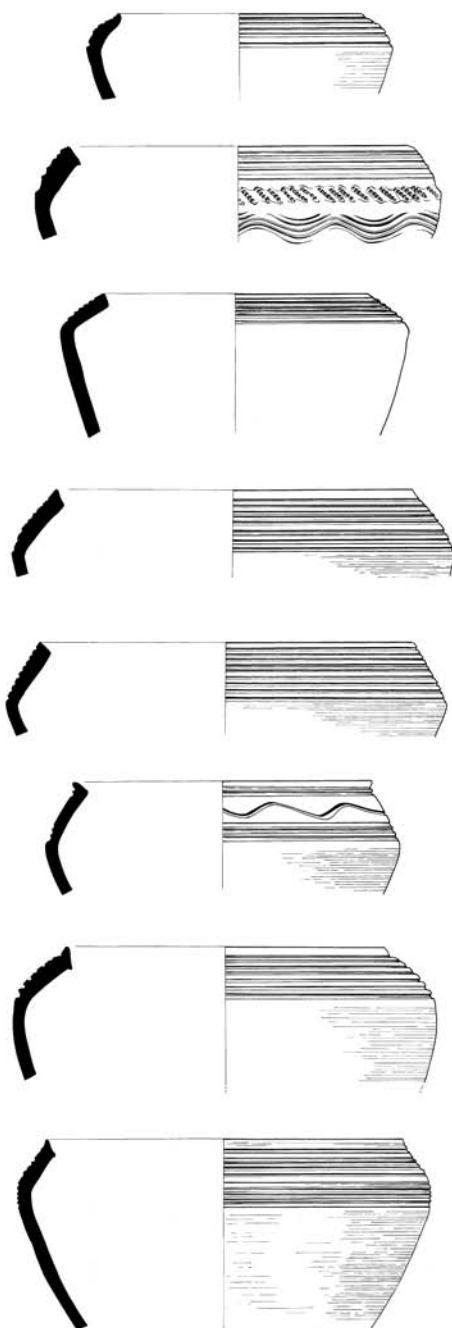


Fig. 75. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. A selection of the most frequent forms of Baltic ware during the eleventh century. Scale 1:4.

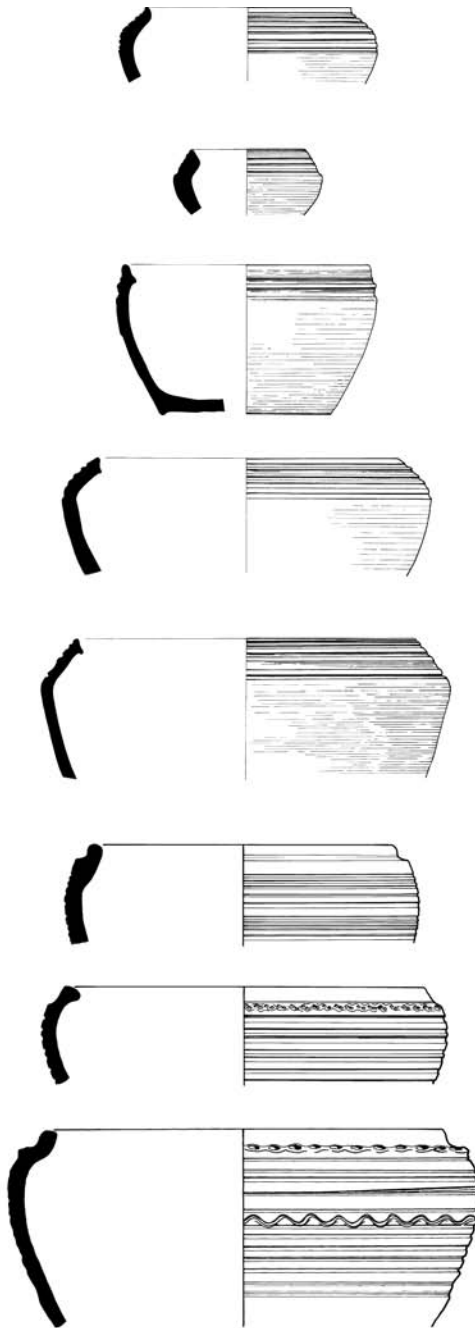


Fig. 76. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. A selection of the most frequent forms of Baltic ware during the eleventh century. Scale 1:4.

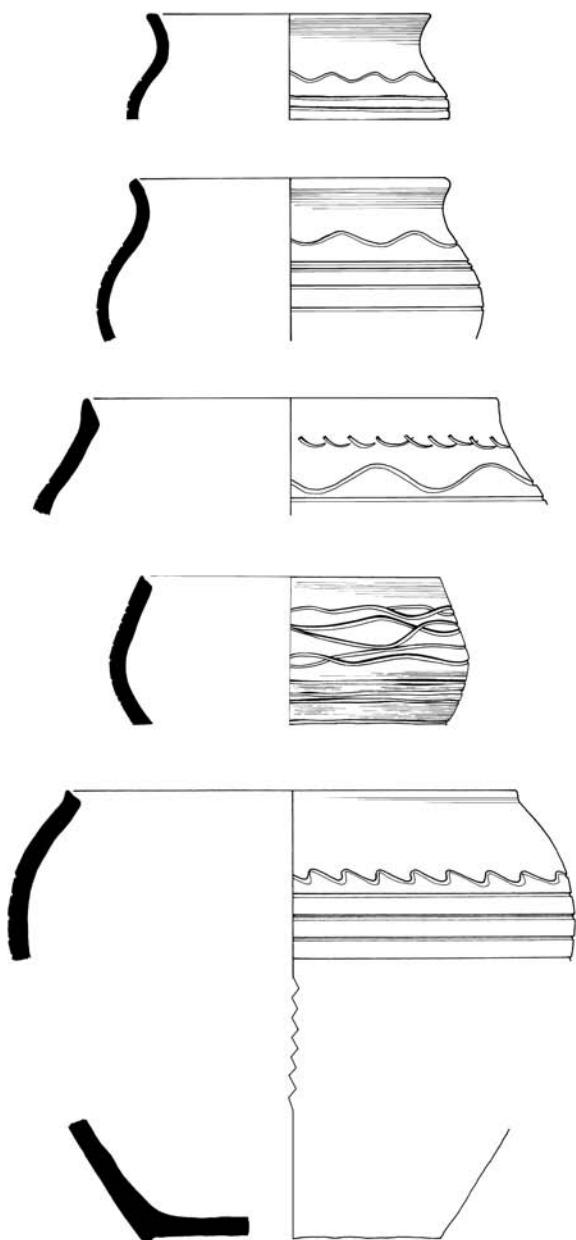


Fig. 77. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Forms of Baltic ware from the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century. Scale 1:4.

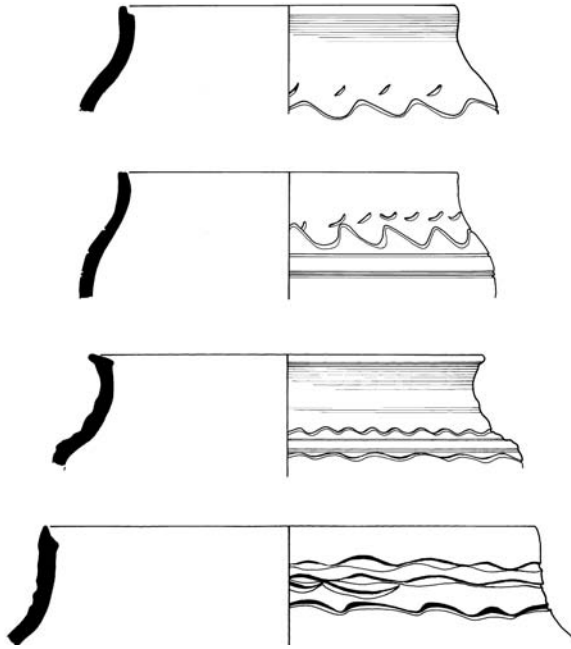


Fig. 78. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Forms of Baltic ware from the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century. Scale 1:4.

time that they were most popular. The vessels have thin walls, squat round shapes, and characteristic long or medium-length rims (fig. 79). Contemporaneous with the complete extinction of the older Baltic tradition just before 1200, then, a new one was on the advance. This manufacture did not last long, however, since the number of rims in the deposits from Apotekaren 4 was greatly reduced by 1250. If this type of ware existed until *c.* 1300, which may be possible, the evidence will have to come from closed contexts with secure datings.

The variation in the composition of the pottery is expressed in vessels with different functions. Lamps, hanging vessels, lids, bowls, and vessels with special functions are among the forms because of the tasks they serve alongside the traditional ones (fig. 80). The lamps in Lund all have a foot but at the same time they differ slightly in the shape of the bowl. The use of these lamps began in the first half of the eleventh century, and the tradition does not seem to cease until some time in the second half of the twelfth century. The hanging vessels in the shape of handles which are found make up a small proportion of the

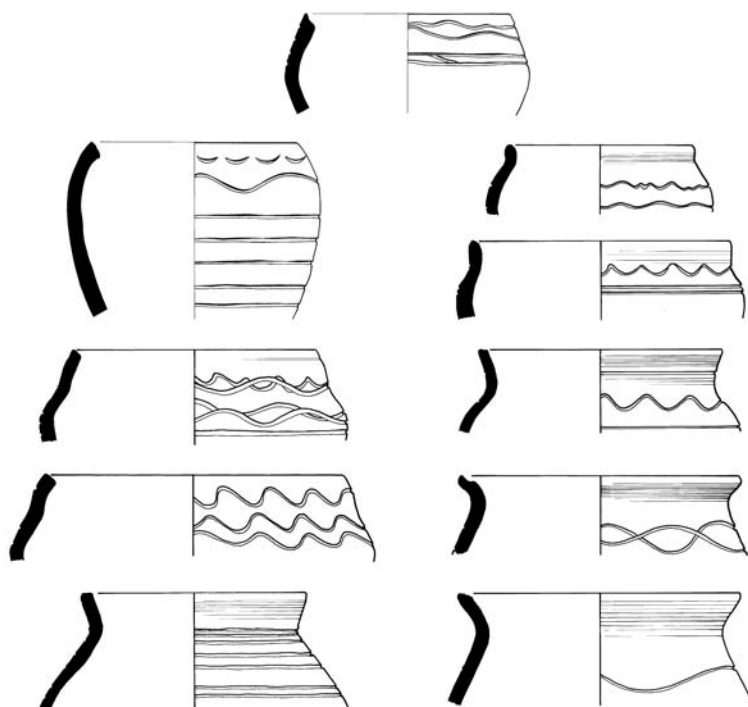


Fig. 79. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Late Baltic ware
c. 1150–1250. Scale 1:4.

real number of pots with this function. Many are concealed among the most common inverted forms of cooking pots and thus do not improve the foundation for a dating. The few handles of hanging vessels which have been noted come from the first half of the eleventh century to the second quarter of the twelfth century. The lids may be a phenomenon in pottery production in Lund which belong to an early period since virtually all are placed between the first half of the eleventh century and the end of that century. A bowl found in Apotekaren 4 can be dated to the first quarter of the twelfth century. It is important to point out that no lamps, bowls, or hanging vessels are found as Late Baltic ware from Lund. Special forms are represented solely by one lid.

In the large mass of individual forms it is possible to use similarities in form and decoration to distinguish groups which I judge to be vessel families, sometimes with representatives from both types of ware. The distribution over time corroborates this assumption since they form

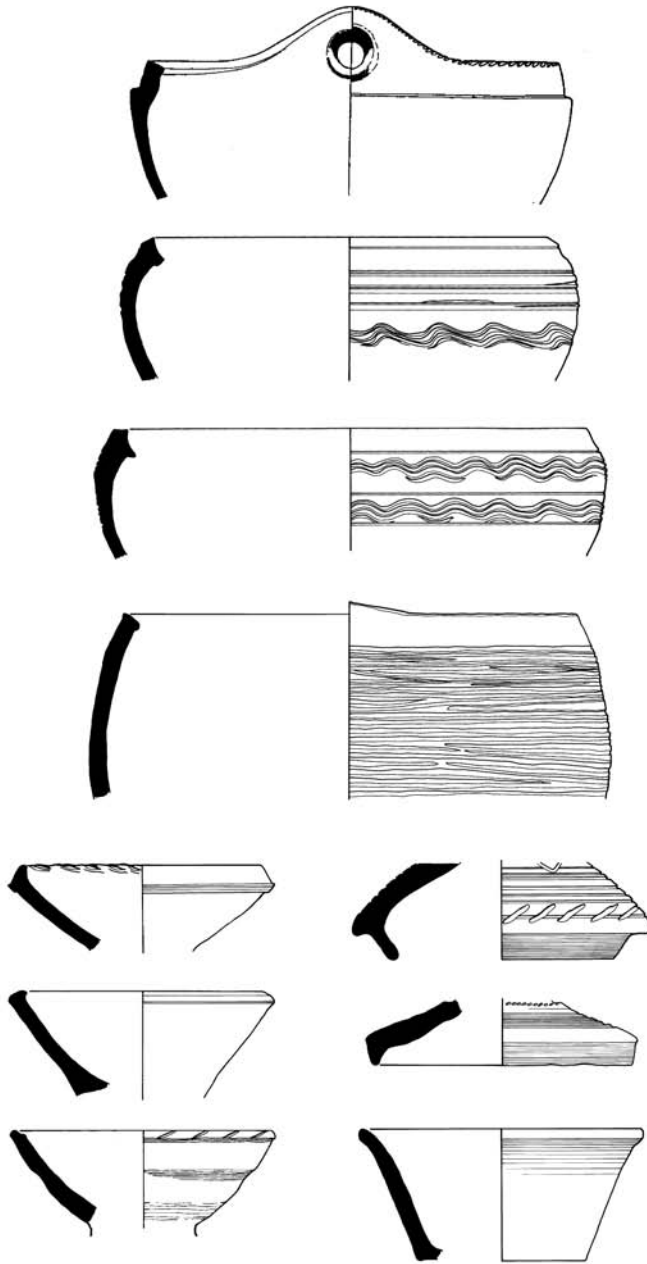


Fig. 80. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware with various functions. Hanging vessels, lamps, lids, and bowls from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Scale 1:4.

chronological assemblages. An inverted rim and two short vertical rims with shared features are placed in the first half of the eleventh century (fig. 81). The number is small, and scattered examples are found in other periods, but the compact look given to the forms in the Sankt Mårten block guarantees that the family had a fixed manufacturing base in Lund. Another of these vessel families consists of forms which have everted rims with variations in the details and one with an inverted rim (fig. 82). All have distinctly biconical bodies and the majority are decorated with a wavy line over parallel lines or between two zones of lines. Although the family is somewhat scattered there is a strong presence in the decades around 1050. Some were buried a little way down in the floor and fitted with lids to preserve goods that required low temperatures so that they would not spoil. Another family seems to have been established at the turn of the century and continued to be produced throughout the next century (fig. 83). The first two forms consist of cylindrical necks with the edge sloping inwards while one is short vertical, medium-length and rounded. The shoulder and the body are decorated with horizontal lines above which are incised sweeping strokes or stick marks and/or a flat wavy line. A couple of vessel families must be considered typical of the twelfth century (fig. 84). The first four forms are cylindrical necks while the other three are everted and long rims. The decoration on them consists of parallel lines at a large distance, over which either a flat wavy line or incised strokes are placed. During a hundred-year period from the first half of the twelfth century until around 1200 they were used in Lund.

With a certain shift forwards in time, a closely related family was made, solely as Late Baltic ware (fig. 85). All are everted, one medium-long and the rest long with typical minimalist decoration usually consisting of flat wavy lines which sometimes have widely spaced lines under them. This may be as late as the second half of the thirteenth century. Each vessel family is assembled in such clear clusters that they can serve as key artefacts for stratigraphic interpretations in Lund. Chronologically they are also distributed in such a way that the transition clearly reveals the origin of Late Baltic ware in the earlier tradition. A distinct singular vessel form is found among Late Baltic ware (fig. 86). The accumulation around the end of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century makes it a unique aid for dating contexts in this period.

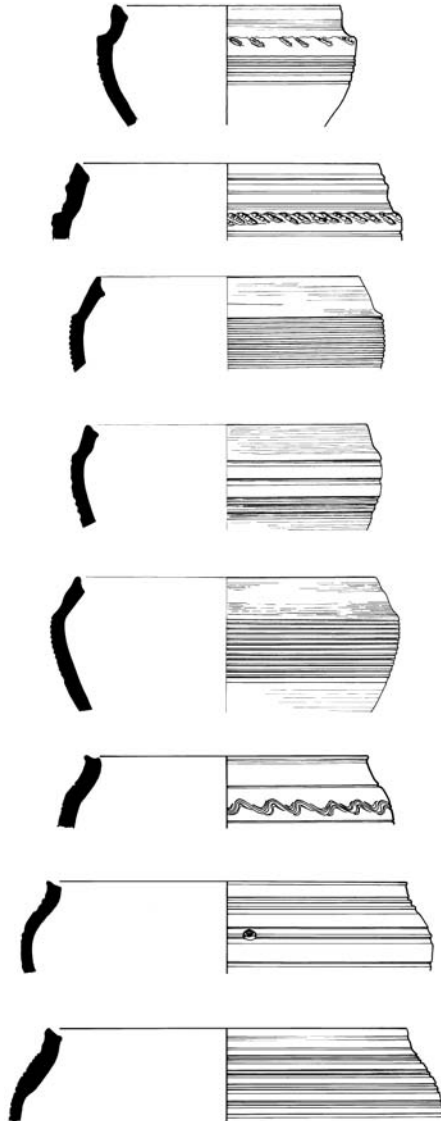


Fig. 81. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware, vessel family mostly from the first half of the eleventh century. Scale 1:4.

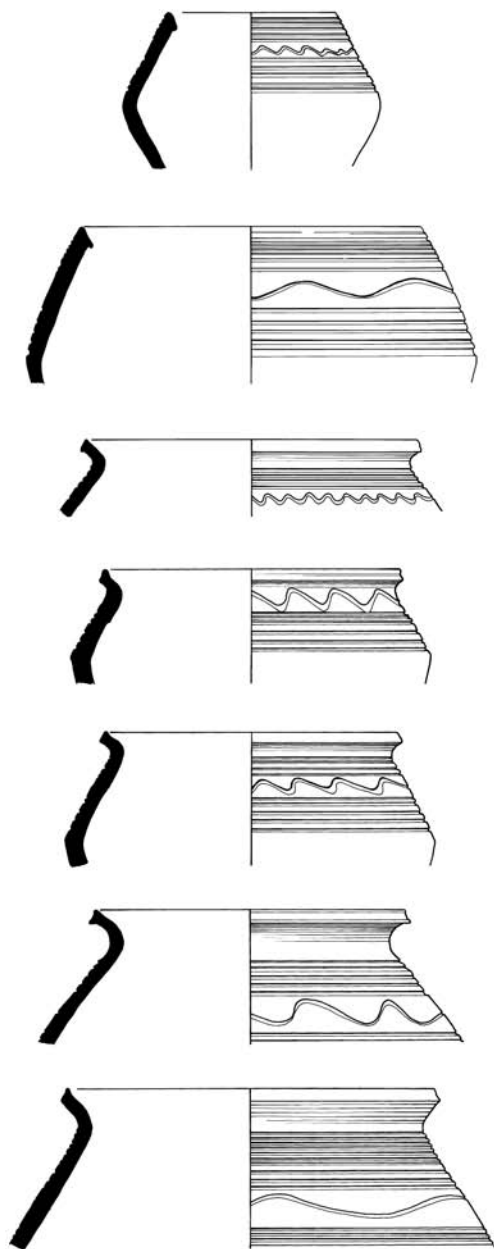


Fig. 82. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware, vessel family from around 1050. Scale 1:4.

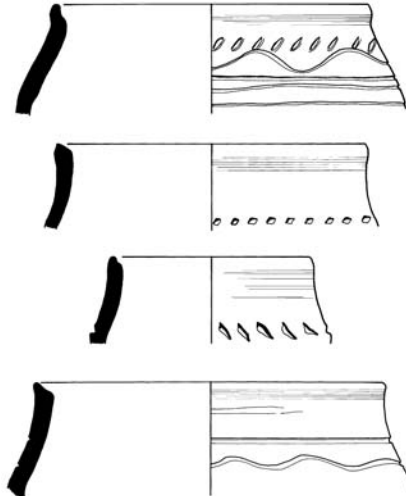


Fig. 83. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware, vessel family from around 1100. Scale 1:4.

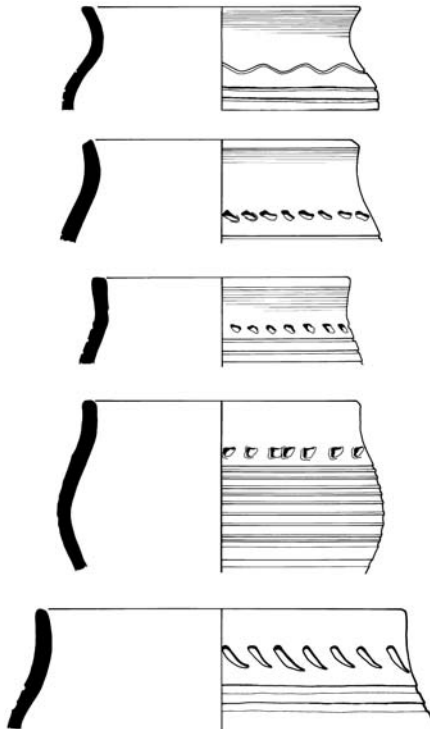


Fig. 84. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware, vessel family from the twelfth century. Scale 1:4.

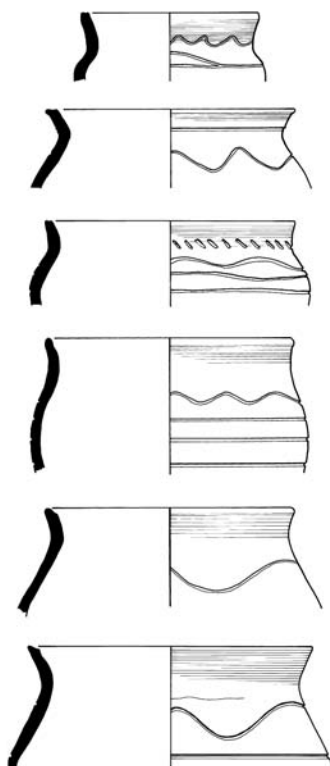


Fig. 85. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Late Baltic ware, vessel family from the second half of the thirteenth century. Scale 1:4.

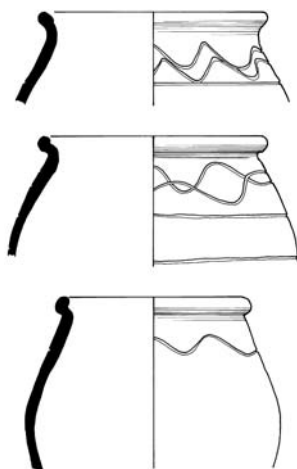


Fig. 86. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Late Baltic ware, form reference Lu 77, end of the twelfth and start of the thirteenth century. Scale 1:4.

The answer to the question of the source of the tradition of Baltic ware in Lund must be based on improved evidence and a consideration of the geographical spread of the individual forms, their quantitative proportions in time and place, and the socio-economic conditions in the place of origin and in Scandinavia. Research hitherto has stressed the similarities to West Slavic pottery, and the more explicit places which have been pointed out are the Oder estuary, where Wolin above all has been assumed to be the source. For comparisons research has been confined to experience from Mecklenburg, where Schuldt's typology created a framework for the classification of Slavic pottery. From the 1970s until the present day a number of local studies have sharpened this blunt instrument and demonstrated differences in pottery composition in the West Slavic area. These results have not been properly brought into discussion in Scandinavia, because syntheses are rare even in Germany and Poland. From Scandinavia it has been difficult to grasp the basic conditions mentioned above, and language obstacles have made scholars less inclined to study the subject in depth. One problem has been that the criterion of similarity in the search for analogies has been too lax and that the dynamism in the Slavic area has not been sufficiently considered. Regionality and chronology must be allowed to play a more important part. Because we today have a better knowledge of conditions south of the Baltic Sea, it is possible to pin down a narrower area for the tradition of Baltic ware in Skåne and use typological and chronological studies to increase our understanding of how the transfer took place and developed.

At a supraregional level the link to the West Slavic form tradition is obvious. Contacts as early as the ninth and the tenth centuries are attested in the Feldberg and Fresendorf vessels found at coastal trading sites in eastern Denmark, forms which clearly belong in an area extending between the Elbe, western Pomorze/Pomerania, and the Havel to the south. A quick glance reveals analogies to the Baltic ware in Lund throughout the West Slavic area around 1000. However, some circumstances in the east Danish tradition mean that the focus must be limited. A place of origin should have a similar composition of forms as here, at least in the initial phase, before a local tradition has had time to develop. After the analysis of the source material from Apotekaren and Sankt Mårten in Lund it is clear that the majority of the forms have inverted rims, a small proportion are everted, and even fewer have short vertical rims. Cylindrical necks occur from the late eleventh century, but above all during the twelfth century. The bodies of the vessels

have a silhouette with a highly placed shoulder, mostly with a gentle transition, but in the eleventh century there are also sharply curved shoulders. In the eleventh century biconical vessels were manufactured with inverted or everted rims and very characteristic decoration consisting of a wavy line placed between two zones of parallel lines on the upper cone. These vessels are often provided with lids. If we turn south with this rough classification and examine the area without any chronological reservations, we have difficulty finding places with a set of forms that agrees exactly with this. From Schleswig in the west to Gdańsk in the east, potters had a different idea of what vessels should look like. Everywhere the everted rims of different types are strongly in the majority. Inverted rims are most common in the early eleventh century in the form of vessels from the Warder and Bobzin groups or the late Fresendorf group in a very limited area between the Warnow and the Oder.⁵¹ The distance inland is 7–10 kilometres, which gives these closed vessel forms a coastal distribution. Further to the east and south a more homogeneous design tradition prevails. In the Pomerania of the Piasts and in the core area in Great Poland an everted rim form dominated as the standard type for vessel mouths. Fresendorf ware is frequently found in Wolin, but this seems to be an eastern outpost for the group since Szczecin and its hinterland have just one variant of this, and in small numbers.⁵² As in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg, the Bobzin group is represented only by occasional vessels in Pomerania. In the Polish core area a completely different situation prevails. The expanding Piast dynasty created power centres to which they bound different forms of production. Pottery was made partly by specialists, which had the consequence that the forms became very homogeneous. As we have seen, potters in Great Poland were influenced by traditions both from south and north. If we look beyond our immediate geographical area towards other Slavic countries, we see a totally different evolution of forms. Without being too hasty, we can totally eliminate the East Slavic area as a source of inspiration.

The most important thing for a discussion of Slavic analogies to pottery from Lund is the material from the Slavic stronghold of Warder in eastern Holstein.⁵³ In the Late Slavic material from this western outpost

⁵¹ Kempke 1981, p. 292, fig. 2.

⁵² Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 193.

⁵³ Kempke 1981.

in the contact area there are many of Schuldt's basic forms with representatives of the families of Fresendorf, Vipperow, and Teterow, which normally occur together in the Wendish area. Torsten Kempke distinguished a new type from these families which proved to have enough morphological properties to form a separate group. This new Warder type is the group that is closest to the tradition in eastern Denmark or Skåne. In Lund several very common forms can be directly linked to the Warder group (fig. 81). Another close link to the Wendish area is the vessels that show features of the Middle Slavic Fresendorf pottery (figs. 75 and 76). The tradition is associated with specialized crafts skills in the tenth century but the forms occurred in West Slavic areas some time into the eleventh century. The core area of the Fresendorf group is on the stretch of coast between Wolin and Rügen, with a limited spread further to the west in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, where only occasional examples occur.⁵⁴ Several other forms of vessels and rim occur with direct analogies south of the Baltic Sea (figs. 87 and 88).

The strongest argument for an origin in north-east Mecklenburg and the Oder estuary comes from the set of forms which I presented in the section 'Late Slavic pottery in the homelands' (fig. 44). From the River Recknitz, via Rügen, to Wolin we find a large number of analogies. A couple of forms from Lund express the same geographic belonging, although they are rarer there. Instead their unusual design is important for determining the source. They originate in a stylistic tradition on Usedom in the Oder estuary (fig. 89). The other rims have greater value as evidence. Cylindrical necks belong to the Late Slavic Teterow group in the homelands and details of the design differ completely from that of most elongated vessel mouths of local Baltic ware type that we find in Lund (figs. 83 and 84). The big Teterow vessels in Lund have a dating framework between 1125 and 1200. In Szczecin the cylindrical necks have been assigned to a separate group K which began to be produced in the second half of the eleventh century but occurs more frequently in the twelfth century.⁵⁵ These cylindrical necks belong to a group which in our immediate area has its broadest distribution in Pomerania. Schuldt does not distinguish it from his Teterow group, to which it belongs, largely because it is uncommon in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. There it is found only right beside the Oder and on the

⁵⁴ Brather 1993, p. 330, fig. 5.

⁵⁵ Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 204.

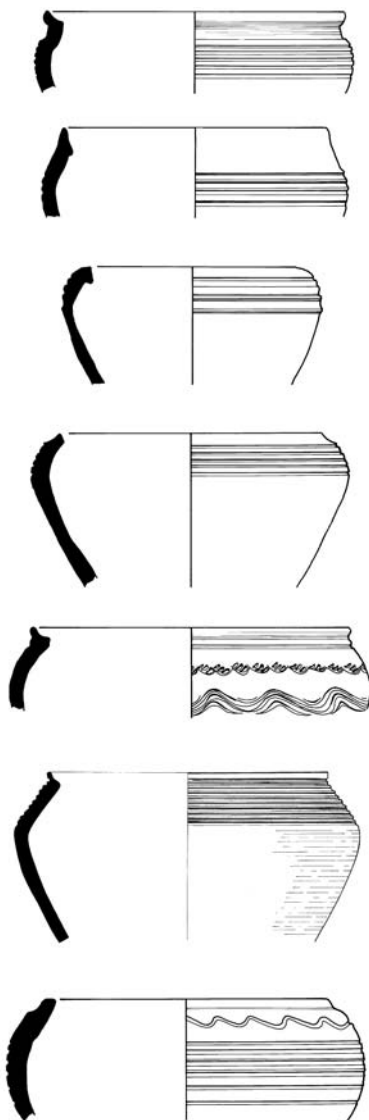


Fig. 87. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware with forms analogous to the late Fresendorf tradition in eastern Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and at the mouth of the Oder. Scale 1:4.

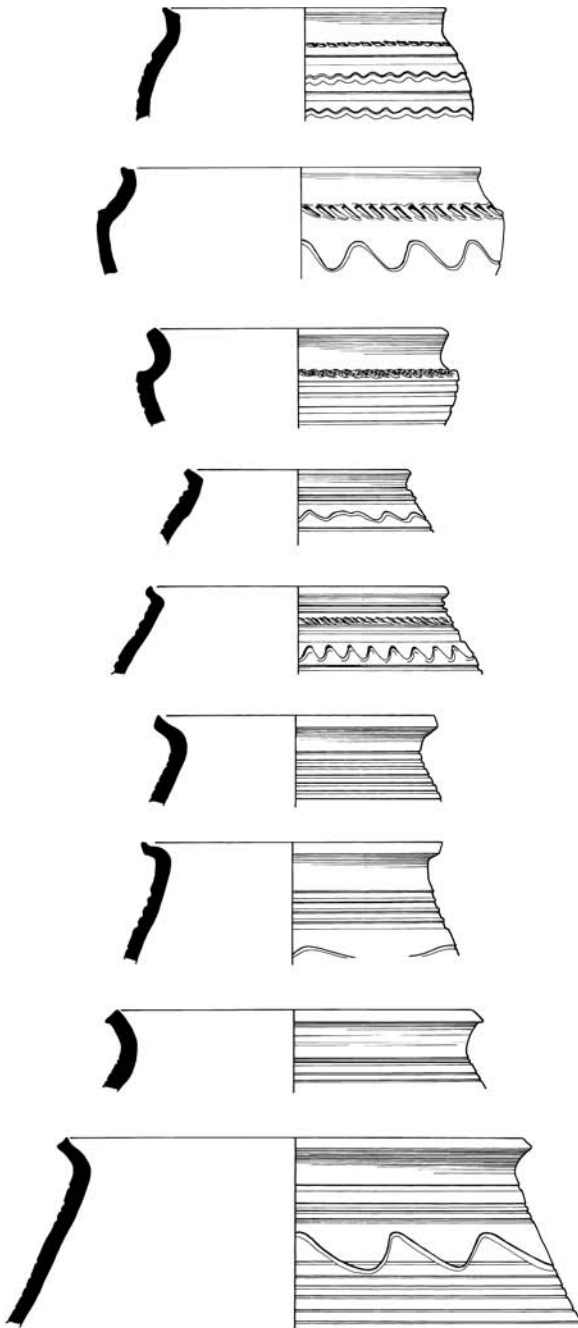


Fig. 88. Lund, Apotekaren 4 and Sankt Mårten 25–26. Baltic ware with analogues in eastern Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and at the mouth of the Oder. Scale 1:4.

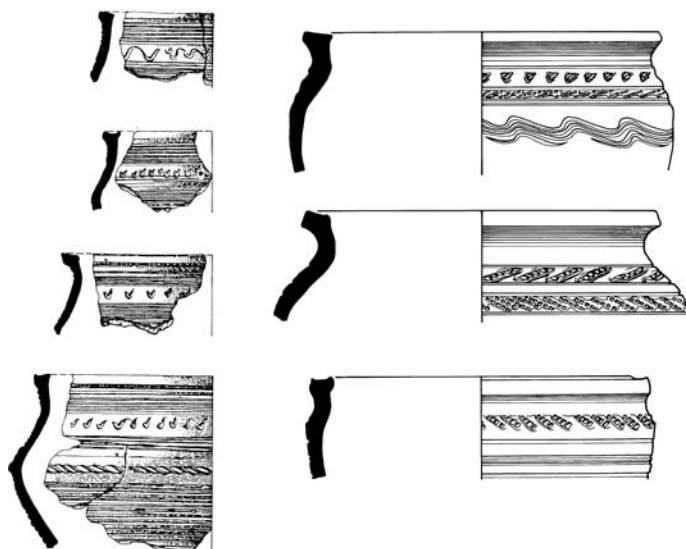


Fig. 89. Analogues to form references in Lund (Lu 120 and Lu 129) can be found on Usedom, Kreis Wolgast, at the mouth of the Oder. The vessels to the left from Corpus 4/178. Scale 1:4.

outermost coastal strip of north-east Mecklenburg. The two special forms in the Lund material, in my opinion, reinforce the impression that the potters who made vessels in the town came from this area.

Baltic ware in Lund thus has obvious parallels within a well-defined area comprising Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and the westernmost part of Pomerania. A statement like this is not surprising in view of the fact that the areas are geographically close and political connections have been known for a long time. One important question concerns the socio-economic base of the tradition and the dynamics of the development of the ware in eastern Denmark during the two hundred years and more when the ceramics were used in the households. By all appearances the manufacture of the Late Slavic vessel forms and decorations began simultaneously on both sides of the Baltic Sea. Although an exact dating for the event is impossible to obtain, the earliest coin datings of Late Slavic vessels on the Oder and on Rügen from the 980s are contemporaneous with the appearance of Baltic ware in eastern Denmark. There is no certain establishment in Lund until the first half of the eleventh century, which is also the case in the Wendish area, and then it appears as a strong tradition as regards both the variety of forms and the quantity. We thus have no slow, gentle transition to study

in order to facilitate our understanding of how the transition from the Late Viking Age tradition to Baltic ware took place in Skåne. Perhaps it is possible to see the rise of hanging vessels with a technique, form, and decoration like other Baltic ware as an intermediate stage. I view this as an adaptation on the part of the Slavic potters to a Scandinavian tradition which demanded the form and function in the kitchen that was filled by the hanging vessels.

Broken contact with developments south of the Baltic Sea can be suspected after the mid-eleventh century. The negative course of innovation in forms suggests a stagnation in the craft, and the few new forms that did arise were created within the east Danish sphere and showed no similarities to Slavic vessels. In Lund we also lack the Teterow group with its very characteristic appearance, a cylindrical neck segment placed in between the shoulder and the rim. According to Schuldt, this form occurs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but from Szczecin we have explicit information to show that it accounts for 20% or less of the total material in the eleventh century but up to 60% in the twelfth century.⁵⁶ The centre of gravity in the twelfth century is also attested further west in the stronghold of Warder. The Teterow group occurred in larger quantities in the Slavic countries when Lund's contact with the area south of the Baltic Sea was broken. In the north the older forms were retained, with inverted rims; the few cylindrical necks that were manufactured had a local character. With the incipient manufacture of Late Baltic ware in Lund the differences between the areas are further reinforced. I see the choice of new clays, techniques for building up the pots, and new forms starting towards the mid-twelfth century as an internal development in eastern Denmark, where Lund as metropolis played an important part in the course of innovation.

Conclusion

Pottery development in Lund can be portrayed with fairly distinct outlines. Something we must bear in mind is the vessels of other material which were used alongside ceramics. From the town we have remains of soapstone pots, and metal vessels seem to have existed from an early stage.

A Late Viking Age household tradition with forms going far back into the Vendel Period was broken very suddenly by a set of vessels

⁵⁶ Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 202, fig. 17.

of a new and advanced technical quality and with forms coming from the eastern part of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and the Oder estuary. The new tradition was totally alien to the area, radically altering production as regards techniques and morphology, with new clay recipes, the use of a turntable, improved firing, and a completely new set of forms and decorations. The change happened so quickly that the coarse dating frameworks available to us as archaeologists, with intervals at best of 20–25 years, conceal the process. As noted above, we find the oldest coin-dated Late Slavic vessels along the Oder and on Rügen just before the year 1000 and in stratigraphically fixed layers dated to around 980 in the Polish coastal towns, so that no delay in the transfer can be discerned.⁵⁷

The consumption of pottery in the households of Lund clearly changed from around 1000 to *c.* 1300. Very few pots of the home-made Late Viking Age type have been found in Lund. The tradition seems to have lost its role with the establishment of the town, and the domestic pottery was instead based on Baltic ware. Already in the second quarter of the eleventh century it was produced on a large scale. The link between late forms of the Fresendorf group, the Warder group, and the first vessels in Lund should be emphasized as important for the introduction. An interpretation of the course of events must be placed in a broader supraregional socio-economic context, which will be presented in the last chapter. A small amount of Anglo-Scandinavian pots of black earthenware functioning as both cooking and storage vessels also occurred in the town in the first half of the century, as well as a few round-based pots of German type, *Kugeltöpfe*. With a concentration in the decades around 1050, glazed Anglo-Scandinavian cooking and serving vessels were also used in the houses on the plots. From *c.* 1050 to 1100 Baltic ware retained its dominant position despite a slight quantitative decline, while the other two traditions increased slightly. In the first half of the twelfth century there were significant changes both in the Baltic ware tradition itself and in the relationship between all the types of black earthenware. The Anglo-Scandinavian vessels stopped being produced some time at the end of the previous century, while the German tradition became more strongly represented, a tendency that was reinforced in the first half of the twelfth century.

⁵⁷ Kempke 1984, p. 76; Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 200.

The craftsmen changed the forms of Baltic ware around 1100 when the inverted rims declined sharply and the range became more varied, above all with cylindrical necks as a novel form. A decade or two before the middle of the century Late Baltic ware appeared, with its clear roots in the earlier tradition. Older forms dominated by inverted rims and younger ones with medium-length to long everted rims of new appearance, tending towards a cylindrical shape, coexisted around the middle of the twelfth century, while the new forms occurred more frequently towards the end of the century and became all-prevailing in the first half of the thirteenth century. The zenith of Late Baltic ware came in the second half of the twelfth century when there was equilibrium in numerical terms between the new ware, the older Baltic ware, and the round-based German pots. The decline of the latter two types around 1200 was not felt so much by the Late Baltic ware. In the first half of the thirteenth century the potters in Lund, or rather the consumers of household pottery, switched to other types of ware, with the cooking vessels consisting of late black earthenware, the standard pot being the new German three-legged pot with handles. Whether the early red earthenware in the form of three-legged pots for the hearth appeared at this time should be examined more closely. If one looks at the relative proportions of early and late black earthenware, it is clear that the number of vessels of the latter in the thirteenth century is just a fraction of the large amount of pots used in households in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The reason for this may be that new materials came into use over the hearth, but a question for the future is whether the early red earthenware in the form of cooking vessels with legs had been developed at the same time as the early jugs in Lund as a local tradition for vessels for the hearth, instead of the pots of early black earthenware.

Rural Skåne

Pottery from rural Skåne has not yet been presented in any scope or detail as a concerted artefact group. Both contract archaeology and excavations related to research projects in agrarian contexts have been, and still are, heavily geared to settlement history and house typology. With this deliberate focus, no priority has been given to studies of artefacts from villages and single farms, other than as a dating aid. In excavations during the 1980s and 1990s, however, an interest in pottery was aroused, resulting in documentation and presentation according

to Selling's system or links to Schuldt's forms from Mecklenburg.⁵⁸ However, we still lack an overall regional ceramic profile presenting all types of ware as a series with morphological and clay-mineralogical elements examined in detail.

In this section I present above all Baltic ware from some places in rural Skåne: Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup. The choice is based on qualitative and quantitative aspects. All have a sequence over time from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and the number of rims and bases is sufficient for the results to be considered relevant. Kyrkheddinge, Gårdstånga, and Önnerup are close to Lund while Bjäresjö is further away from the important town. The choice of source material may seem geographically limited since three of the four places are within about ten kilometres of Lund. To gain some idea of developments in the countryside, however, the number of units and the quality of the excavation are of the utmost significance. The material satisfies both these criteria and also represents some different social settings. To check whether the results from these four places are comparable to findings from other places in Skåne, the pottery from Fjälkinge in the north-east of the province has been inspected. The results of this are presented in the text but not in tables or illustrations. The Baltic ware from the island settlement of Mölleholmen occupies a special position both topographically and when it comes to the level of documentation and presentation. The analysis can be used for comparisons with other contemporary agrarian material.

Rural Skåne between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

In a comparison between the rural sites it is interesting to see the covariation in Baltic ware. At all these places inverted rims account for a majority, 67%, of the total 812 vessels. Among these there was an obvious preference for certain forms (figs. 90, 91 and 92). The only site that differs in the composition of main forms is Bjäresjö, where everted rims make up a larger proportion of the units than in Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup. In the existing material there is no sign that vessels with cylindrical necks were made there, as they were in other places.

Differences in microvariations in the main forms can be seen but they do not allow any clear distinction to be made between the assem-

⁵⁸ Mandahl 1986; Kelm 1994; Edring 1997; Brorsson 1998a, 1998b.

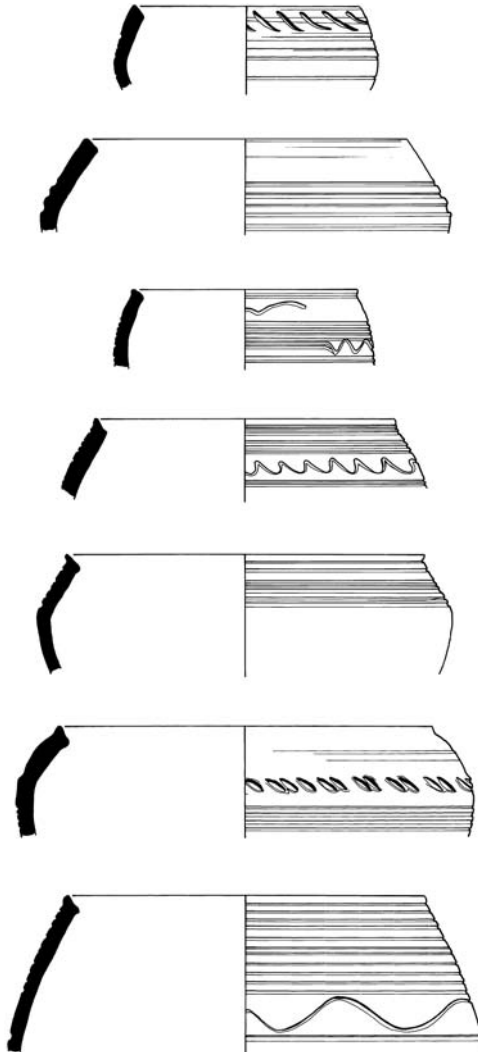


Fig. 90. Rural Skåne. Some of the most common forms of Baltic ware from the villages of Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup. Scale 1:4.

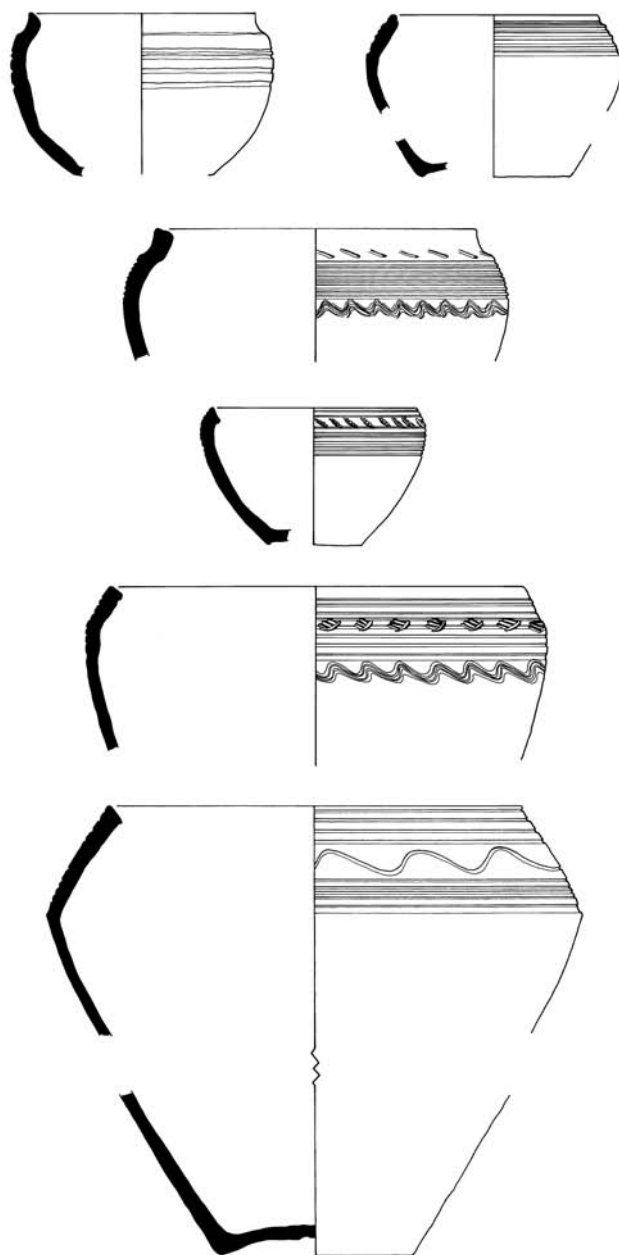


Fig. 91. Rural Skåne. Some of the most common forms of Baltic ware from the villages of Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup. Scale 1:4.

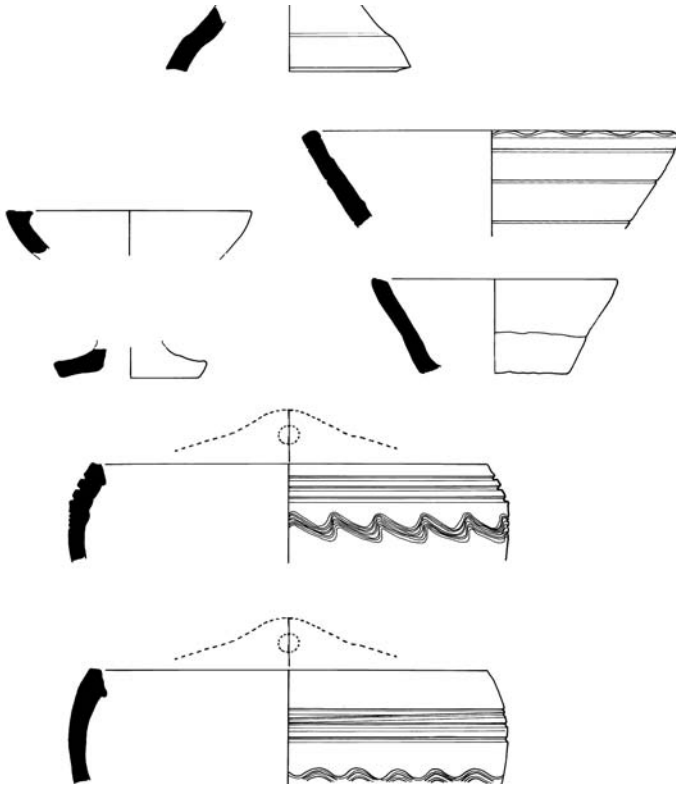


Fig. 92. Rural Skåne. Baltic ware with special functions such as lids, lamps, bowls, and hanging vessels from the villages of Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup. Scale 1:4.

blages. Some minor differences in the proportions of vessels and the shape of the openings are nevertheless obvious. The restrained everted forms from Bjäresjö and Gårdstånga, reflected in the length of the rims, mean that the pots as a whole have a sober format. In Bjäresjö and Kyrkheddinge, moreover, the vessels are generally small, which further reinforces the impression. The potters of Gårdstånga followed the general tradition of proportions in Skåne.

Some individual forms stand out as distinctive for each place, reflecting local traditions. In Bjäresjö inverted rims are very frequent. Besides that the site differs significantly from the others in that two everted forms come in second and third place (fig. 93). Gårdstånga has a distinctive profile with two closely related forms which do not occur in large numbers anywhere else (fig. 94 a–d). Otherwise, the distribution of forms in

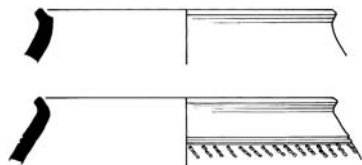


Fig. 93. Bjäresjö. Baltic ware with everted rims. Scale 1:4.

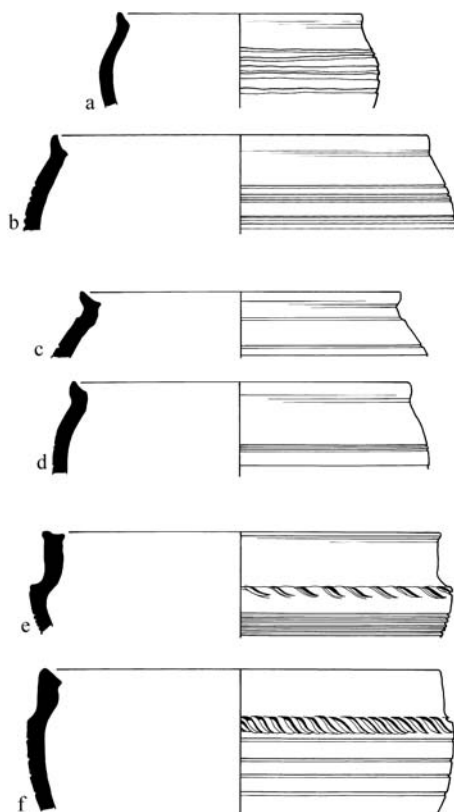


Fig. 94. Gårdstånga. Baltic ware with characteristic local forms. Scale 1:4.

Gårdstånga is very like what is found in Önnerrup. Another difference is that there are only two cylindrical necks from Gårdstånga, which are variants of a short vertical rim, just slightly more vertical (fig. 94 e, f). Kyrkheddinge's forms are of the types that are common in Skåne. Önnerrup, through its large number of units, has affected the picture of the average pottery set. Consequently, inverted rims come first (fig. 95). There are many individual rims which are not so frequent in the other places. Also of special interest is the larger number of cylindrical necks manufactured in Önnerrup (fig. 96). Among the vessel bodies, a number of biconical ones stand out, some of them decorated with a wavy line between two zones of parallel lines (fig. 97).

Cooking and storage vessels were obviously made on a turntable since the concave bases or those with a sharp edge and flat underside predominate, with 93% of 191 items. The smooth profile of the vessel bodies and the flowing decoration also confirm this.

Among the forms of Late Baltic ware, the most frequent main type is clearly everted, around 60% of 79 vessels. The forms vary greatly, with only one occurring at all the sites (fig. 98). Short vertical forms were likewise a common feature of the repertoire. They occupy an important position everywhere except in Önnerrup, where inverted rims were preferred instead. No cylindrical necks have been noted in this type of ware at rural sites. Of the reference types, 22% occur in all four places, Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerrup. If we similarly look at which forms are found in all four or at least three places, we reach a higher percentage, but not dominating, of 37%. There is thus great heterogeneity at the level of individual forms. Local conditions affect how the rims of vessels were shaped. A feature shared by all vessels, whatever the form of the rim, is that they are small and have thin walls. It is thus not likely that they were used as storage vessels to any great extent.

The heterogeneity means that individual forms play a significant role for local profiles in the composition of Late Baltic ware. Bjäresjö and Gårdstånga have so few units that it is impossible to see any preference. In Kyrkheddinge it seems that short vertical rims and everted rims were made in larger numbers (fig. 99). The situation in Önnerrup is clearer on account of the larger quantity of units. Here we find that the only form occurring in all places in the study is the most common one (fig. 98. The two uppermost everted rims). The vessels were manufactured on turntables and as many as 84% of 20 vessels have convex bases. The variation that was found in the Early Baltic set of pots has disappeared.

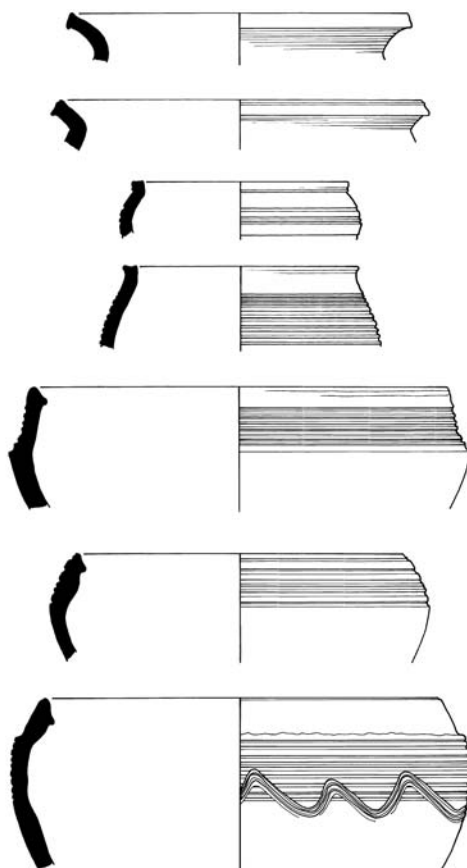


Fig. 95. Baltic ware from Önnerup. Scale 1:4.

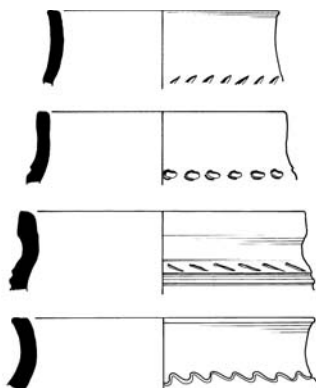


Fig. 96. Önnerup. Baltic ware with cylindrical necks. Scale 1:4.

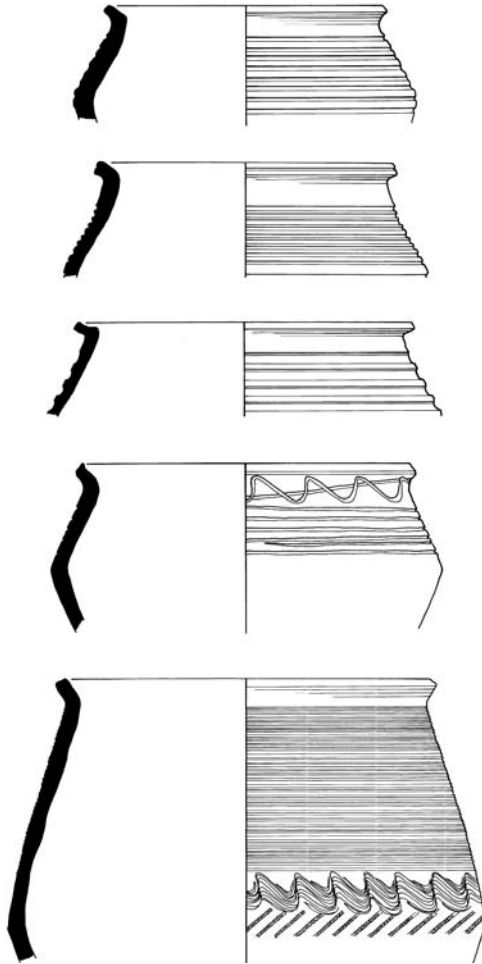


Fig. 97. Öpperup. Baltic ware with biconical vessel bodies. Scale 1:4.

The repertoire is more limited as regards both the size of the vessels and the uses. In the period when Late Baltic ware was manufactured, the functions of storage vessels and light sources were transferred to other materials.

Baltic ware in the four intensively studied villages suggests that local traditions existed in Skåne. With more sites as a basis for analysis, regional differences would have stood out more clearly. This picture can be reinforced with the aid of Baltic ware from Fjälkinge and Mölleholmen which has been documented with a lower degree of exactitude,

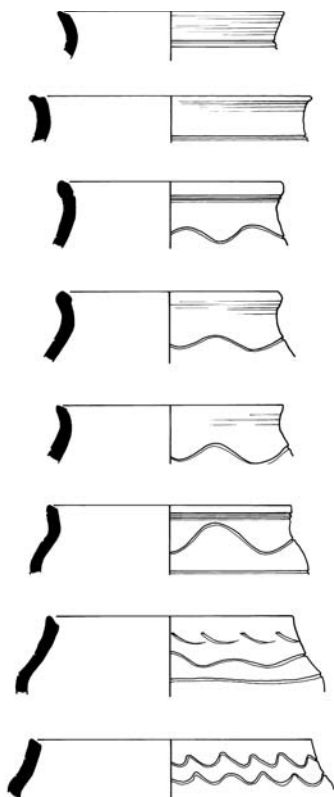


Fig. 98. Rural Skåne. Late Baltic ware from the villages of Bjäresjö, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup. Scale 1:4.

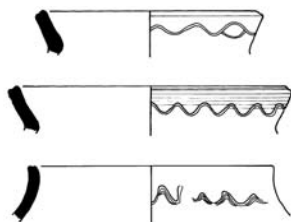


Fig. 99. Kyrkheddinge. Late Baltic ware with everted rims and short vertical rim. Scale 1:4.

with linkage only to the main forms. In the future it will be essential to study more of the many villages in Skåne in greater depth to check the result.

Located in north-east Skåne, *Fjälkinge* provides important comparative material for Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Önnerup on the plain in south-west Skåne close to Lund and for Bjäresjö in the inner hummocky landscape near Ystad. In the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages the village of Fjälkinge was a significant place in the district north of the medieval town of Åhus.⁵⁹ Settlement in the form of sunken-floor huts and long-houses has been noted over a large area in the historically known village, along with two Viking Age skeleton cemeteries, one of them of a considerable size. The village has one of the earliest Romanesque churches in the area, built in the second quarter of the twelfth century. Land from Fjälkinge was donated in 1135 by Erik Emune (1134–1137) to the see of Lund, represented by Archbishop Asker, in gratitude for his support in the Battle of Foteviken the year before. Fjälkinge was thus of impressive size and partly in royal ownership. Some of the settlement that was excavated in 1995 was dated to the time from the end of the eleventh to the start of the twelfth century.

In an examination of the material I have tried to clarify the contrasts within the group of Baltic ware. The circumstances for registration are that only 69 rims could be identified as to form and only the main forms were documented. Of the vessels, 49% (34 items) were everted, 46% (32 items) inverted, 3% (2 items) short vertical, and 1% (1 item) with a cylindrical neck. Concealed among the inverted rims are four hanging vessels, but no other special forms could be documented. The fabric is sometimes coarser in thickness and quality than that from south-west Skåne. Another observation is that Late Baltic ware is totally absent among the sherds, but there are rims and other parts of round-based *Kugeltöpfe* in the early black earthenware among those found in a waste-pit from the Early Middle Ages. In Fjälkinge, thus, more vessels with everted rims were manufactured than in south-west Skåne (fig. 100). A striking feature is that the majority of the most common forms in rural Skåne are totally absent in Fjälkinge, which reinforces the image of a local ceramic profile here.

⁵⁹ Edring 1994; Helgesson 1997.

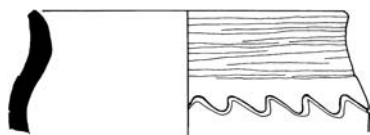


Fig. 100. Rural Skåne. Baltic ware from Fjälkinge. Scale 1:4.

In Fjälkinge two Viking Age burial places have been excavated, one of which was in use until about 1000.⁶⁰ The dead were inhumed without cremation, and most of the pots placed in the graves are of the local Late Viking Age type. An indigenous Late Viking Age pot has also been found with inspiration from Baltic ware. A single wavy line adorns the shoulder of the pot. If the dating of the last burials is correct, we find stylistic influence on the local ceramic tradition in north-eastern parts of Skåne which is not attested in the western and southern parts. The potter adopted the most easily transferable stylistic feature: the decoration.

With its location on an island in the lake Ellestadssjön, *Mölleholmen* occupies a special position. Outside the villages such settlements are very unusual in Skåne, and direct comparisons have been made with Wendish island settlement sites on the other side of the Baltic Sea.⁶¹ Especially interesting is the interpretation of the establishment of settlement on the site and the suggested composition of the population. According to Kelm, the Baltic ware on the site differs from other contemporary assemblages, and this is asserted as signifying that the people there should be viewed as a foreign element. A buckle with parallels in the West Slavic area and a Saxon penny gave Kelm grounds to regard the island settlement as having been established by Wends; especially the Oder estuary has been pointed out as the origin.⁶² The frame dating assigned to the place is the eleventh century, which makes it comparable to all four intensively documented villages. Judging by the numerical values, among the 392 rims the inverted main form is in the majority (54%), followed by everted rims (37%), short vertical rims (6%), and cylindrical necks (3%).⁶³ Kelm puts heavy emphasis on

⁶⁰ Helgesson 1997, pp. 121ff.

⁶¹ Kelm 1994.

⁶² Kelm 1994, p. 107; Kelm 2000.

⁶³ Kelm 2000, Abb. 21.

the relationship between everted and inverted rims and claims that the difference shows that the ceramic tradition should be viewed as foreign. It is perfectly clear that everted rims are numerous in relation to the rural material from the western parts of Skåne. On the other hand, they fit neatly into the framework of what we know from Bjäresjö, where inverted rims predominate (52%) but everted rims account for an unusually large proportion of the vessel rims (39%). The quantitative relationship between the main forms in Bjäresjö and Mölleholmen is virtually identical. This may mean that Mölleholmen and Bjäresjö express local traditions whereby potters chose to shape their vessels slightly differently from those in the surrounding countryside to the west. If it were interpreted as immigration merely on the basis on the main forms, then Bjäresjö would also have had a special element of Wendish settlers. Considering the relative proportions of the main forms in Fjälkinge, there is even greater likelihood of a local preference. In north-east Skåne the potters also preferred everted (49%) to inverted (46%) rims.

Mölleholmen differs from other settlements in Skåne. The composition of the pottery, however, is not very different as regards either form, decoration, or fabric. Instead the preference for everted rims hints at an affinity with the nearby Bjäresjö, which also shows a large proportion of this main form. The establishment of the settlement on Mölleholmen should be viewed in the light of the expansion that started just before 1000, which also involved new cultivation and the creation of new settlement sites. Kelm is right in saying that the Baltic ware at Mölleholmen should be associated with the West Slavic tradition. Where we disagree is that I see a larger area than the Oder estuary as the point of departure, and I do not think that the forms differ from the general development in Skåne.

The countryside and Lund

One of the conclusions we can draw from the comparison between Lund and the four rural assemblages is that there are great similarities but also differences. The potters' knowledge of techniques and materials was the same in both town and country. They used a turntable, and the plate was convex, which gave the characteristic concave base. Incised patterns in this plate left marks on the base of the vessel. The fabric was of high standard in both settings. Baltic ware can sometimes be so well fired that it is difficult to distinguish from later wares. The similarity between the material from Lund and the rural assemblages

mainly concerns the forms that are represented and the differences in their relative proportions. Above all, it is striking how many forms are shared. As much 93% of the forms in the agrarian contexts are also found in the town, counting by the number of vessels. Even when we get down to the level of the individual forms, there are close similarities. Inverted rims, which are found in large quantities in Lund, have their counterparts in the countryside. The differences in forms include the fondness in Lund for longer everted rims and accentuated forms. Local preferences in the choice of rims are likewise clear, for example, in the contrasts between Bjäresjö, Mölleholmen, and Fjälkinge on the one hand and the other places.

In the early eleventh century Lund should be regarded as 'congested countryside' where new functions based on the needs of the king and the church distinguished the town from its surroundings.⁶⁴ If we look at production and consumption in the countryside, it is tempting to perceive certain places as representatives of the reverse: rural settings with an urban pattern of consumption. Near Lund we find the same set of pottery as in the town. Anglo-Scandinavian ceramics in the form of black earthenware of Thetford and Torksey type were used in Kyrkheddinge and Önnerup (fig. 101). The composition of forms in Lund is repeated in rural settings. In Önnerup especially, there is a clear parallel development throughout the eleventh century, and the forms common late in the century, such as cylindrical necks, were manufactured, or rather consumed, in the village. In the same way we find both Baltic ware and Late Baltic ware at all the places covered by the study, albeit in different proportions. The fact that Late Baltic ware is distributed over other parts of rural Skåne is shown by a couple of vessels from the village site of Häljarp in Tofta Parish, which have direct parallels with forms in Lund (fig. 102). The fabric, the shape, and the decoration can be placed without difficulty in the tradition of Late Baltic ware.

The development in agrarian settings in Skåne has been shown to be closely connected to what happened in Lund, and vice versa. The spread of the mental model associated with the form and technique of Baltic ware seems to have taken place quickly over a large area. A

⁶⁴ Andrén 1985, p. 77.

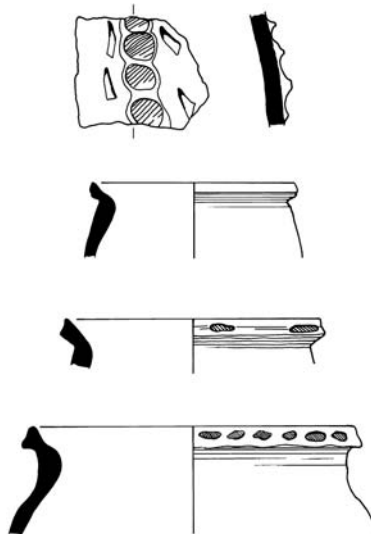


Fig. 101. Rural Skåne. Anglo-Scandinavian vessel from Kyrkheddinge.
Scale 1:4.

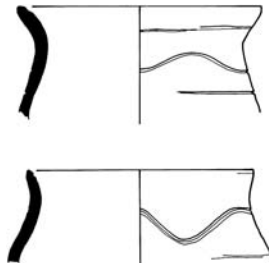


Fig. 102. Rural Skåne. Late Baltic ware from Häljarp. Scale 1:4.

more gentle transition between the Late Viking Age tradition and the new Baltic ware can be discerned in the adoption of the decoration on one of the vessels from the cemetery in Fjälkinge in north-east Skåne. It is an example of a gentler transition to the new style. Already in the first half of the eleventh century Baltic ware in its fully developed form was in use at fireplaces in Fjälkinge. In one of the sunken-floor huts in the southernmost part of the settlement, a coin minted under Knut/Canute the Great (1018–1035) was found together with the newly arrived pottery. A certain delay in the actual adoption can be seen, however, in the fact that the Late Viking Age tradition survived

in the countryside slightly longer than in Lund. Despite this, the development was very rapid in archaeological terms. Likewise, forms and decoration were similar in Lund and the investigated rural sites. Both settings were affected by the influence to the same extent and in a comparable way.

Based on what we know from Lund, we can conclude that Baltic ware originated from eastern Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and the westernmost parts of Pomerania. The style that developed had the same origin and the explanations for the adoption should be sought in the same social and economic sphere. A parallel development in the countryside to that in Lund would mean that contacts with the area south of the Baltic Sea were intensive in the rapid initial phase and then declined just as drastically after the mid-eleventh century. Another striking thing is that this rapid development does not show any delay anywhere, whether the place is a town, a part of a royal estate, or a more normal village.

Conclusion

The results from the four places studied to ascertain the Slavic influence on the ceramic tradition in Skåne show that there are no great differences in the choice of form or decoration between the sites. The function of the place in the political landscape does not seem to have influenced the development among household vessels. The time of the arrival and establishment of Baltic ware is the same in Lund as in the countryside. We cannot date the arrival any more exactly than around 1000 in the surest contexts in Lund, and this date seems to apply to Rural Skåne as well. A quantitative leap took place some time in the first quarter of the century. The impact was also thoroughgoing in relation to the earlier household ceramics. It is possible that a Late Viking Age tradition survived longer in agrarian settings, but Baltic ware quickly dominated. Already in the first half of the eleventh century Baltic ware was in the majority, and after mid-century the lingering older tradition seems to have become completely extinct. When Baltic ware was no longer produced in the countryside is much harder to say. Heavy redeposition makes the picture vague and uncertain.

Form and decoration are monotonously similar in the early eleventh century and remained so throughout the time the ware was used. Inverted rims decorated with parallel lines are the chief feature in Skåne, although local preferences may become evident from future excavations. In Bjäresjö everted rims are more strongly represented than in the other

places, and the situation at Mölleholmen and Fjälkinge suggests that local traditions may have dictated the choice of main forms. Special forms such as lamps on feet, hanging vessels, lids, and bowls are found. However, the occurrence of cylindrical necks, the use of which in Lund was concentrated in the period *c.* 1075–1150, shows that greater chronological dynamism is concealed in the rural material.

The fact that there is a great similarity between the Baltic ware in Lund and that in the countryside leads us more explicitly to an interpretation of where the influence came from. We must assume that the impact of West Slavs in north-east Mecklenburg and the Wolin area in westernmost Pomerania, as detected by the analysis of the material from Lund, also affected the establishment and forms of Baltic ware in rural Skåne. We find the youngest forms, Fresendorf and the Warder and Vipperow types, dominating the tradition in Lund.

Late Baltic ware was observed in Lund, in form and decoration partly based on the earlier tradition but differing in the quality of the fabric. This is seen in new vessel silhouettes and the absence of special forms. We find the same ware in the countryside, and the similarity to the urban material, as in the case of the Early Baltic ware, is very great. The dating is even more difficult to capture in the agrarian contexts, but we never find Late Baltic ware in sunken-floor huts or secure contexts from the eleventh century. I assume a similar period of manufacture as for the pottery in Lund, from around 1150 until 1250.

Rural Halland

In the northernmost province of medieval Denmark on the Scandinavian peninsula there were no towns in the Early Middle Ages, and the province retained a very weak urban profile through the whole era. The earliest archaeological evidence for townlike settlement or a place with a non-agrarian function can be found in Övraby near Halmstad. Secular buildings from the eleventh century have been found on the site, and to care for the souls of the population there was probably a wooden church. Graves differing in location from those belonging to the stone church from the mid-twelfth century have been documented. A royal estate and a village attached to it is mentioned for the first time in 1231, while the town itself seems to have developed from the mid-thirteenth century, which was further marked by the Dominican monastery founded in 1264. A few anonymous sherds of Baltic ware from Övraby are the only examples from an early medieval central

place in Halland. The finds presented here are therefore traces of rural patterns of consumption.

The province of Halland is clearly divided into a northern and a southern culture area, with the boundary running through Tvååker Parish.⁶⁵ From Stone Age flint tools to house types in the later pre-industrial agrarian society, the material culture differs on either side of this line. At the same time, the province is divided into geographical zones with a coastal settlement to the west with sandy beaches in the south and rocks in the north. A farming district runs further inland parallel to the coast, ending in the east in forest. From north-east to south-west flow several rivers which in the Middle Ages were important communication routes between the forested interior and the coast. The interest shown by the medieval powers is evident in Archbishop Absalon's takeover and administration of Järnmölla at Tvååker, where iron was produced in the twelfth century.

No detailed studies have been done on early black earthenware in Halland, but there are brief and informative presentations of early medieval pottery in reports from commissioned archaeology. Those treated in this work are the excavations from Skummeslöv, Trulstorp, Ösarp, Östorp, Kärragård, Eldsberga, Hörsås, and Träslöv. Several of the excavations were conducted in the 1990s in conjunction with the extension of the railway network, resulting in improved knowledge about agrarian settlement in the Early Middle Ages. The artefacts include a small amount of Baltic ware which together constitutes an important contribution to a previously non-existent ceramic profile from rural Halland. Local variations cannot be taken into consideration since the source material is too small and the datings are broadly placed in the period from 1000 to the close of the thirteenth century.

Rural Halland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

As in Skåne, Baltic ware clearly replaced the indigenous ceramic tradition in the southern part of Halland in the eleventh century. Examples of the older tradition have instead been found further north in the province. From Varla, Tölö Parish, we have two reconstructable vessels, one with an everted rim and the other with an inverted rim (fig. 103). Both are gently rounded on the edge of the rim and were made without

⁶⁵ Connelid & Rosén 1997, p. 26.

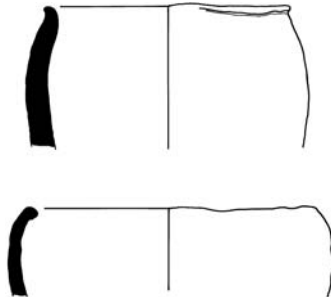


Fig. 103. Rural Halland. Late Viking Age pottery from Varla. Scale 1:4.

a turntable. The new style, however, extends beyond the boundaries of Halland. In all agrarian settings people accepted Baltic ware as a part of their everyday reality. The ware was restricted to one type which is always well fired but not hard, and the traces on the vessel body and the concave bases confirm that they were made on a turntable. Because of the limited source material, the conclusions presented here should be regarded as an outline of what Baltic ware looked like in Halland in the Early Middle Ages. The vessels may be viewed as accumulated finds from the classical period of Baltic ware.

The forms reflected in the 53 rims from the villages are relatively evenly distributed between everted and inverted main forms (figs. 104 and 105). Short vertical rims are only half as common, and cylindrical necks are totally absent. Individual forms occur very locally. The material is too small to allow any local traditions to stand out with any credibility, and the different sets give the impression of a tradition that does not extend far beyond the village boundary. Looking at all the sites, we see that the inverted rims and those sloping inwards are an important part of the Halland tradition (fig. 104 a, b, c, d). The third most common vessel opening is a variant of everted, medium-length rims with an outward sloping edge and convex inside (fig. 104 e). Fourth place is occupied by an inverted, rounded rim together with the first short vertical rim in the series (fig. 104 f, h, i). The rim is short, inward sloping, and straight. Two forms share fifth place (fig. 104 g). One of them is medium-long, rounded, and convex while the other is short, sloping outwards, and rebated.

By all appearances special forms were of no significance in Halland households in the Early Middle Ages. The hanging vessels, lamps, bowls, and lids that are so common in Skåne are not found in the

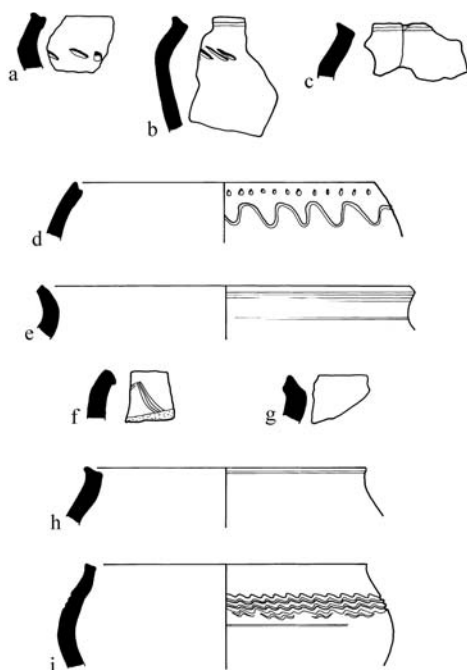


Fig. 104. Rural Halland. The most common forms of Baltic ware from the villages of Skummeslöv, Trulstorp, Ösarp, Östorp, Kärragård, Eldsberga, Hörsås, and Träslöv. Scale 1:4.

northern parts of medieval Denmark. Only from Skrea is there an object which may be part of a lamp; if so, it is the only one found hitherto (fig. 106 a).

Apart from the pots resulting from village investigations in recent decades in Halland there is older material. From the sites of Bräcka, Grimeton, Okome, and Öringe there are four vessels which were presented by Dagmar Selling in 1955. The vessel from Bräcka in Fjärås Parish was found in a cremation grave and is probably a very simply made local variant of Baltic ware.⁶⁶ If the long, sweeping everted rim had not been wholly alien to the local Late Viking Age pottery, the vessel would have been assigned to this group for qualitative reasons. The body of the vessel is coarsely made and the decoration, which consists

⁶⁶ Selling 1955, Abb. 23:14, Taf. 9:6.

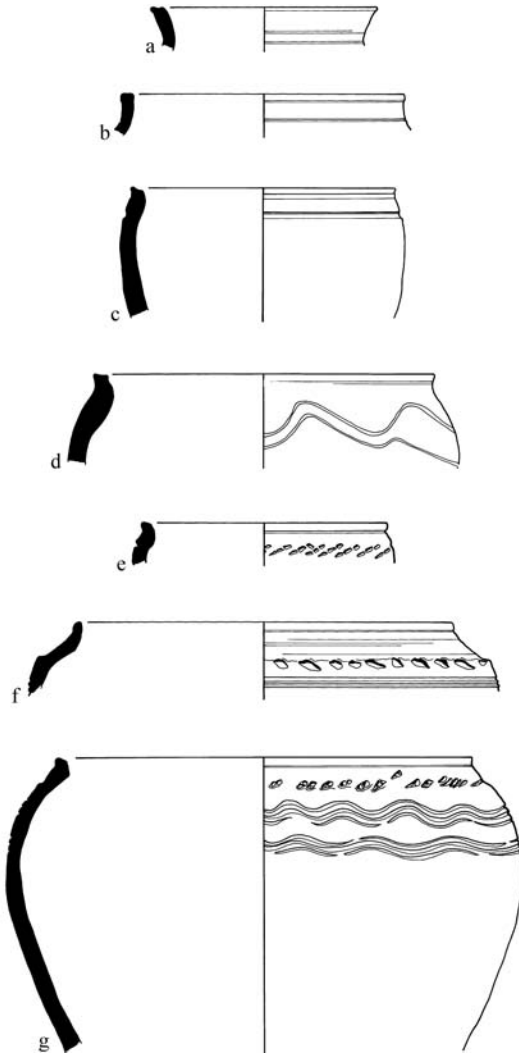


Fig. 105. Rural Halland. Other forms of Baltic ware from the villages.
Scale 1:4.

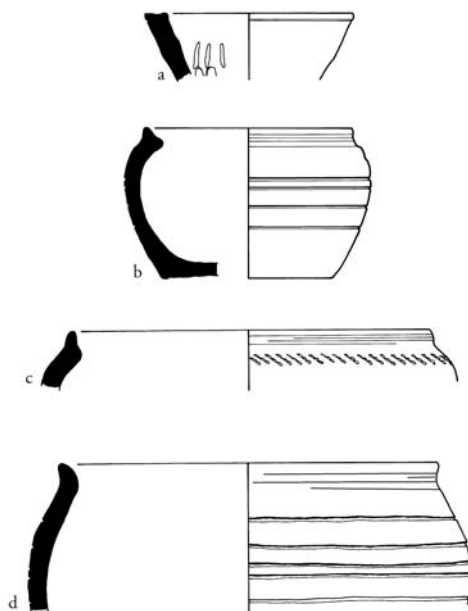


Fig. 106. Rural Halland. Baltic ware: (a) lamp-like vessel from Skrea, (b) Öringe, (c) Okome, (d) Grimeton. Scale 1:4.

of zigzag lines one on top of the other, stick marks, and unsteadily drawn parallel lines, testify that the work was done without access to a turntable. A find from a hearth pit beside the church in Grimeton, in the parish of the same name, can be identified with greater certainty (fig. 106 d).⁶⁷ The rim is clearly everted, of medium length, with a rounded edge and convex inside. The decoration consists of simply executed parallel lines on the bulging body of the pot. From Okome Parish comes a vessel with a short vertical rim and decorated with oblique stick marks made with a comb on the shoulder and a vague zigzag line (fig. 106 c).⁶⁸ The circumstances of the find are not known, so it is not clear whether the context is a grave or a dwelling site. Finally, we may mention an intact pot which, like the previous one, was found in unknown circumstances. It is from Öringe, Veinge Parish, and the rim resembles the one from Okome (fig. 106 b). A finger was drawn along

⁶⁷ Selling 1955, Abb. 32:36, Taf. 29:12.

⁶⁸ Selling 1955, Abb. 32:37, Taf. 28:5.

the edge of the rim to accentuate the inverted rim, and the decoration consists of a few parallel lines which reach far down on the body.

Of these early finds it is the cremation grave from Bräcka that stands out by its appearance. Baltic ware cannot have reached Scandinavia before around 1000. The occurrence of a Slavic-inspired, albeit badly made, vessel of Baltic ware in a pagan grave reveals that the conversion to Christianity was not wholly completed at the end of the tenth century in Halland. Other forms found in the material from the villages in the province agree well with the Halland ceramic tradition.

We may assume that Late Viking Age farm-produced pottery was the normal type in Halland at least up to the year 1000. What was the source of inspiration for Baltic ware? Generally speaking, the vessels are small and weakly accentuated, with short rims and modest decoration which we do not find among the Slavs. As for quality, manufacture seems to have been at a lower level than in the West Slavic areas. The inspiration does not seem to have come directly from there; it was transmitted through contact with potters from Skåne. The forms are variants of pots from there but they are restrained and small. The few vessels that stand out as magnificent objects are, despite their uniqueness, different in design from those in Skåne. The political ties with Denmark created contacts which embraced people at the village level. Those who made pottery on the farms of Halland were not the same as the more specialized producers in Skåne; they seem to have shaped Baltic ware knowing of the form and decoration but without personal contacts with their colleagues further south. From this it follows that the production was not introduced by Slavic craftsmen or imported from Slavic territory. The manufacture seems to me to be a local Halland concern, at farm level, inspired by the central areas in Skåne and possibly Sjælland.

Conclusion

Baltic ware was established in Halland in the eleventh century and seems to have survived in the thirteenth century. When the new forms arrived, the older Late Viking Age tradition seems to have been abandoned. People began to make pots on turntables, mostly with inverted and everted rims. The absence of other early medieval wares shows that the villages led a relatively autonomous life as regards the consumption of pots. The inspiration for Baltic ware probably came from the central settlement areas in eastern Denmark to which Halland belonged in the

Middle Ages. Above all, the vessels in Skåne show similarities, albeit not qualitatively, to the products of the Halland potters.

Rural Blekinge

Denmark's easternmost province, like Halland, was urbanized very late. It is not until we come close to the end of the thirteenth century that we find any hints of built-up settlement in Ronneby, which is the oldest town in the province.⁶⁹ Consequently we cannot expect to find Baltic ware from urban contexts in Blekinge. The situation in the countryside is just as bad. The number of excavations is very small, and in cases where they have concerned late prehistoric remains they are dated to the Iron Age, such as Istaby, Hjortsberga, and Augerum.

Blekinge can be divided into a number of defined areas on the basis of topographic, geological, and cultural criteria. What is interesting for this study is the archaeological regions and ethnological culture areas that crystallize.⁷⁰ Both archaeological and ethnological criteria yield the same interesting results, showing that a cultural boundary in the central part of the province can be followed from early periods without writing to the present day. Augerum, which the only major find spot for Baltic ware in Blekinge, is located in the eastern part of the province. For the eastern part the late ethnological material and dialect studies suggest connections with southern Möre in present-day Småland.⁷¹ The special position occupied by the whole of Blekinge compared with the rest of Denmark is clear from a statement by Adam of Bremen in the late eleventh century when he complains that the Blekings and the Bornholmers were Christianized late. The area thus seems to have been difficult to control from the Danish point of view, and it has been suggested that the Svear, at least up to the mid-eleventh century, had some form of supremacy over it before it was drawn into the Danish sphere of interest.⁷²

Rural Blekinge between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

The actual site of Augerum is indistinct as a find spot. Oscar Montelius conducted the excavation in 1895, and the results have mostly centred

⁶⁹ Stenholm 1986, pp. 151ff.

⁷⁰ Erixon 1945; Hyenstrand 1984; Stenholm 1986, pp. 21ff.

⁷¹ Stenholm 1986, p. 22.

⁷² Stenholm 1986, p. 31, p. 184.

around the boat grave that was discovered.⁷³ Above it were remains of settlement in the form of two houses and a hearth. Judging by the description, the houses had an internal structure of posts, and the hearth contained pottery which Montelius dated to around 900. In 1963, under the leadership of Holger Arbman, there was a seminar excavation of the site, primarily intended to find Montelius' trench and extend the studies of the grave. Ploughed-up settlement site material yielded a further handful of sherds of Baltic ware decorated with wavy bands and parallel lines.⁷⁴ Despite the small amount of pottery it is rich in information. An interesting observation concerns the differences in quality between the units, suggesting that an inferior and a superior type of pottery were used. The 16 rims, 4 bases, and one lamp or bowl show that people in Augerum had a varied set of pots in the household. By far the most common form has everted rims. A few short vertical rims also occur in the material, but no cylindrical necks. The bases, which are all concave, with a sharp edge, and horizontal finger-drawn lines on the surface of the pot show that a turntable was used for manufacture. A large majority of everted rims constitute the design tradition, supplemented with a few short vertical rims (fig. 107). Interestingly, we find among the sherds a bowl or lamp with oblique stick marks on the rim edge and lines on the outside.

It is difficult to say much about Baltic ware in Blekinge because only one large assemblage of material is available. Despite this, the findings from Augerum are very interesting from the perspective of cultural history. The function of the place in the region is very hard to assess. Is it an ordinary village we see, or a trading site which has slipped into anonymity? In what became Östra Härad during the Middle Ages we find tendencies to a switch from Swedish supremacy to Danish overlordship in the second half of the eleventh century. Proximity to the Hammarbyviken bay and the royal estate of Lösen and a possible trading site (*köpinge*) make Augerum a fascinating subject for studies of the early medieval establishment of power in eastern Blekinge.

Judging by the rims and to some extent the fabric, two different craft traditions are represented. Ten of the sixteen vessels were of low-quality execution. The vessels are small and unaccentuated in form; the clearest expression of this is the short length and clumsy design of the

⁷³ Montelius, in Arrhenius 1960.

⁷⁴ Arbman 1964.

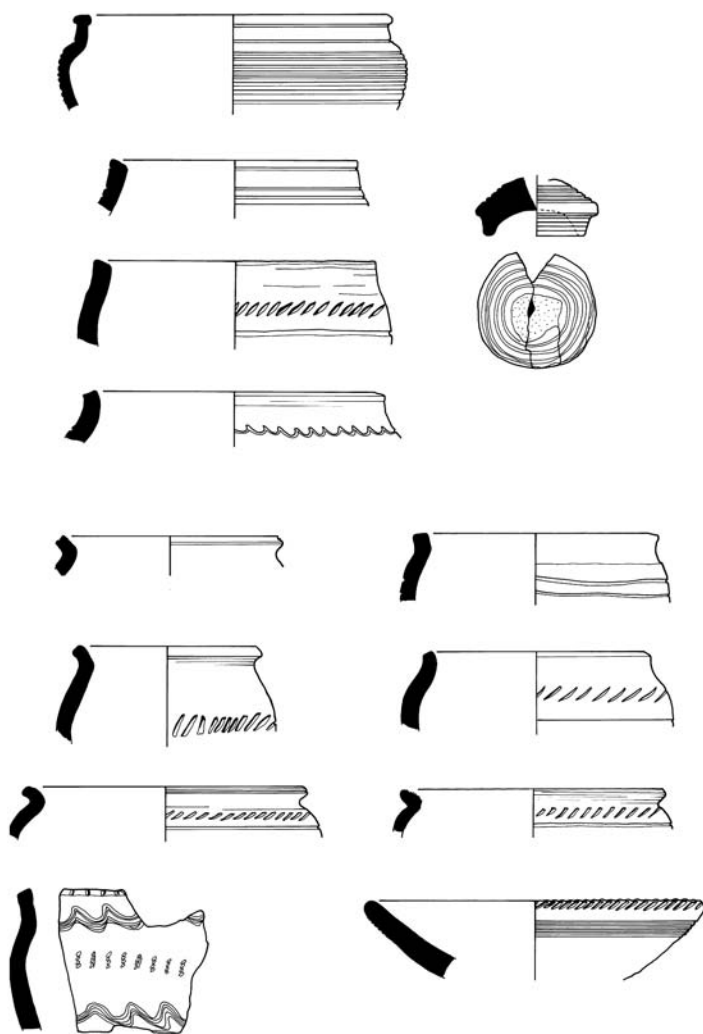


Fig. 107. Rural Blekinge. Baltic ware from Augerum and Gärestad. Scale 1:4.

everted rims. With its irregular and awkward appearance, the decoration seems to have been applied, if not with the vessel in the hand, then on a slowly rotating turntable. All vessels of better quality, on the other hand, have accentuated and clearly everted rims. A short vertical, almost cylindrical rim stands out in particular from the assembled finds (fig. 107, uppermost vessel). Moreover, the vessel walls are thin and the lines adorning the shoulder and body were made with the pot standing on a rapidly rotating surface. The dating of the complex is still obscure, but what we know from other places suggests that it belongs in the eleventh century, possibly the second half.

A very small amount of pottery from the nearby Gärestad, Edestad Parish, means that Augerum is not totally alone in Blekinge with its Baltic ware. The meagre assemblage consists of a piece of a body with parallel lines as decoration, a fragment of a base, and a lid with a rebate. The fabric is of good quality, fully comparable with that of the better vessels from Augerum.

Since the indigenous pottery of Blekinge in the Late Viking Age is unknown, it is impossible to find analogies to Baltic ware in any local material. However, it is difficult to establish a link to Slavic craftsmen since no counterpart can be found among the Late Slavic vessels to the restrained stylistic tradition we encounter in Augerum. We should instead view the Baltic ware from there as a Scandinavian concern, shaped by the interaction with closer areas. Since we are in a province that belonged to Denmark in the Middle Ages, we first turn our gaze there. In the material from Skåne, however, we find no similarities in the distribution of main forms, fabric quality, or even individual formal references. The potters in Augerum made vessels in a completely different social and cultural context. A comparable tradition can instead be found in eastern Sweden and among Baltic ware in Köpingsvik on Öland. The latter site, incidentally, was in a cultural sphere to which eastern Blekinge belonged well into modern times.

Conclusion

Blekinge, represented here by Augerum and to a lesser extent Gärestad, shows an interesting division into two quality classes of Baltic ware. Simpler forms with everted and short vertical rims are found side by side with slightly better variants of the same main forms. The manufacture was not in contact either with the Danish kingdom to which the province belonged, or with Slavic areas. Instead we should look for parallels in eastern Götaland to which eastern Blekinge belonged culturally.

GOTLAND

Visby

Visby is located on the west coast of Gotland. The topographical situation is suitable both for coastal settlement and as landing places for boats because of the flat shoreline and a number of protective islands or reefs which in prehistoric and medieval times created a lagoon in the waters off the settlement. The area was used for habitation as early as the Stone Age, and continuous settlement can be followed throughout prehistory. In the cemeteries at Kopparsvik and Gustavsvik remains have been found from the Vendel Period and Viking Age, showing that the area was already populated in these periods. A factor of interest for the establishment of the medieval town is the stray finds and cemeteries in and around Visby. It is possible to discern continuity through the whole Late Iron Age in this material. The area was thus of interest throughout this time, but there are problems when it comes to explaining the dynamic of urban development. Above all, the question of when Visby became a town is controversial. In her dissertation on Visby, Gun Westholm argues for a very early urban structure on the site.⁷⁵ On the basis of the stray finds and graves she sees a concentration of power interests in the Iron Age which led, by the ninth century at the latest, to the establishment of a regular plot system and regulated settlement. During this century the king of the Svear had the right to extract tribute from the Gotlanders, and the settlement under the cliff (Klinten) at Visby may have functioned as a place of contact with the outside power, where tribute was collected. This interpretation is based on the assumption that the Viking Age stray finds, the radiocarbon dates, and the statement by Wulfstan about Swedish overlordship represent the *town* of Visby. According to Westholm, the town grew organically from the seafaring farmers' need for a protected harbour which was later given administrative function. Proximity to the island's most important assembly site, the thing in Roma, has been considered important for the establishment of the town, since this is the closest landing place. People arriving from much of the island could have drawn up their ships in the haven of the lagoon, where goods could have been exchanged, instead of transporting the merchandise all the way to the site of the

⁷⁵ Westholm 1989.

thing. The place called Vi under the cliff thereby acquired a role of greater collective importance than the other harbours dotting the coast of the island. Although the entire coast was the target of the exchange, Roma's harbour assumed a role in seasonal contacts with strangers from overseas. It was perhaps this external need that gave the site an increasingly permanent structure with plot divisions, small yards, and timber-paved streets. Analogies have been sought in places like Hedeby, Ribe, and Birka, where cemeteries and regulated settlement appear in the Late Iron Age.

The earliest period of the town and the reasons for the structural change from a small harbour to a town is elusive. The evidence for site continuity in the form of graves from the Vendel Period and Viking Age need not mean that the *town* of Visby was structured then. On Björkö, where Birka was established at the end of the eighth century, there are likewise Vendel Period graves which are not linked to the central place.⁷⁶ An example of area continuity in the settlement can also be taken from Skåne, where the coastal settlements from the Vendel Period and Viking Age are within the area that later became the medieval towns of Trelleborg and Ystad. More important for a more secure dating of regulated settlement in Visby is the age of the earliest houses and plot boundaries that have been investigated by archaeologists. Two radiocarbon dates from the Apoteket block have been presented as evidence of a settlement structure organized in the Early Viking Age. If, on the other hand, we take into account the earliest datings of artefacts from Visby, we find nothing older than the second half of the eleventh century. It is only in the twelfth century that the archaeological source material from Visby becomes plentiful, and later in the Middle Ages there are written sources showing a society with diverse external contacts. To understand how links with the Slavic areas developed, the dating of the establishment of Visby as a regulated town is important. Here I disagree with the prevailing view which places the foundation of the town in the ninth century.⁷⁷ Based on an evaluation of the oldest artefacts, I believe that the parcelled settlement was not regulated earlier than the mid-eleventh century.

Few administrative functions were attached to Visby in the Early Middle Ages. Ecclesiastically the town was subject to the bishop of

⁷⁶ Westholm 1989, p. 73.

⁷⁷ Westholm 1989, p. 86; Roslund 2001a, pp. 274ff.; Roslund 2001b.

Linköping, who had visitation rights over the churches on the island. Royal interests were likewise weakly represented. The Gotlanders played a modest tax to the king and earl of the Svear in proportion to the peasants on the mainland.

Contacts with the outside world were of great importance for Gotland. The island was known for its inter-regional trade, which varied through time from the Vendel Period to the Middle Ages. Relations with the Baltic lands were strongest in the Vendel Period and Early Viking Age, as reflected in grave forms and other material culture. Baltic or Finnish costume ornaments have been found as stray finds in Visby and in the countryside. In the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages the interest seems to have shifted to the East Slavic areas. A direct presence on foreign soil is attested in the Gotlanders' yard in Novgorod and Saint Olof's Church, which assembled visitors from the west within its walls. The earliest possible dating for this building is after 1050, a few decades after the death of the Norwegian king at Stiklastad in 1030. A runic stone from Sjusta in Uppland, dated to the 1070s, mentions a man who died in Saint Olof's Church in Holmgarðr (Novgorod) (U 687). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Gotlanders were frequent guests in places like Lübeck, London, Yarmouth, Boston, Lynn, Hull, Riga, Tallinn, Bruges, and Aardenburg.

The guests who came to Gotland also changed in composition through the years. Early Baltic connections were replaced by contacts with Slavs and, slightly later, with Danes and Germans. Above all the latter, through the copious written source material, seem particularly important for the development of Visby in the thirteenth century and afterwards. The guild of the Danes, Knudsgilde, was established by 1177, when a Russian trading centre was also founded. A chapel for Germans resident in Visby and German visitors is attested from around 1190.⁷⁸ The Russian church of the Novgorod merchants may have been built around 1200 and was used up to the end of the fourteenth century. The composition of the population was affected by the German merchants from 1200 onwards, and their influence was at its greatest in the period 1220–1270.⁷⁹ From around 1400 there was a fall in the number of Germans in the town because of a rapid emigration of people to

⁷⁸ Yrwing 1986, p. 19.

⁷⁹ Wase 1989, pp. 41ff.

other towns, without anyone to take their place. Instead Visby in the Late Middle Ages was increasingly inhabited by Gotlanders.

Visby's ceramic profile reflects the most expansive period of the town. Material from the mid-twelfth century to the end the fourteenth century accounts for the greatest quantity.⁸⁰ A quick glance shows a composition typical of the period. Baltic ware is richly represented, but the round-based German pots of black earthenware predominate. These are hard-fired vessels of a type without legs, designated *harte Grauware*, variant A, or with legs, *harte Grauware*, variant B, in German literature.⁸¹

Among the red earthenware we find both imported jugs from Bruges and Aardenburg, as in southern Scandinavia. Wholly vitrified stoneware occurs in ample quantities, while early stoneware completely dominates the tableware. Pingsdorf and Paffrath types occur in contexts from around 1200, together with very small amounts of white ware of Andenne and Rouen type. The preponderance of German cooking and table vessels is not surprising in view of the incorporation of the town into the German sphere of interest from the end of the twelfth century. The total absence of indigenous Late Viking Age pottery should be noted.

The pottery used in this study has been selected according to two criteria. The excavations were conducted in blocks of Visby which have yielded remains from 1000 to the fourteenth century, and the sherds include plenty of black earthenware. Apoteket 4–5 is a block in the oldest part of the town while the blocks Munken 1, Priorn 4, and Sankta Katarina 3 are in parts of the town built in the twelfth century. Yet another aspect of the choice of source material should be mentioned. The Russian church and its accompanying trading yard were located near the Munken and Priorn blocks. My idea was to capture the settlement adjacent to this to see whether any Russian forms occur among the rims.

Visby between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

Despite the rich quantity of Baltic ware in Visby, it is problematic to obtain any idea of the development from its first appearance and subsequently. This is due to the fragmented state of the deposits because of the stone houses constructed from the thirteenth century onwards.

⁸⁰ Forsström 1976; Broberg & Hasselmo 1981.

⁸¹ Lüdtke 1991; Mangelsdorf 1994.

Cellars dug deep into the ground have destroyed the early medieval remains and reduced our potential to study stratigraphically closed contexts. Another problem concerns the development of the town itself, with gradual expansion towards the east and north in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Difficulties also arise here when one tries to reconstruct a ceramic sequence for the town. Parts of older horizons are absent at certain places in Visby, and building activities in later parts of the Middle Ages have ruined our possibility of studying high and late medieval pottery in other neighbourhoods. The phenomenon affects all categories of finds and makes Visby into a fascinating but frustrating object for a medieval archaeologist. Also, the limited area and volume of the remains deposited by the earliest activities in the place is a difficulty. Occasional remains of plots with buildings can be associated with the oldest phase of the town, and the extent of the regulated settlement can be assumed but without sure archaeological evidence.

The situation before the appearance of Baltic ware on Gotland as a whole is not clear. We do know that indigenous production of pots occurred since they occur in graves and as containers for hoards, and vessels of the Scandinavian Late Viking Age type occur in settlement site finds, but there is no description of the extent of production or the forms.⁸² Hoards contained in pots show that Viking Age ceramics were in use in the countryside at least in the first half of the eleventh century. On the other hand, this type has not been found in the material from Rådhuset, Apoteket, Kompaniet, Munken, Priorn, or Sankta Katarina, and it is doubtful whether it occurs in any of the other blocks in the town.

Two types of early black earthenware associated with the Slavic tradition were used in Visby. Baltic ware is simple in design, with everted rims of varying length and with rim edges which are rounded or sloping outwards. The pots were made on a turntable, but with slow rotation judging by the quality of walls and decoration. Sets of pottery were very homogeneous, consisting of medium-sized cooking and storage vessels. A consideration of vessels from other parts of the town shows that Baltic ware is homogeneous in its forms. They are often small pots with medium-long everted, short vertical, or inverted rims and simple decoration, which can be assigned to both indigenous

⁸² Selling 1955, pp. 169, 186, 193, 199; Östergren 1989, find catalogue.

Viking Age pottery and eleventh-century Slavic forms (fig. 108). This type gives a more archaic impression and displays simpler form and decoration than Late Slavic pottery. The latter is richly represented in the source material, showing a great variety of forms. Despite the heavy preponderance of everted rims and cylindrical necks among the main forms, there are great differences between the forms. There was a preference for long, rounded rims with a rebated inside, and vessels were decorated with parallel lines (figs. 109, 110 and 111). The set of pottery is also more varied if one considers the size, and the cylindrical necks reflect a function lacking among the simpler Baltic ware. The total absence of bowls and lamps is striking.

The majority of the Late Slavic pottery was probably imported from Eastern Slavic areas. In several cases the forms in Visby have direct analogies among Slavic vessels. Virtually all of them may be imports from north-western Rus', where places like Pskov, Novgorod, and Staraya Ladoga provide distinct examples of similar production (figs. 60–64).

It is clear that there are few vessels with necks placed like a segment between shoulder and rim, as in Schuldt's Teterow group. As regards other parts of the rim, they are unlike those found in Mecklenburg and Pomerania (figs. 31, 47, 48 and 49). When we pass the year 1150, moreover, the area east of the Elbe which was subject to German colonization is less likely as a source of inspiration and export for Slavic pottery. In Lübeck and Schleswig, which were the most important western trading sites for Visby, the Slavic ceramic tradition disappeared in the middle of the twelfth century and around 1200 respectively. If the Slavic imports came from the west, then it was more likely from harbours in Pomerania that the guests sailed. Here the production of traditional Slavic pots ceased in the mid-fourteenth century.⁸³ However, the characteristic forms found in Wolin, Szczecin, Kołobrzeg, and Gdańsk from the end of the twelfth century until about 1400 are not represented in Visby.

I should comment on some of the vessels from Visby whose form makes them clear representatives of a tradition from Rus' but which are also some of the latest imported Slavic vessels in Scandinavia. A group of four forms has analogies in Pskov and Novgorod from the start of the twelfth century to the mid-thirteenth century (figs. 109 a, b, c, g

⁸³ Rębkowski 1995, ill. 4.

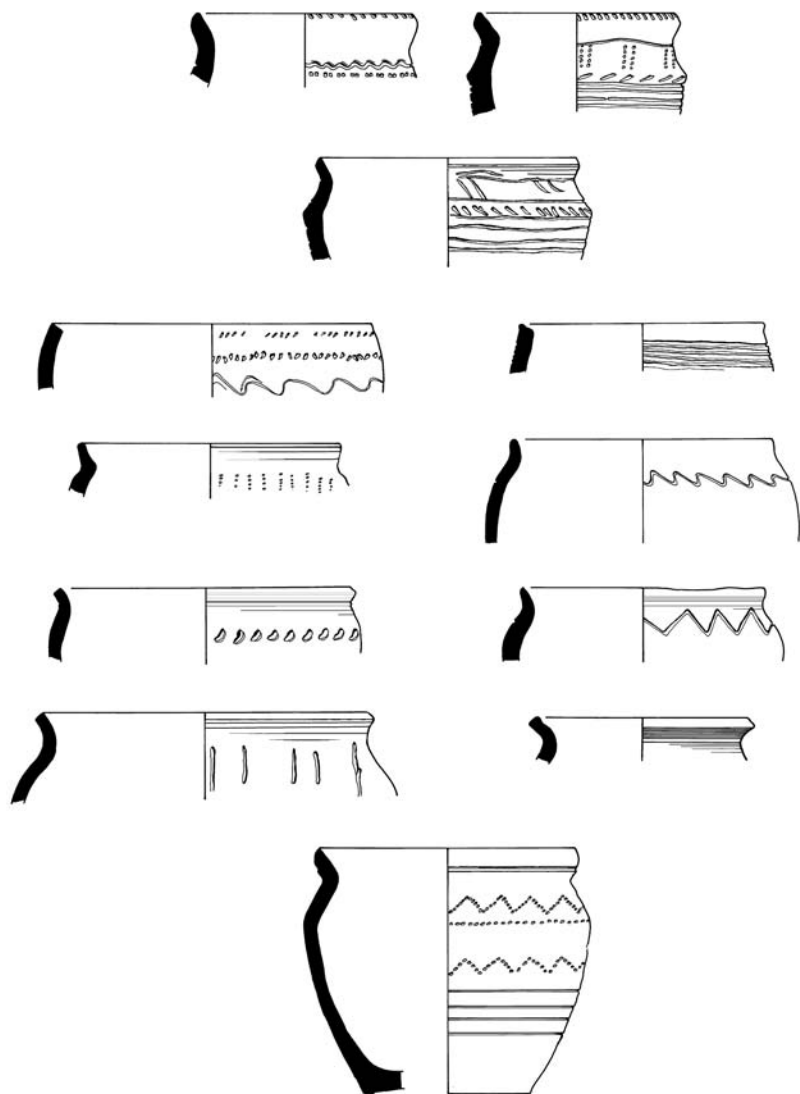


Fig. 108. Visby. Baltic ware. Vessel forms with local affiliation. Scale 1:4.

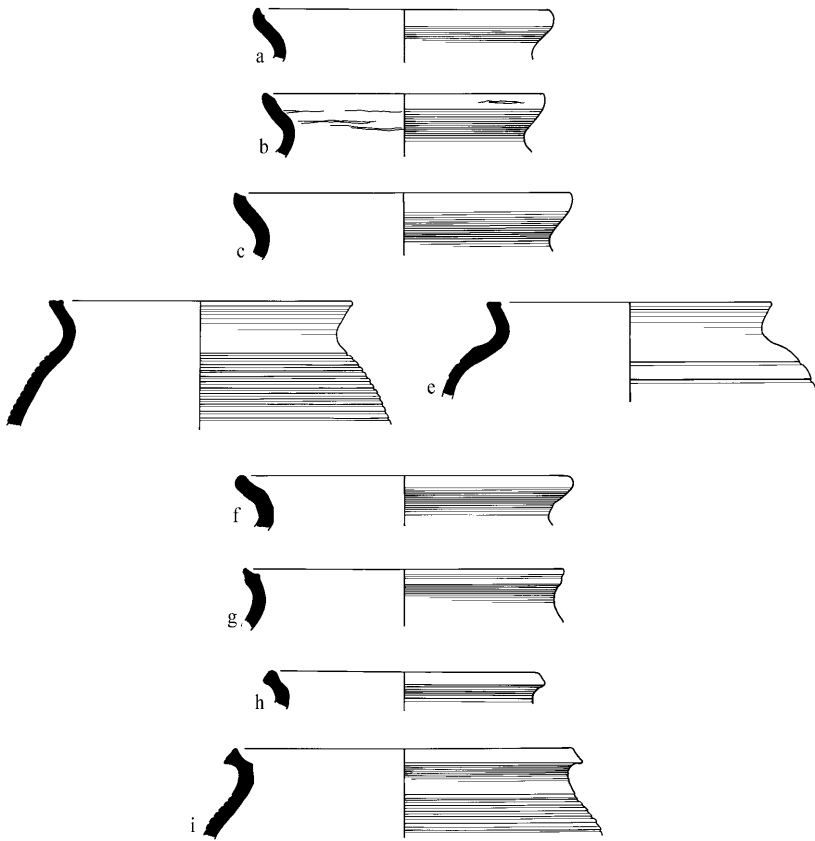


Fig. 109. Visby. The most common forms of Rus' pottery. The forms account for 58% of all the rims ($n = 101$). Scale 1:4.

and 111 h, k, l), while another set of pots has a slightly later centre of gravity in the period 1250–1350 (figs. 109 f, 110 a, b, e and 111 a, b, g). Despite being a tiny proportion of the total pottery, this is an important indication of East Slavic presence in the block. Visby largely lacks the typical forms that occurred in Rus' *c.* 950–1100. During this time the potters preferred medium-long rims with the edge sloping outwards and rebated, convex, or with a straight inside (figs. 60 and 61). If we look at the possible analogies in Visby, we see that they account for only 15% of the total Late Slavic pottery (figs. 109 h, i and 110 h, i). The majority of the rim forms from the plots covered by the investigation, however, are everted simple forms which can mainly be dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

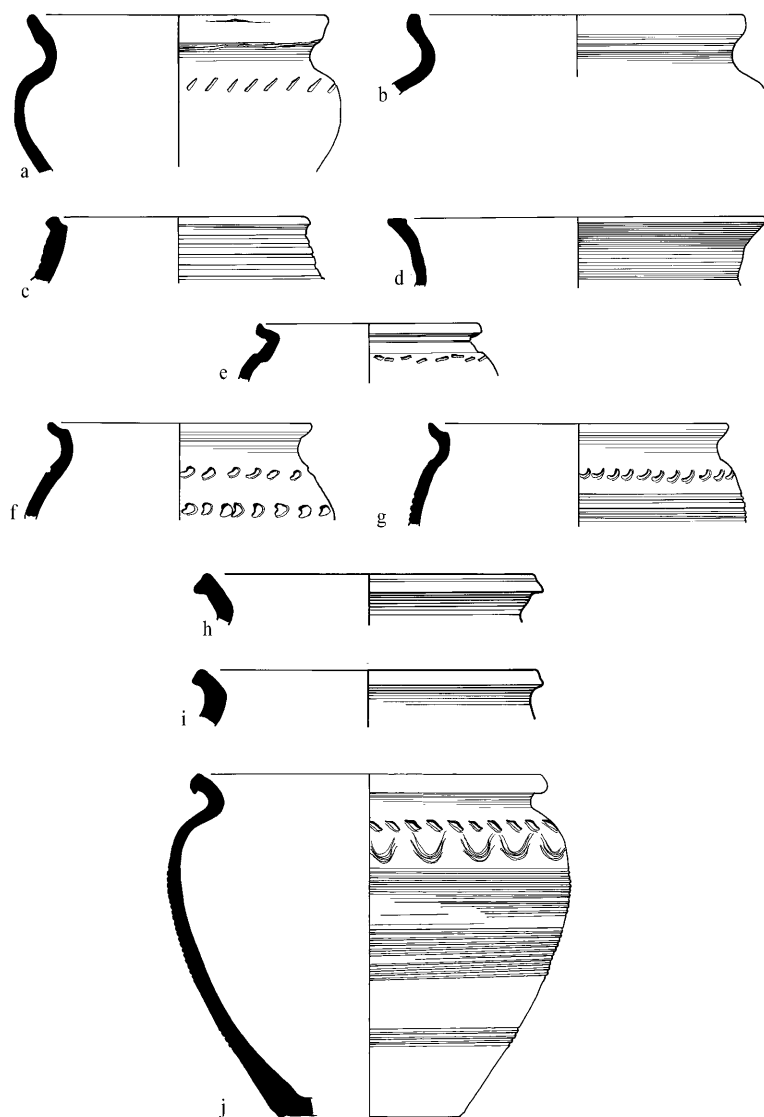


Fig. 110. Visby. Other examples of Rus' forms. Scale 1:4.

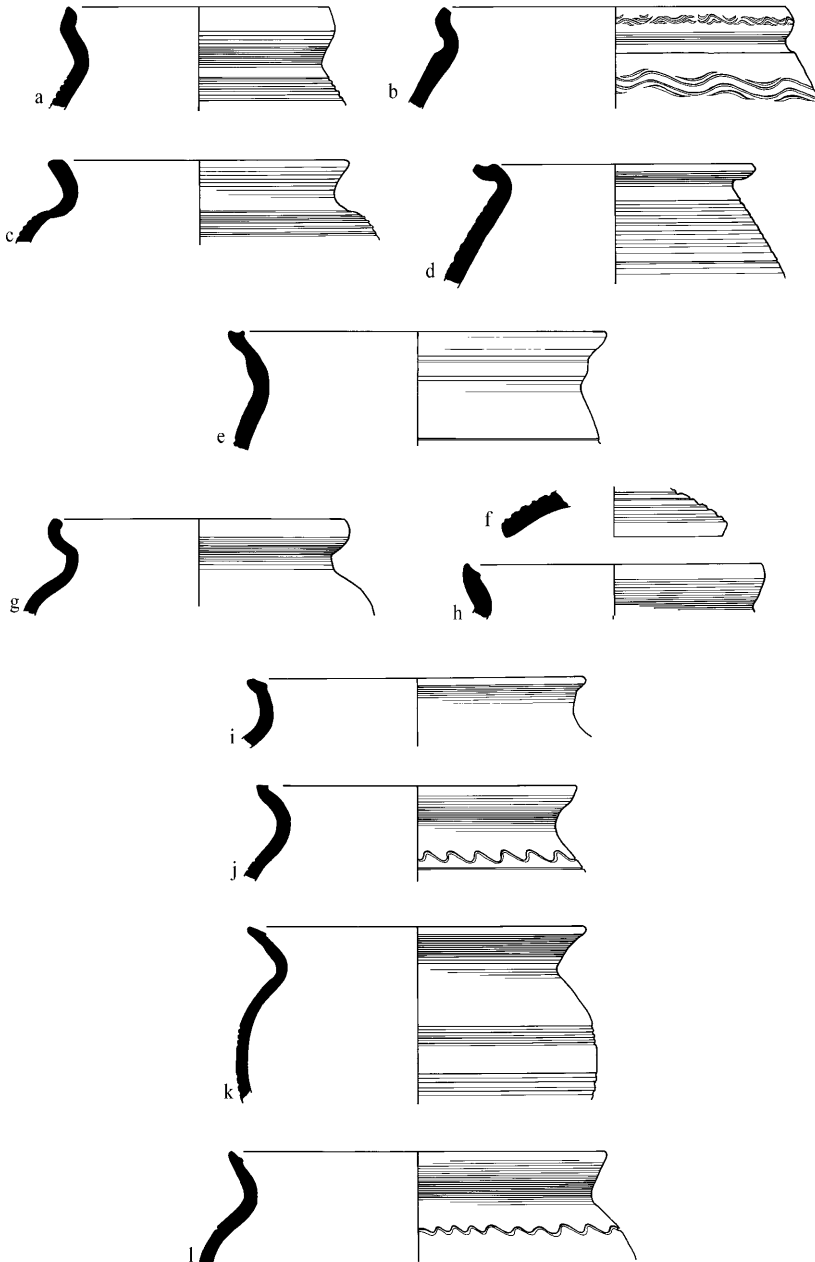


Fig. 111. Visby, Rus' rim forms. Scale 1:4.

A comparison of the sets of vessels in Visby with those in Novgorod and Pskov shows an interesting distribution. Large vessels with a rim diameter over 22 centimetres, which are found in the latter places, are absent in Visby. In the east there are also types of vessels different from those in Gotland. In north-west Rus' there are small bowls, wide dishes, and large storage pots. The Visby material from the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century gives the impression of being travelling people's pottery sets, medium-sized vessels to maintain the owner's cultural code and culinary habits while travelling to a foreign port and staying in the foreign setting.

Conclusion

The main impression is that Baltic ware in the Gotlandic town witnessed an influx of vessels from Rus', at the earliest from the mid-eleventh century, and that repeated contact and personal presence led to the production of these forms by local potters. Individuals from the east were then present in the town throughout the Middle Ages until about 1400, mostly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Russian forms from 1400 or later have not hitherto been found in the source material from the studied plots. Even though trade with Novgorod and Pskov continued, the significance of personal presence declined. The method of maintaining the connections changed and other actors dominated the exchange of commodities.

Rural Gotland

The settlement pattern and economy of Gotland's farms differed from what was found on the mainland. Farms located in isolation or in pairs, with an economy based on tillage and animal husbandry combined with highly active trading, seem to have been the rule on the island. The land was not part of a village community with collective planning of seasonal work. Wealth was converted into stone houses and silver on a scale unmatched in other regions. In the Middle Ages parish churches were built, with dimensions worthy of a prosperous town. Farms consisted of more than one household, most often two, probably inhabited by kindred people.⁸⁴ Land was inherited by the first-born male, and the number of people on the farm could be 6 to 10.

⁸⁴ Carlsson 1983, pp. 11ff.

The material on which this analysis is based can be divided into three categories depending on how the information was obtained. Dagmar Selling's pictorial presentation of Baltic ware from the island is the main foundation for the study, while a small number of vessels has been presented by Gustaf Trotzig and Birgitta Hulthén in a study of grave vessels from Barshaldershed.⁸⁵ Verbal descriptions from excavations by Majvor Östergren provide occasional observations which can say something about the distribution outside graves.⁸⁶ The pottery from Västergarn has been analysed by myself. The consequence is that, for the presentation of Baltic ware from rural Gotland, I mostly have to make do with already published sources. The discussion is therefore about the distribution of the main forms and the chronological development for the acceptance of the new tradition based on the vessels already presented.

Rural Gotland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

When we encounter Baltic ware in Visby, some time has passed since it was introduced to Scandinavia. If the suggested dating of the earliest regulated urban structure in the town is correct, the first vessels are dated to the middle or second half of the eleventh century. The gap in time may be real, in other words, showing that Slavic-inspired pottery did not start to be consumed in Gotland until after 1050. Was the outward-looking Gotland influenced so late by the neighbours with whom it was in most frequent contact? To grasp this we must turn our backs on Visby and look at rural Gotland. Finds from farms and trading sites show that the new ceramic tradition reached settings outside the town in the Early Middle Ages, but a more exact dating of the process is hard to ascertain. The only possible way to obtain a chronological framework is through hoards and graves with datable finds deposited along with pots.

Selling and Hulthén together depict 49 vessels from Gotland, of which 28 are from inhumation graves and 4 from settlement sites scattered in parishes from Fårö in the north to Fide in the south (fig. 112).⁸⁷ The main forms among the grave vessels show a dramatic difference in

⁸⁵ Selling 1955; Hulthén 1991; Trotzig 1991.

⁸⁶ Östergren 1989.

⁸⁷ Selling 1955, Abb. 24:39, 40, 41, Abb. 29:95–130, Abb. 32:55–60, Abb. 33:21; Hulthén 1991, figs. 1 a, 1 b.

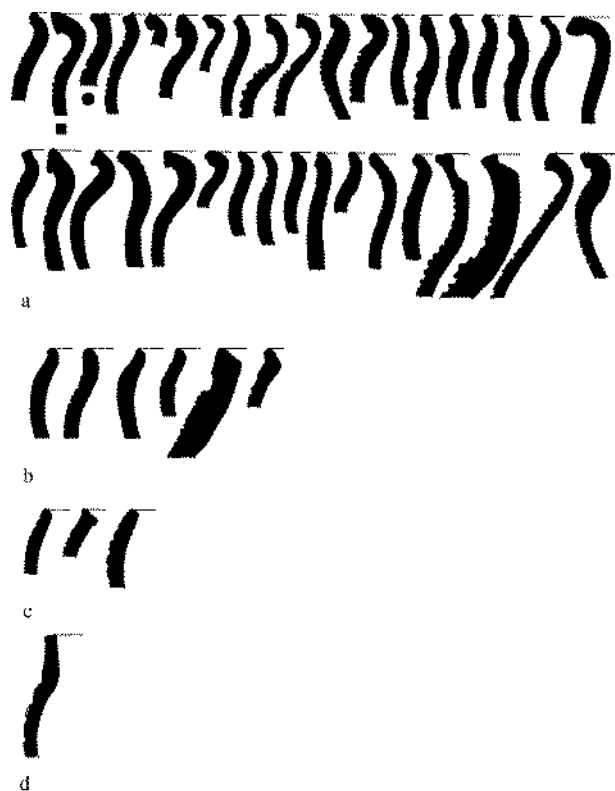


Fig. 112. Rural Gotland. Baltic ware with (a) everted rim, (b) short vertical rim, (c) inverted rim, and (d) cylindrical neck. Scale 1:4. After Selling 1955.

distribution: 40 vessels (82%) have everted rims, 5 short vertical (10%), 3 inverted (6%), and 1 a cylindrical neck (2%). Only special forms such as lamps, bowls, or hanging vessels are absent. The everted rims are dominated by medium-length examples, sloping outwards with a convex inside. A large proportion of rounded and vertical rim edges and straight insides also occur among them. The short vertical vessel mouths are medium-long or short, have a rounded edge and convex inside, while the inverted ones have rounded and inward-sloping edges. The vessels give a homogeneous impression and are squat in shape. All the pots have bases with a sharply concave edge and many of them have base marks.

The set of pots from the countryside can be qualitatively assessed. The group of vessels from Silte distinguishes itself from other finds

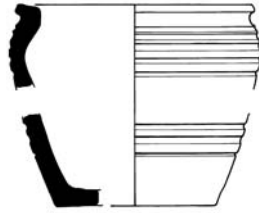


Fig. 113. Baltic ware used to hold a hoard buried around 956. Gotland, Rondarve in Eksta Parish. Scale 1:4.

in size and quality.⁸⁸ We have here examples of storage vessels found on a settlement site, and they have long, sweeping everted rims with a distinct rebate for a lid. The vessel bodies are covered all over with well-executed decoration. The homogeneity of the execution means that assemblage of three vessels can be regarded as coming from the hands of one and the same potter. In form the two larger vessels resemble the West Slavic Weisdin tradition, but we also find large storage vessels in Novgorod.⁸⁹ Two pots from Gotska Sandön probably come from an East Slavic area and are therefore Late Slavic, as is a third from an unknown find location on the island.⁹⁰ It is thereby clear that the eastern contacts had an impact outside Visby as well.

The dynamism in the distribution of Baltic ware through time in rural Gotland can be discerned in the hoards and grave finds. The oldest example is a small pot from Rondarve in Eksta Parish which is given a *terminus post quem* by coins at c. 956 (fig. 113). The rim is short and everted, the edge rounded, and the inside convex. The decoration consists of shallow grooves covering virtually the whole body of the vessel. The find is exceptionally early, showing that even before 1000 Gotland had links with the East Slavic ceramic tradition.

The next point in the sequence of datings is a group of thirteen grave vessels with a broad chronological framework from the south of the island. Among them the vessel from the vicarage in Eksta Parish is the oldest (fig. 112, rim marked with a black dot in the uppermost row). The ring brooch that was found in the grave is from the period

⁸⁸ Selling 1955, Taf. 23:6, 24, 30:10.

⁸⁹ Schuldt 1956, Abb. 70 c, Abb. 71.

⁹⁰ Selling 1955, Abb. 29: 103 and 29:104, Taf. 25:1 and 25:2, Abb. 29:130, Taf. 23:2.

900–1000. If the dating is correct the person must have been buried just before the year 1000. The form of the pot is different from that of later ones, with a slightly everted rim, almost like the short vertical type, and with a horizontal rim edge. The decoration consists of oblique stick marks.

The majority of the vessels are dated to the period 1000–1100, and of these seven are everted, two short vertical, one inverted, and one has a cylindrical neck. In six of the cases the dating is indicated by ring brooches in the grave. A cautious interpretation of this situation is that Baltic ware occurs in graves as early as the first half of the eleventh century. The time of the deposition of the vessels in some of the graves at Barshaldershed has been put later (figs. 114 and 115).⁹¹ In his dissertation on bronze vessels found in cemeteries, Trotzig argues that the deceased were buried during a relatively brief period at the end of the eleventh and the start of the twelfth century. The same could thus apply to the ceramic containers with swastika-like base marks or those found in graves with the metal vessels. A vessel without a base mark, from Uddvide in Grötlingbo Parish, is also dated to the second half of the eleventh century because of the pendant cross with a palmette motif in openwork technique which was probably placed on the lid of the coffin in which the body was laid.⁹² From this we can draw the conclusion that Baltic ware was in use in the world of the living throughout the century.

A grave vessel described by Selling from Petsarve in Eksta Parish is dated to the period 1100–1150, which makes it late (fig. 112, rim marked with a black square in the uppermost row).⁹³ The vessel has a long everted rim with a vertical edge and a convex inside. The decoration consists of two wavy bands placed on top of the other. The form agrees closely with the twelfth-century ceramic tradition in Visby where long everted rims are very frequent. It is thus the chronological link between the urban and agrarian settings, demonstrating that people used Baltic ware in both contexts in the twelfth century.

A great weakness of the present work is the absence of a large body of pottery from a farm in the Gotlandic countryside. Our knowledge of Baltic ware comes from the graves, which may have had a distinct

⁹¹ Trotzig 1991, p. 171.

⁹² Trotzig 1991, p. 232, Pl. 19g; Hulthén 1991, p. 173, fig. 1 b, vessel no. 31.

⁹³ Selling 1955, Abb. 29:96.

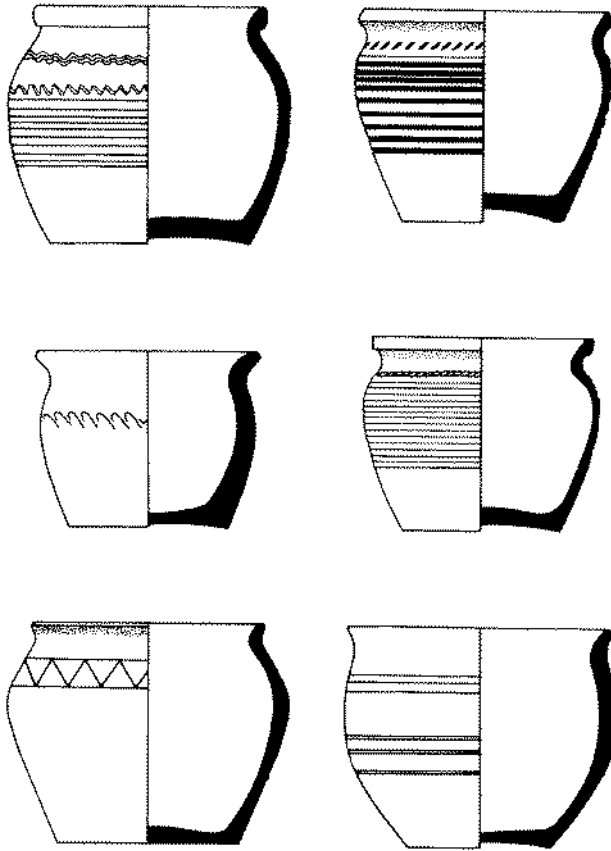


Fig. 114. Southern Gotland. Baltic ware. Vessels found in graves, Grötlingbo and Häblingbo Parishes. All six vessels made on Gotland, but by different artisans. Scale 1:4. After Hulthén 1991, fig. 1 b.

inventory because of their special role in the tension between life and death. In the present situation we can only conclude that the new ceramic tradition was part of the everyday life of people, judging by the survey and the small-scale excavations performed in Gotland as part of the hoard project. In her dissertation on hoards and settlements Majvor Östergren emphasizes five places where Baltic ware occurs.⁹⁴ At Häffinds II–V and VI in Burs Parish, Norrgårde in Sanda, Petsarve in Eke, and Överborge in Fardhem Parish, sherds have been found in

⁹⁴ Östergren 1989.

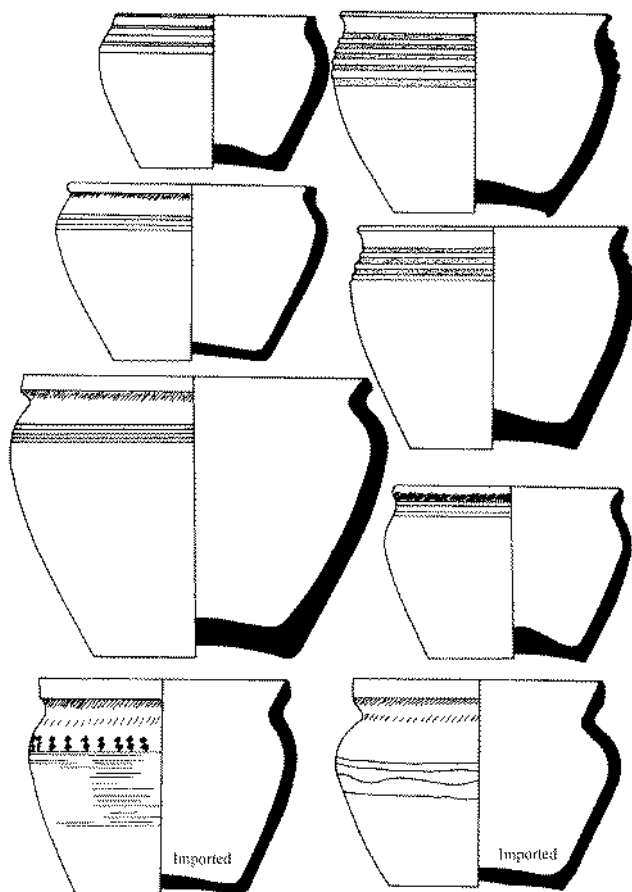


Fig. 115. Southern Gotland. Baltic ware. Vessels found in graves, Grötlingbo and Hemse Parishes. The six uppermost vessels probably made in the same “work shop”. The two at the bottom are imports from Slav areas. Scale 1:4.

After Hulthén 1991, fig. 1 a.

layers which were probably associated with an early medieval farm. Investigations in recent years by Dan Carlsson in Fröjel have resulted in the discovery of a medieval farm site where Baltic ware has also been found.

Yet another place should be mentioned because it provides information about the consumption of Baltic ware outside urban and burial contexts. Västergarn on the west coast of Gotland has long interested archaeologists, and different hypotheses have been presented about the function and dating of the site. Most of the units are late red

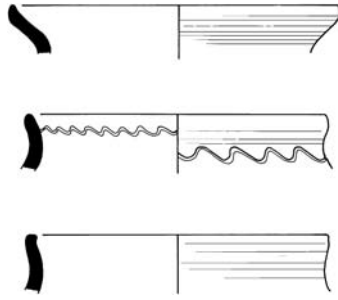


Fig. 116. Gotland, Västergarn. Rus' pottery. Scale 1:4.

earthenware, faience, and porcelain, but there is an unusually large share of medieval pottery for the countryside. Baltic ware, late black earthenware in the form of round-based pots with and without legs, early stoneware, Paffrath-like ware, stoneware, polychrome Rouen ware, and early red earthenware are found in copious quantities.⁹⁵ Of special interest is the large number of glazed jugs from Bruges/Aardenburg found among the sherds. Both early white-slipped vessels with blotchy green glaze and roulette decoration and vessels with well-executed scale decoration and floral ornament are included in the range. It is important to point out that both Baltic ware and genuine Late Slavic pots occur in the material from Västergarn. Moreover, the Late Slavic rims have counterparts in Visby in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are everted, long, and with a rebated or straight inside (fig. 116). The fact that a set of jugs from Bruges, Rouen, and Siegburg found its way out into the countryside together with German and East Slavic cooking pots need not mean that we have here the remains of a trading site. Despite the striking similarity to the composition of pottery in Visby and other high medieval towns on the mainland, we should bear in mind that we do not have a clear picture of the pattern of consumption on a Gotlandic farm. The special position of the Gotlanders as leading players in trade in the Baltic region may have led to the rise of an urban lifestyle in the stone houses far from Hanseatic Visby.

The analysis of Baltic ware in Visby and Västergarn showed that a significant proportion of vessels came from Rus' to Gotland. But this influence ought not to have been the only one for an island that was so open to inter-regional contacts. I pointed out above that the vessels

⁹⁵ Roslund 1999.

from Silte either belong to the West Slavic Weisdin group or are large storage vessels of East Slavic type.

Vigorous exchange with other areas is characteristic of medieval Gotland. The German dominance in Visby and the influence exerted by Hanseatic culture in the countryside in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is well documented. The pottery from the High and Late Middle Ages is well known from established production places in Germany and the lower Rhineland, which is clear evidence of cultural influences from there. The links in the time before 1250 are harder to grasp, largely due to the local character of the ceramics. Baltic ware may give new fuel to discussions on this topic.

Gotland's indigenous Viking Age tradition can be followed in the context of hoards and graves up to the mid-eleventh century. Already around 956 we find in addition the first evidence of Baltic ware, which is then established as a new tradition on the island. The complexity of the composition is underlined by evidence of imports from the mainland or somewhere in the Baltic area as a whole, possibly West Slavic vessels of Weisdin type, pots from Rus', and the occurrence of locally produced vessels. In the graves from the eleventh century everted rims predominate, with a small number of short vertical and inverted rims as well.

The source material from rural Gotland is still too meagre to allow us to ascertain where the basic influences came from and how they were transmitted. The main forms, however, show links with the East Slavic tradition. For future inquiries it will be fruitful to study central places on the River Daugava. In what is today Lithuania, strongholds along the waterway between Gotland and Rus' contained producers making pots of Slavic appearance. Through the well-known connections in that direction and the personal presence in Novgorod attested as early as the eleventh century, the Gotlanders were in contact with this tradition. It is difficult to see any exact agreement between the majority of pots in rural Gotland and those in Rus', so they must have been quickly adopted in local production. A noticeable element of Russian vessels in Västergarn provides further evidence of continuity in the eastern connection in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also for settlements outside Visby. No one has yet studied whether Baltic ware and the imported Russian vessels were used as long as in the town.

Occasional vessels differ in quality from the mass and may be associated with Slavic craftsmen or could be imports. Instead of the squat,

rather clumsy vessel body which seems to be a characteristic feature of Gotlandic vessels, these are more protracted and taller. A vessel of high quality from an unknown find location on the island gives this impression, as do two from Gotska Sandön. One of the vessels in the assemblage from Silte was made on Gotland, probably by a Slavic potter.

Conclusion

Rural Gotland had contacts with East Slavs even before Baltic ware appeared on the island. The new type of ware was quickly adopted in households and reshaped in accordance with local aesthetics while Late Viking Age pottery disappeared from the domestic inventory in the eleventh century. Imports occur both in deposits and in graves, confirming the dynamism of the links maintained by the families on Gotland's farms. Everted forms were preferred, and the distribution between the parishes could differ greatly. The pattern of production and consumption was rather advanced.

GÖTALAND

Småland and Öland

Småland and Öland are different in many ways but are treated here together as the most south-easterly part of medieval Sweden. In topographical and cultural terms the areas are very different. In the Middle Ages Småland was divided into the *folklands* of Finnveden, Njudung, Varend, and Möre, while Öland was a separate province. There is source material from the trading site of Köpingsvik on Öland and Kalmar on the east coast of Småland. The relationship between them is partly chronological, with the former functioning as a trading site in the Viking Age/Early Middle Ages and the latter as a town in the High Middle Ages, with trade as one of its functions.⁹⁶ Other places were included in the trade carried on around Kalmarsund, from the Viking Age seasonal trade with temporary guests to the high medieval urban culture with German burghers on the town council. Borgholm, Gråborg, Eketorp, Kyrkohamn, and Sikavarp have been described as pawns in a game concerning trade and mastery over the important

⁹⁶ Blomkvist 1979a, 1979b.

passage in the sound which was the route between the German towns, Gotland, and Russia.

Very little is known about Baltic ware in the countryside. A few units can be found in the villages of Berga, Åby, and Eka in Småland and Eketorp on Öland. The reason Eketorp is not counted as urban is that the site evidently had a different function in the short period 1170–1240, as a military point of support.⁹⁷ This means that the pottery from Eketorp-III cannot be regarded as purely agrarian material either.

Köpingsvik and Kalmar

Köpingsvik on the west coast of Öland is well protected in a sandy bay.⁹⁸ Several decades of excavations there have yielded indications of trade and craft activities carried on during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the discussions about the function of the place, the relationship to Kalmar and Borgholm has been important, and *Köpingsvik* has been regarded as a trading site established by Öland interests, unlike the town on the mainland, which more likely came into existence on royal initiative.⁹⁹ The six runic stones found in Köping Parish and the large number of fragments of Eskilstuna coffins from the churchyard in Köping are evidence that the place was important in the power structure of the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages on Kalmarsund. Remains of metal crafts and comb making from the place of assembly hint that commodity production played a major part in the economy. The pottery from the site has not been presented hitherto; only a brief glimpse at the forms can be taken here.

The existing pottery comes from an excavation of the property Solberga 4:11 just east of the stream called Prästarännilen. Of the 16 rims from *Köpingsvik*, 12 are everted, but there are also 2 short vertical rims and 2 cylindrical necks. The most common form is a short everted rim, sloping outwards, and straight, followed by yet another everted rim which differs from the former only through the rebated inside (fig. 117 a, d, e). An unusual form which is likewise found in two examples is the long everted rim with the edge sloping inwards and a slightly rebated inside (fig. 117 f). An important observation must be mentioned. A recent excavation in *Köpingsvik* has yielded fragments

⁹⁷ Borg 1998, p. 65.

⁹⁸ Hagberg 1985, pp. 139ff.; Johnsson & Schulze 1990.

⁹⁹ Blomkvist 1979a, 1979b.

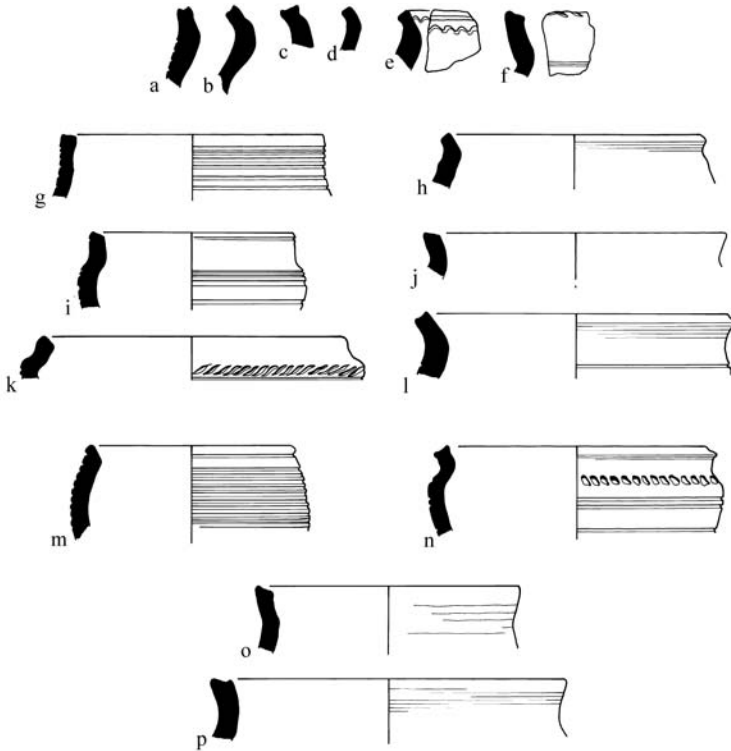


Fig. 117. Öland, Köpingsvik. Baltic ware. Scale 1:4.

of two vessels of clear Rus' provenance. This makes the trading place on Öland the southernmost point in eastern Sweden where East Slavic imports are found.

In the Middle Ages *Kalmar* was the most important town in south-east Götaland.¹⁰⁰ The central point in the first phase of the place was the castle through which the king of the Swedes maintained his interests in this part of the kingdom. There may have been a *kastal* on the site shortly before 1200, to guard a place of assembly just beside it. The town of Kalmar was founded in the first quarter of the thirteenth century for the purposes of administrative, ecclesiastical, and non-agrarian activities such as craft and trade. In other words, it did not exist before the classic Scandinavian period of town foundation in the High Middle Ages. Already in its earliest phase the town had a mixed

¹⁰⁰ Blomkvist 1979b.



Fig. 118. Småland, Kalmar. Vessel found by the excavation in Slottsfjärden 1933–1934, probably Late Slavic ware from a western Slavic area. Scale 1:4. After Selling 1955.

population with a large German element. The pottery from Kalmar shows a clear preference for vessels of this origin. Paffrath and Pingsdorf ware, *Kugeltöpfe* of late black earthenware with or without legs, jugs and jars of late black earthenware, early stoneware, and wholly vitrified stoneware have been found in the town, all of them from Germany.¹⁰¹ Jugs of red earthenware from southern Scandinavia/northern Germany, Aardenburg, Bruges, and Bergen op Zoom also occur but in smaller quantities. An inventory of the pottery conducted in recent years confirms the division and the datings.¹⁰²

Baltic ware from Kalmar comes from the work of cleaning up the medieval harbour area of Slottsfjärden in 1933–34. A large quantity of fragments, above all from high and late medieval pottery, was found there, and the proportion of Baltic ware was very small. On the other hand, some of the nine vessels of Baltic type could be reconstructed in their entirety, and they seem to be the result of skilled craftsmanship.

A total of nine vessels of Baltic type from Slottsfjärden have been presented by Selling. Some characteristic features make seven of them into a coherent group which must have ended up in the water within a relatively short space of time (figs. 118 and 119).¹⁰³ Six of them have

¹⁰¹ Selling 1979.

¹⁰² Elfwendahl & Gaimster 1996.

¹⁰³ Selling 1955, Abb. 27:72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, Abb. 33:15.

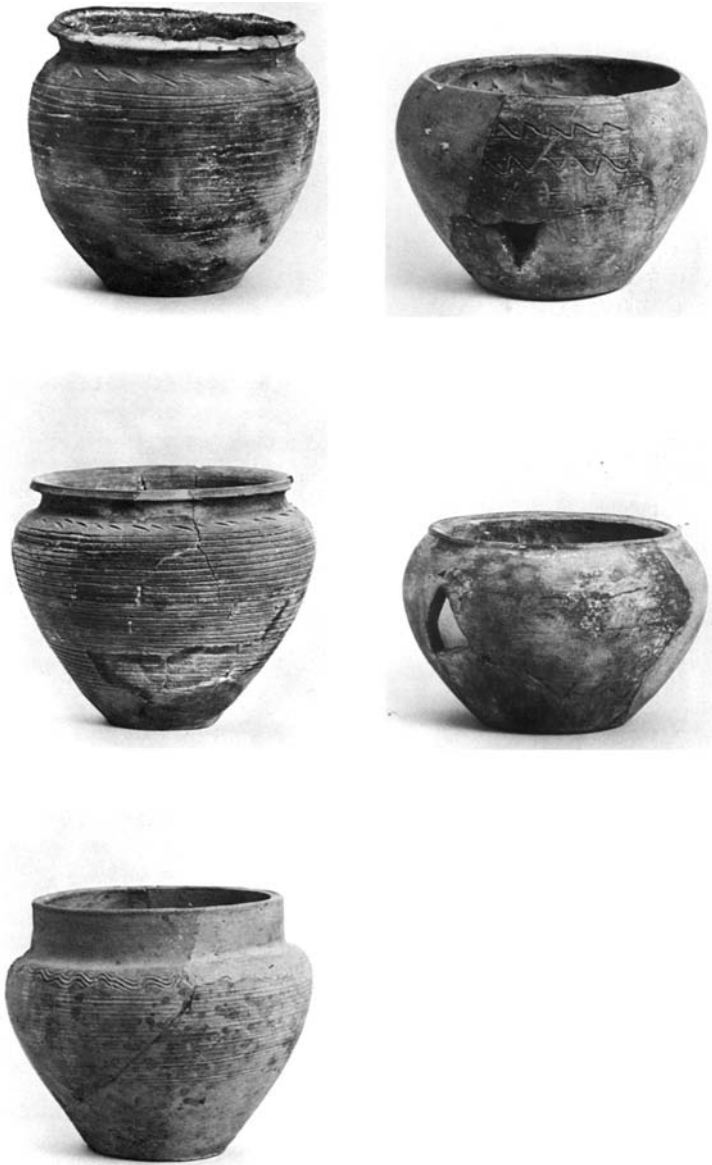


Fig. 119. Småland, Kalmar. To the left some of the western Slavic vessels presented as rim profiles in fig. 118. To the right Baltic ware with inverted rims, probably of indigenous origin. After Wahlöö 1976, figs. 79, 80, 81, 301 & 302. Not to scale.

everted rims. Among these, three have a short neck inserted between the shoulder and the rim, while the other three follow a slightly everted movement. Of these six, three are decorated with oblique stick marks followed by parallel lines, two have only lines, and one has two slightly wavy lines and then straight lines. The seventh vessel has a distinct cylindrical neck and decoration in the form of a wavy band accompanied by parallel lines. On this vessel there is also a base mark in the form of a horizontal dash with three shorter dashes at right angles. The last two vessels have inverted rims, are hard-fired, and only one of them has two wavy lines along with faint lines, while the other has faint lines as decoration.¹⁰⁴

Rural Småland and Öland

In view of the small number of vessels from rural Småland and Öland, it is difficult to use them in concrete discussions about stylistic influence and contacts. The presentation should therefore be viewed as a summary rather than an exhaustive account of the area's external connections and ceramic production.

Baltic ware from Berga and Eketorp

Whether *Berga* in Finnveden functioned as a town or an agrarian settlement is ambiguous.¹⁰⁵ It developed into a central place in the area but as a town it was smothered in its cradle despite the charter issued in 1279 by King Magnus on behalf of Bishop Henrik of Linköping. According to the document the bishop was permitted to establish a town in *Berga* with all the regal and episcopal rights. It did not develop in the direction the bishop wanted, and no archaeological evidence of any urbanization has been found. Despite the charter, then, no town developed. The question is how the source material from *Berga* should be regarded. If we look at the context in which it was found and the dating of the remains there, the picture becomes clearer. Baltic ware from *Berga* was found by a small-scale excavation in 1982, in a layer with remains of a settlement site. Hearths and a sunken-floor hut dated by radiocarbon to the period c. 950–1100 rule out a link to the attempt to establish a town. Henrik Klackenberg, who has studied *Berga*, believes that the site in the eleventh century should be viewed as a powerful family farm

¹⁰⁴ Wahlöö 1976, figs. 301 and 302.

¹⁰⁵ Klackenberg 1986.

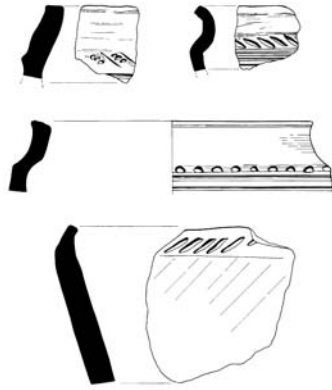


Fig. 120. Småland, Berga. Baltic ware. Scale 1:4.

and assembly site, marked by four runic stones erected in the area.¹⁰⁶ It is thus from a large farm with some form of central function that the pottery comes.

The four rims from Berga are made of well-fired fabric; two of them are short vertical and medium-length (fig. 120). The impression the set of vessels makes is that the potter was familiar with his idiom and the technique of making pots on a turntable. It is just the inverted rim that looks simple in execution and decoration.

Two body sherds, one of them found in *Eka*, Ljungby Parish, and the other in *Åby* close to Berga, show that Baltic ware spread to Finnveden outside the big farm in Berga. The sherd from *Eka* is of very good quality and decorated with parallel lines drawn with a sure hand.

To my knowledge, the only Baltic ware found in an agrarian context on Öland is the well-known grave vessel from *Skärlöv*, Hulterstad Parish, on the east coast of the island (fig. 121). The vessel was set in an inhumation grave which had few other grave goods. The *Skärlöv* vessel is executed with great surety, with its short vertical neck and sloping rim edge.¹⁰⁷ The potter's light pressure inwards toward the edge created a rebate on the inside. The base is sharp-edged, concave, and together with the decoration consisting of adroitly drawn parallel lines, testifies that the pot was made on a turntable.

¹⁰⁶ Klackenberg 1986, p. 353.

¹⁰⁷ Selling 1955, Taf. 32:2.

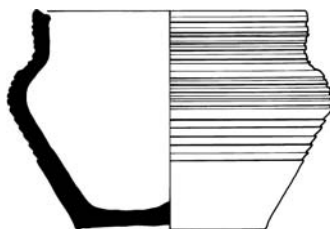


Fig. 121. Grave vessel from Öland, Skärlöv, Hulterstad Parish. Analogues to the cylindrical neck and the decoration can be found in Visby, Köpingsvik, and Sigtuna. Scale 1:4.

The *Eketorp* fort in southern Öland is perhaps best known for having been a fortified village *c.* 300–700. During the excavations, which were conducted from 1964 to 1972, it was already clear that a later period was concealed under the ground. The dating of what would be called Eketorp-III was initially broad: 1000–1300. The available source material allowed several possible functions for the place. In the discussion the possibility was suggested that Eketorp was used as a reloading place in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁸ Since the total corpus of artefacts has been analysed, a role as a military point of support or fortress has been held up as the most plausible explanation for the re-establishment after the centuries during which the site was empty.¹⁰⁹ Eketorp-III thus represents neither an agrarian nor an urban settlement; it was instead highly specialized. This insight must be considered in any assessment of the pottery. The medieval phase of Eketorp is dated *c.* 1170–1240, a period reflected in the ceramic material.¹¹⁰

Selling assigns thirteen vessels to the group of Baltic ware. Of these, eight are everted, three inverted, and one short vertical. The decoration on three of them is done as oblique stick marks with parallel lines under. Judging by Selling's description, the vessels are probably local products with analogies in eastern Götaland. The only illustrated original vessel of Baltic ware type from Eketorp has an inverted rim and is similar in proportions to a find from Slottsfjärden in Kalmar (fig. 122, fig. 119 right column).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Blomkvist 1979a.

¹⁰⁹ Borg 1998.

¹¹⁰ Selling 1998, pp. 81ff.

¹¹¹ Wahlöö 1976, figs. 82 and 301.



Fig. 122. Öland, Eketorp, Gräsgård Parish. Baltic ware of local origin. After Wahlöö 1976, fig. 82.

Småland and Öland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

In the topographically heterogeneous area described above, we find few sites and a small number of units of pottery for the interpretation of the roots of Baltic ware. The only urban centres or trading sites are Köpingsvik and Kalmar, and in the countryside we have only Berga, Eka, and Åby in Finnveden and Skärlov in Hulterstad Parish and Eketorp-III on Öland. A larger amount of source material could obviously give us a clearer picture of the tradition and the process. To grasp the development I pay more attention here to the chronology than to the function of the sites.

In the eleventh century Baltic ware was in use in Finnveden in the interior of Småland. It is very difficult to say where the influences for the forms came from. It is not possible to see a clear source for the work of the potter in Berga. Contacts with Halland via the Lagan and with Skara and Lödöse have been suggested as being particularly important for the style, but we also find similar forms in Söderköping.¹¹² Three of the four main forms are found on the site. The new type of ware occurs in nearby villages and seems to have quickly become part of the household service.

A contemporary and slightly later phase is found at Köpingsvik, which is wholly dominated by everted rims. A cylindrical neck that stands out from the mass of rims has analogies on Gotland and in the intact grave vessel from Skärlov. Because of the link to find circumstances in Visby and Sigtuna, I would date it to the period from the late eleventh to the early twelfth century. The same applies to two other rims from

¹¹² Klackenberg 1986, p. 352.

Köpingsvik. They are a type which lead our thoughts to Rus' forms in the twelfth century. Although the origin may be proved in the future to be regional, it is impossible to envisage the form in the preceding century. Some everted rims point in the direction of the mainland in Östergötland, where we find that contemporary analogies were in use in the twelfth century.

Despite the uncertain find circumstances, it is possible to arrive at a dating and an origin for the vessels from Kalmar. Selling thinks that the oldest pots from the complex in Slotts fjärden come from the second half of the twelfth century, and the Baltic ware thus cannot be older.¹¹³ Here I am inclined to agree, especially if the place where the vessels originated is added to the discussion. The majority of rim forms certainly belong in a West Slavic tradition. This is particularly clear in the case of the three everted rims which also have a short neck. The Teterow forms on the southern coast of the Baltic match them well. Since the find complex is coherent as regards form, I would be bold enough to assume that the three Vipperow forms included in the material also come from there. The origin of the vessel with the cylindrical neck is less certain, since we find it in both West and East Slavic areas. All in all, however, the quality, form, and decoration of the vessels indicate that they should be regarded as pure imports from the southern coast of the Baltic. As for the dating, it can be argued that the vessels sank in Slotts fjärden between 1100 and the mid-thirteenth century, a period of 150 years. Selling's argument based on the total find complex is one point of reference, while the other is the fact that the forms represented are very common in Pomerania and eastern Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in the period 1100–1250. One problem is how the vessels with inverted rims should be perceived. With their squat form and simple or non-existent decoration they may be a local tradition which is represented in the vessel with inverted rim which I have placed in the Late Viking Age ceramic complex.

Probably contemporary with the vessels from Kalmar and some from Köpingsvik are those from Eketorp. A common tradition is reflected in the forms of these two sites on Öland, with their preference for everted rims. In the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth, simple forms were made and used in the fortress in the south of the island.

¹¹³ Selling 1955, p. 114.

Conclusion

Baltic ware seems to have become established some time in the eleventh century and was retained until the start of the thirteenth century in Finnveden. The ceramic tradition in the area between this *folkland* and the coast is at present unknown. A slight suggestion of morphological community can be found between Baltic ware in Köpingsvik, where we encounter this type in the second half of the eleventh century, and that from Söderköping and Visby. They all belong to the Diocese of Linköping, and Öland is moreover in the jurisdiction of Östergötland and played an important part in exchange in eastern Götaland. No contacts with Skåne can be traced, since the main forms there show a completely different composition. On the other hand, it is clear that the vessels in Kalmar are probably imported from the southern coast of the Baltic. The most certain analogies for the period 1100–1250 can be found in Pomerania. There is possibly stylistic influence from Russia on a couple of pots in Köpingsvik.

*Västergötland**Skara*

Skara was among the few towns in Sweden established in the eleventh century. The origin of this place in the interior of Västergötland is considered to have its base in a rich hinterland and an early concentration of power.¹¹⁴ The runic stones in the district south of Vänern have inscriptions naming *drengs* and *thegns*, representatives of early royal power.¹¹⁵ Likewise, there is evidence of an earldom and direct royal presence in Husaby. In the immediate vicinity of the town, the pre-Christian assembly site at Götala may have been one reason for the establishment of an episcopal seat at the royal estate of Husaby and later in Skara. This official of the new Christian era could be regarded as a continuation of an administrative tradition with a religious character. No Viking Age pre-urban phase in the form of scattered plots with agrarian features is documented in Skara, nor is any cemetery known. The earliest graves found at the cathedral have been dated to the second half of the eleventh century.¹¹⁶ The construction of the cathedral

¹¹⁴ Vretemark 1997, pp. 11ff.; Sawyer 1995, pp. 76ff.

¹¹⁵ Sawyer 1995, p. 78.

¹¹⁶ Sigsjö 1986, p. 217.

and the attraction that such a meeting place also exerted on secular life must have simulated the growth of the settlement. This seems to have happened at the earliest in the second half of the eleventh century, and despite details of another older church on the site, settlement of urban character is absent before this time. The agrarian character of the properties is clear in the late eleventh century.¹¹⁷ Scattered clusters of houses in a dispersed urban setting with several centres met the visitor at this time. Another source for dating the foundation of the town is the coin finds, the oldest hitherto being a pfennig from Utrecht minted under Emperor Henry III (1039–1056).¹¹⁸ The first time Skara is mentioned in writing is in Adam of Bremen in the 1070–80s; he describes it as being of considerable size and importance. His assessment should probably be considered as reflecting the ecclesiastic significance rather than the settlement as such. As an episcopal seat the town was very important for the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. The statement about the size of the population and the conurbation is based on the situation in Adam's own time in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

We should thus reckon that the establishment of a church around 1050 and the inauguration of the cathedral in the 1060s constitute the administrative embryo of a town, while the regulated secular settlement, production, and consumption within the town were not stabilized until around 1080. Denser settlement came about in the twelfth century, when several new churches were built. In the thirteenth century the town was so important that both the Franciscans and the Dominicans founded monasteries there, and the castle of Gällkvist was built in the middle of the century.

The primary role of the town as an ecclesiastical administrative centre is further underlined by the meagre quantity of objects of foreign origin found by excavations in the town. The location in the interior of the country, away from the coast, and an active trade policy that favoured Lödöse gave the town's material culture a local profile.¹¹⁹ The consumption of pottery in particular differs from that in towns on the coast as regards both quantity and variation. Imported pottery in the form of Pingsdorf, Paffrath, Rouen, and Bruges ware occurs, but on a small scale, and the local early black earthenware wholly dominates

¹¹⁷ Vretemark 1997, p. 13.

¹¹⁸ Sigsjö 1986, p. 154, fig. 16.

¹¹⁹ Vretemark 1997, p. 14.

household pottery sets. From an excavation in the block Rådhuset 30, as much as 98% of the pottery consists of early black earthenware.¹²⁰

A survey of all types of black earthenware from the town gives the impression that the vessels are very simple in form and were probably produced in the home for consumption on the farm. No clear representatives of the German-inspired round-based pots are found among the sherds. It is not until the harder variant of pots with handles and legs of late black earthenware (*harte Grauware variant B*) appears in the first half of the thirteenth century that vessels of this geographic origin can be said to be in use in Skara. By and large, two categories of early black earthenware seem to have been produced and consumed in Skara. One is a pot continuing the Late Viking Age tradition but with harder, more finely tempered fabric and a smooth surface (fig. 123). The other type is a variant of Baltic ware which is very homogeneous as regards fabric and form. When viewed subjectively, then, the pottery is very limited and simple.

Skara between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

Skara's ceramic profile is thus limited when it comes to early black earthenware. Since the study chiefly concerns Baltic ware from the town, the registration concentrated on this type of ware. No detailed quantitative studies of other pottery have been performed. Despite this, it is important to comment on the impressions derived from the relationship between the traditions in the town. One belongs to a Late Viking Age type with simple inverted rims or short everted rims. The fabric is thin and thus hard after firing, shaped by hand with a smooth but dented surface. In occasional cases there is simple decoration in the form of shallow grooves made by fingers, a faint wavy line, or oblique stick marks. The other tradition is Baltic ware. A few forms of this are very close to the Late Viking Age vessels as regards the form of the rim, the size of the vessel, and the quality of the fabric (fig. 124). The only difference is that Baltic ware was made on a turntable, has horizontal traces left by the working, and a more sharply marked rim edge. Among the vessels with the form Ska 6 there are some undecorated examples, but these show traces of rapid turning movements on a rotating base. A hint at a hybrid form between the two types is thus

¹²⁰ Berglund 1996, p. 42, table 7.

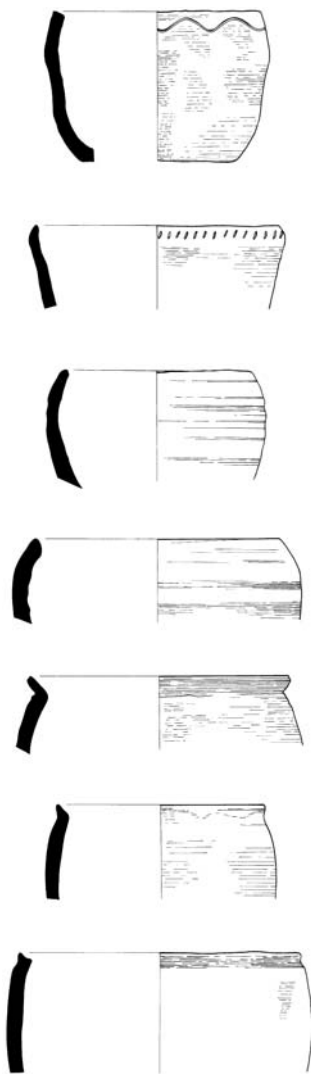


Fig. 123. Skara, Iris 1–5 and Rådhuset 30. Vessel of Late Viking Age type.
Scale 1:4.

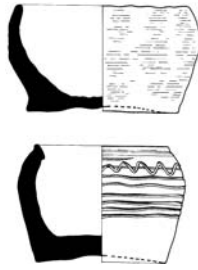


Fig. 124. Skara. The close relationship between the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition and the local Baltic ware is obvious from these two vessels. Scale 1:4.

found here. Round-based cooking pots from Germany are conspicuous by their absence.

Baltic ware from Skara is very homogeneous in form and decoration. Among the 246 rims that have been studied, we see that the potters aimed at simple forms, giving priority to inverted rims (figs. 125 and 126). The everted rims are also simple with their medium-length or short rims, rounded edges, and convex insides (fig. 127). No rebated insides and just three long rims were produced. When the town was established at the end of the eleventh century, Baltic ware dominated the household ceramic composition, but it seems to have declined already in the period 1150–1250 and then subsequently disappeared. The tradition thus had a brief phase of establishment and development since innovations in form seem to cease around 1200. I think it likely that Baltic ware can be regarded as typical of the early twelfth century in the town because that is when most of the production took place. The vessels stopped being made and consumed in Skara in the mid-thirteenth century.

The main types of rims can be roughly separated into two different periods with distinct differences. In the period 1050–1150, inverted rims predominate, while between 1150 and 1250 the proportion of everted rims increases at the expense of the former. In the limited set of pots from the town there are only a few rim types which can be said to be variants of one and the same form, thus constituting a vessel family. Several of the inverted rims differ only in the finish of the outside, which is either smooth or thickened. An over-representation of decoration with shallow grooves drawn with the finger is also characteristic of this vessel family. Yet another assemblage of similar sherds has everted rims with rounded edges.

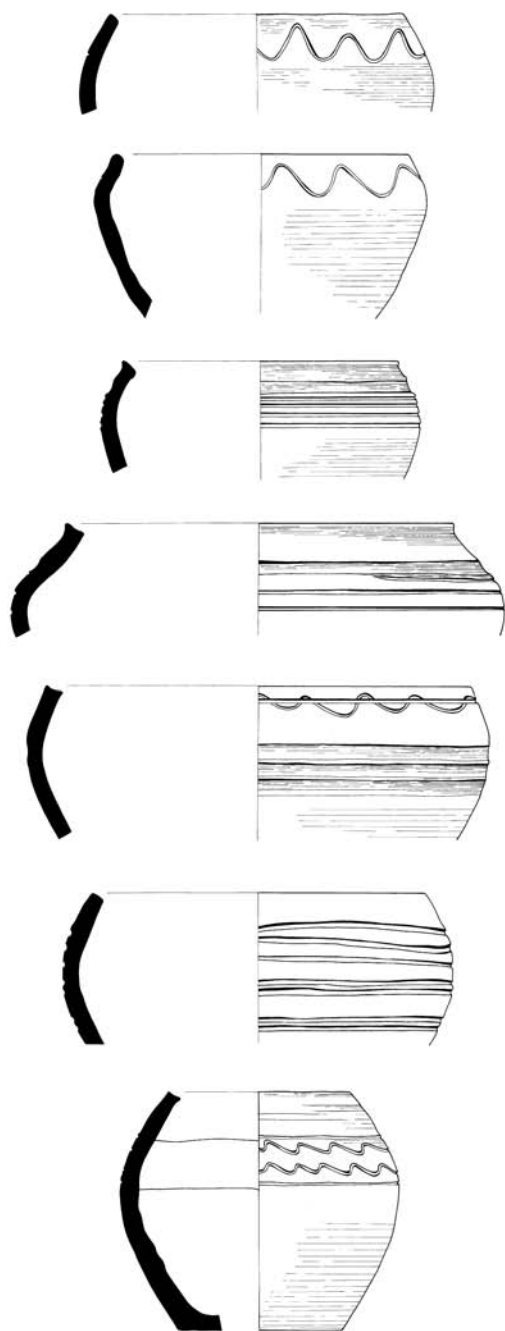


Fig. 125. Skara, Iris 1–5 and Rådhuset 30. Baltic ware. The most frequent forms have inverted rims. These forms account for 54% of all rims ($n = 133$).
Scale 1:4.

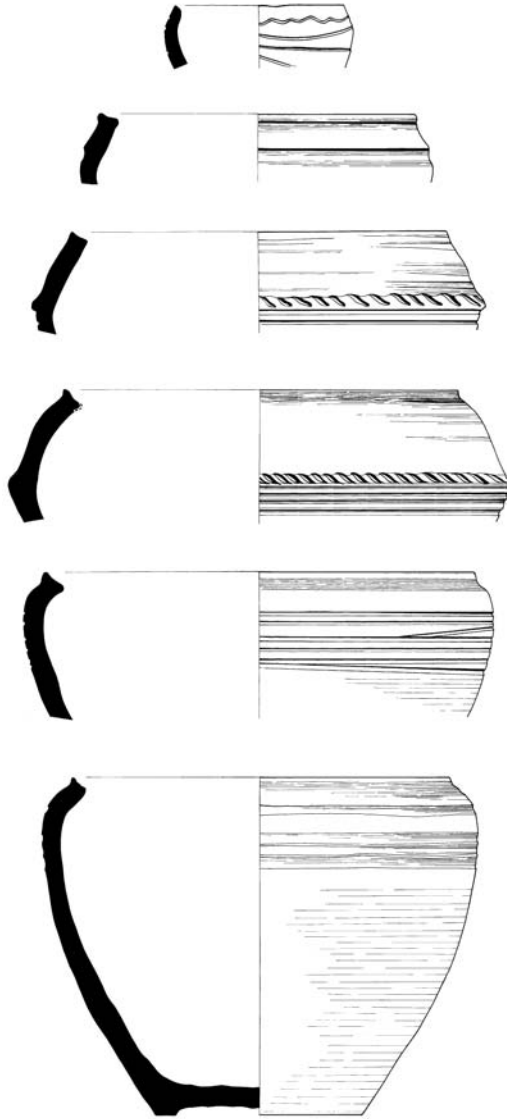


Fig. 126. Skara, Iris 1–5 and Rådhuset 30. Baltic ware. Further variants of inverted forms. Scale 1:4.

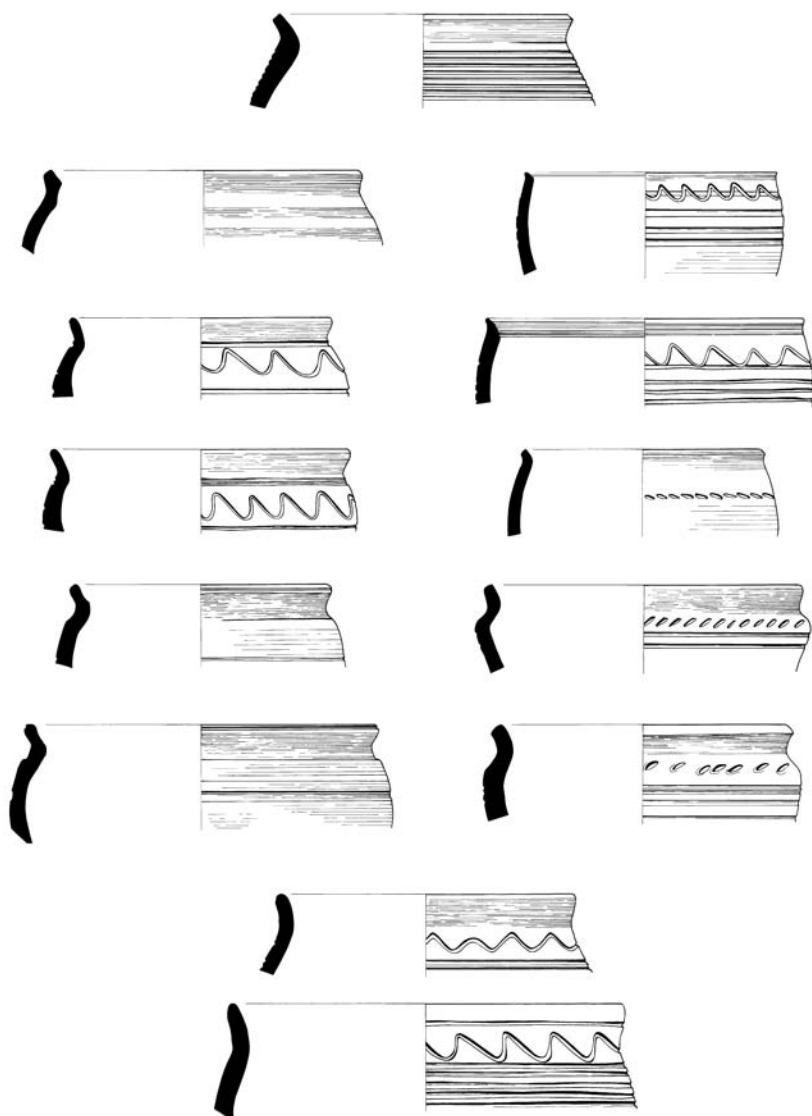


Fig. 127. Skara, Iris 1–5 and Rådhuset 30. Baltic ware. Everted rims.
Scale 1:4.

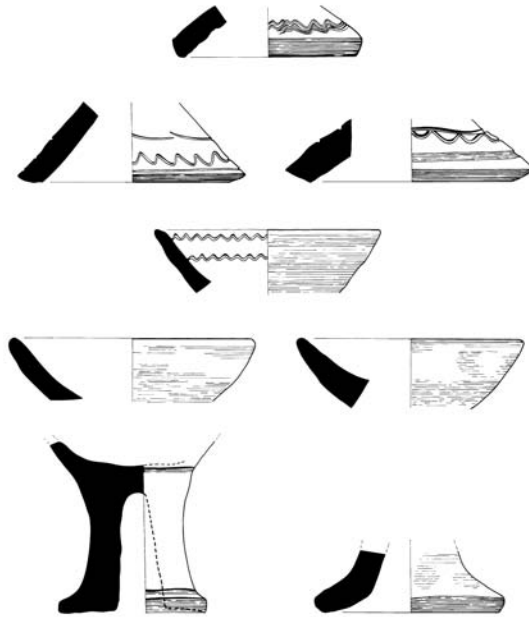


Fig. 128. Skara, Iris 1–5 and Rådhuset 30. Baltic ware. Lid and lamps.
Scale 1:4.

The functions of vessels in the households in Skara were for cooking and storage. The inverted rims together with the lids are appropriate for both purposes. Vessels with everted rims may have been containers for liquids since it is easier to pour out of them. The tradition of illuminating the home with oil lamps on feet also existed in Skara, in the period 1050–1150 (fig. 128). The majority of them seem to have been in use around 1100, with an upper limit in the middle of the century.

Our understanding of the establishment of a Slavic ceramic style in Västergötland, and especially in Skara, is obscured by the weakness of our knowledge of the situation before the foundation of the town. Pottery of Late Viking Age type is in use, but the few sure dates from the countryside make the first appearance of the newcomer Baltic ware uncertain. It is thus perfectly possible that this alien tradition was established even before the first townspeople arrived in the second half of the eleventh century, as is suggested by the rural evidence.

The set of pots shows that both Baltic ware and the lingering Late Viking Age tradition were contained within non-specialized manufacture in the household. Pottery was made both on turntables and on

flat, immobile bases, and vessels were built up with rings or bands of clay. Judging by the form of decoration on Baltic ware, the rotation speed was low, while the Late Viking Age type was shaped by hand. The production gives a closed impression, with few external influences, and this is corroborated by the fact that no imported cooking pots of early black earthenware have been found to date. Despite the important function of Skara as an episcopal seat, it does not seem to have meant anything for interregional contacts such as trade and exchange.¹²¹ The population had a high degree of self-sufficiency in the first century of the town. The townyards were structured like rural farmsteads with byres and dwelling houses.¹²² Artefacts connected with animal husbandry, such as collars and bells, indicate that food production was pursued within the household. The composition of the pottery agrees well with this picture.

If pottery was produced in the household and displays few external influences, how is it that we find Baltic ware in Skara at all? This partly has to do with the very broad spectrum of types embraced by the term. A comparison with eastern Sweden and eastern Denmark in the Middle Ages shows that the pots from Västergötland are of lower stylistic quality. In Skara it is the adoption of the turntable and the decorative forms that give the vessels this epithet. At the same time, it is undoubtedly the case that the typical Late Slavic decorations are represented. But what about the forms? The relationship to genuine Slavic pots is weak, and it is on this point that another interpretation can be made of the reasons for the occurrence of Baltic ware. The location in the western parts of Scandinavia makes influence from Eastern Slavic areas unlikely. The preponderance of inverted and short to medium-length everted rims argues against this. In the southern Baltic these traditions occur on a larger scale. In view of the chronological factors, we must search for analogies in material from there which covers the period *c.* 1050–1250, with the centre of gravity in the twelfth century. Since the Vipperow and Teterow groups are wholly dominant in West Slavic areas at this time, imports from there are out of the question. With this argument I would claim that Baltic ware in Skara has nothing to do with direct Slavic contacts at all and thus should not be regarded

¹²¹ Vretemark 1997, p. 14.

¹²² Vretemark 1997, p. 171.

as imported. Instead it may reflect connections with the eastern parts of the Danish kingdom, where inverted rim forms also predominate. If we compare individual vessels from nearby Halland, the one from Öringe is very like a form typical of Skara. In Västergötland a minimalist version of this Baltic ceramic tradition was adopted, with few forms and decorative motifs. Horizontal lines and the distinctive finger decoration are an isolated phenomenon. The production of oil lamps on feet likewise points to eastern Denmark, where there are pots with the same function but of better technical quality.

It is difficult to explain how connections with Denmark and the personal contacts that are necessary for stylistic transfer functioned. On a political and economic structural level, however, it is clear that the Danish influence was strong in this part of Sweden.¹²³ The position of Västergötland between the kings of the Swedes and the Danes was expressed both as regional consciousness and as a desire to maintain links with Denmark as a balance against the Mälaren valley and Östergötland. At the start of the eleventh century the province had a strong spokesman in King Olof Skötkonung, who also dominated the Mälaren valley from his position of power in Götaland. That he was not secure in the saddle is attested in the runic stones with inscriptions by *drengs* and *thegns* that were raised in the first half of the eleventh century. Their content has been associated with persons who had close ties of friendship with the Danish king, Knut the Great, who had men from Västergötland under his banner during his campaign against England.¹²⁴ The ties seem to have been retained after the end of the combat, and this group of men must have exerted influence over the direction of political contacts. A similar picture is delineated at the end of the century when the two daughters of Knut the Holy, after the murder of their father in 1086, were brought to safety in Västergötland, where they married local lords. During the twelfth-century power struggle for the Swedish crown, it is also clear that Västergötland pursued its own political line. The murder of King Ragnvald Knaphövde, and the assertion in written sources of the right of local lawmen and chieftains to rule, make the area seem independent from Östergötland and Svealand. The antagonism between the areas seems to have ceased in the last

¹²³ Sawyer 1991, pp. 51ff.; Hårdh 1996, pp. 170ff.

¹²⁴ Sawyer 1991, pp. 53ff.

quarter of the twelfth century, when Knut Eriksson managed to unite the regional interests.¹²⁵

In the field of ecclesiastical politics, there is also a close link to eastern Denmark since Skara was under the archbishopric of Lund, and the town probably received frequent visits from the metropolis in the south. A sign of a close connection between Skara and Lund is the cult of the same saints in both places up until around 1300.¹²⁶ Adam of Bremen also states that the road between Lund and Sigtuna went via Skara and Tälje, a path that was frequently trodden over the years during visitations and other ecclesiastical calls.

The orientation of the area towards the south and west is also clear in the hoards. Birgitta Hårdh has shown that silver was handled in the same way in Västergötland as in Jutland during the Viking Age.¹²⁷ The fragmentation of silver ceased at the same time in both areas at the start of the eleventh century. At this time the rulers of Denmark became more interested politically in Sjælland and Skåne, which may have been the base for continued exchange with western Sweden.

Danish influence on a political and economic level may also have influenced the production of pottery in the households of Skara. On the other hand, this does not explain why the style and technology were adopted. Above all, the closed character of the ceramic tradition is a problem since the transfer of stylistic features mostly takes place as a result of repeated and close connections between people. If so, eastern Danish influence would have been reflected in the material from Rådhuset and Iris, with forms and decorative motifs from Lund and rural Skåne. This is not the case; instead, the style seems to have been transferred in a way that leads one's thoughts to copying from a distance of the southern set of vessels. An intermediate link is suggested in Halland, where inverted rims with finger-drawn lines also occur.

Conclusion

When we encounter Skara in the second half of the eleventh century, the population had a locally produced set of pots for cooking and storage in the household. Two distinct traditions are represented in the material from the plots in the Rådhuset and Iris blocks on which this study

¹²⁵ Sawyer 1991, p. 60.

¹²⁶ Sawyer 1991, p. 52.

¹²⁷ Hårdh 1996, p. 101.

is based. One of them has its roots in Late Viking Age forms and the other is a local variant of Baltic ware which may have arisen through contacts with eastern Denmark. It was thus not directly shaped by any Slavic craft tradition. Baltic ware seems to have stopped being made around 1250 while the older tradition continued until 1300.

Lödöse

Lödöse was founded as a central place at the end of the eleventh century. The place that was chosen lay by the Göta Älv, at a point where the river ceased to be navigable and water-borne goods could be unloaded for transport inland along valleys and ridges.¹²⁸ It is difficult to say whether the reason for the establishment was a need for a trading site; nor can we say what interest was behind the decision to found the town. In view of Västergötland's independent position at this time *vis-à-vis* a king with a power base further to the east, it is possible to regard the town as a strange bird in a forest of indigenous species. If it was the king of the Svear who took the action, then it was with a surrounding countryside where powerful regional interests were burgeoning. Rulers contemporary with the foundation of the town were Inge and Hallsten, the sons of Stenkil. Inge the Elder, after his deposition during a pagan counter-reaction to Christianization in Uppland, settled in Västergötland for a few years and thus seems to have had a power base there. Another alternative that has been proposed is a royal power manifestation as an explanation for the establishment of Lödöse. The idea that the town was established as a response to a need shared by local lords and the new bishopric in Skara seems more likely, since both interest groups benefited from a meeting place for foreign goods and indigenous products.¹²⁹ The role as the Swedish king's point of contact with the west and North Sea trade does not emerge clearly until the twelfth century, when Lödöse was undoubtedly the kingdom's most important town in the west—indeed, the only one. The king's interests were marked by means of a royal estate built shortly before 1150 and a castle erected slightly later. In the middle of the century coins were minted in the town and the intensity of this increased with Knut Eriksson, who continued to use Lödöse as his royal mint. In the upswing for interregional trade that swept over northern Europe from

¹²⁸ Carlsson & Ekre 1980, p. 8.

¹²⁹ Sawyer 1995, p. 84.

the mid-twelfth century, the harbour on the Göta Älv played a major role in the export of natural products such as iron and timber from the Vänern area and rural Västergötland.

For natural geographical reasons, trade in Lödöse was geared to the sphere comprising the North Sea and the western Baltic. Two traditions are prominent in the earliest phase of the pottery.¹³⁰ Among the cooking vessels of black earthenware there are forms with their origin in western Europe/Germany and also Baltic ware with features of Slavic vessels. Sherds of Paffrath and Pingsdorf types have been found in layers belonging to the period 1100–1150, which may be a sign of very early contact with Germany.¹³¹ It is not until the mid-twelfth century that the composition of the pottery shows a closer link with western Europe, when a large number of sherds of Paffrath type appear together with Pingsdorf ware and fully developed Stamford ware.¹³² At the end of the century there was also pottery of Andenne and Rouen type, and ware from several English production centres is represented. The orientation to western trade was accentuated in the subsequent period, expanding vigorously in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The ceramic profile of the town was thus dominated by western ware types throughout the Middle Ages, although the early black earthenware displays forms from both German and Slavic stylistic traditions. This does not mean that the vessels were imported from these two areas; it is merely an indication of the direction of links with Lödöse. Broadly speaking, three groups of early black earthenware dominate here. The first is a local continuation of Late Viking Age household ceramics, the second is Baltic ware, and the third type comprises simple round-based cooking pots with everted rims (fig. 129).

Lödöse between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

Lödöse's western links are evident in the pottery right from the establishment of the town. Among the simplest household vessels are *Kugeltöpfe* which suggest the personal presence of potters from the German Empire in the time around 1100. The forms which then occur are also found in source material from this area, and with Paffrath and Pingsdorf ware

¹³⁰ Carlsson 1982, p. 49.

¹³¹ Carlsson 1998, p. 54.

¹³² Carlsson 1998, pp. 43ff.

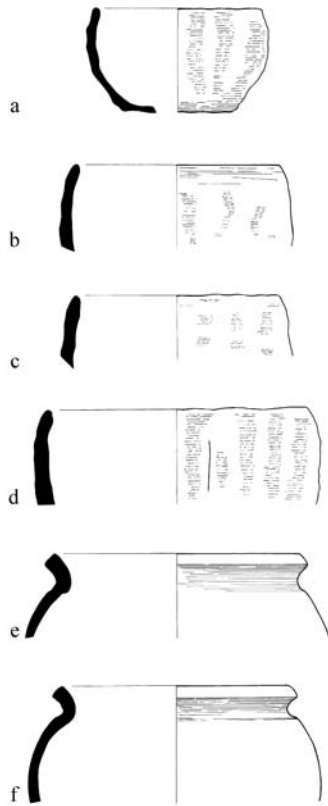


Fig. 129. Lödöse. Areas DC and NE. (a–d) Late Viking Age tradition, (e–f) round-based cooking pots, probably local manufacture inspired by German *Kugeltöpfe*. Scale 1:4.

which arrive at virtually the same time this link is further attested. When late black earthenware (*harte Grauware Variant A*) arrives around 1170 it is probably the same area reinforcing the continued influence in the town. English, French, and Belgian jugs from the High Middle Ages which are found in the deposits likewise urge us to look west. A certainly locally produced type is the small hand-built pots with Late Viking Age forms. The rims are slightly inverted with rounded edges, and in some cases there are short everted rims dated to the time 1170–1350, which is a surprisingly late period for their use. It is uncertain how common this type of ware was before the third quarter of the twelfth century; future investigations may clarify this. What is interesting for the present

study is that household production is attested in a very late phase of the High Middle Ages, at the same time that technically advanced western European ceramics circulated in the town.

German pots thus arrived in Lödöse, both as imports and as stylistic models. Baltic ware has previously been placed among the imports, as signs of contact with the Wends, especially the areas furthest to the west, towards the Elbe.¹³³ Several factors concerning the rims and the decoration of the vessel mouths argue against this origin. The quantity of Baltic ware alone in relation to other low-fired pots indicates how little connection this ware has to the Slavic ceramic tradition. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to which Baltic ware mostly belongs, the Slavic ceramic tradition differs from that in Lödöse. The forms found in the town are poor and most of them can be assigned to one and the same family, which is dominated by short or medium-length everted rims on bulging spherical vessels decorated with parallel lines or simple wavy lines (fig. 130). Vessels of Baltic ware are smaller than the average size of those in the rest of Scandinavia. The course of innovation that can be studied in the coming and disappearance of forms shows a very short period of expansion, 1120/50–1170. The tradition seems to have made a brief impact without leaving any deep traces in kitchen equipment.

Vessels from Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern contemporary with Lödöse are different as regards form and decoration. In the Danish town of Schleswig, Baltic ware disappears around 1200.¹³⁴ In the late phase the rim forms and the variation in the size of vessels is in stark contrast to the material from Lödöse. In Schleswig the pots are bigger and have thicker walls, and people used several different sizes with differing functions in the household. In Oldenburg/Stari-gard the Slavic settlement came to an end in the mid-twelfth century when a German population arrived.¹³⁵ The rims on the youngest pots are usually long and clearly everted. A distinguishing feature of the Oldenburg/Stari-gard Teterow pots is a short vertical part between the shoulder and the rim. Roughly 55% of all Late Slavic pots from the eleventh century up to *c.* 1150 have this accentuation of the neck.

¹³³ Carlsson 1982, p. 49.

¹³⁴ Lüdtké 1985, pp. 48ff.

¹³⁵ Kempke 1984, p. 79.

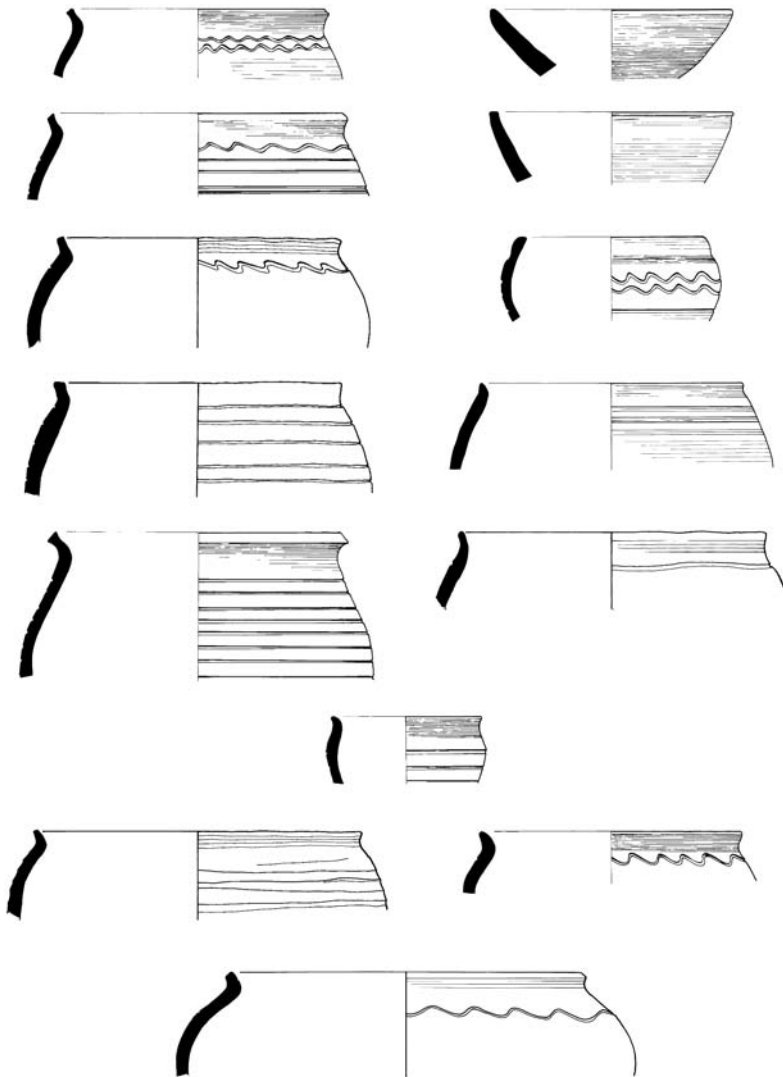


Fig. 130. Lödöse. Areas DC and NE. The most frequent rim forms in the meagre collection of Baltic ware. At the top right are two bowls for oil lamps. Scale 1:4.

The variation and size of the most common vessels argues against an origin in the Slavic Elbe area for the Baltic ware in Lödöse. A similar picture emerges from a consideration of material from other comparable assemblages in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Rare forms such as Garz bowls and Bobzin-like vessels with lids are likewise absent in Lödöse. At least the former could have occurred there if contacts with the West Slavs had been maintained, since they belong to a later group of the Late Slavic vessels, with the earliest dating around 1100.

Why then does Baltic ware occur in this important town in western Sweden? With its location in Västergötland, where Skara and its hinterland have a distinct tradition of Baltic ware, the population of Lödöse could easily bring this style with them or adopt it. Certain forms are shared by both towns, although fundamental differences in the choice of main forms for the rims persist. A cautious interpretation of the connection could be that Baltic ware in Lödöse expressed the dual stylistic tradition with which the potters in the town were confronted. On the one hand the local variant of Baltic ware in Västergötland, on the other hand the newly arrived bulging and round-based cooking pots from Germany. Lödöse's small, spherical pots with everted rims and slightly rebated or convex insides became a local type of ware without any contact with Slavic craftsmen. They were probably made in the household together with the small Late Viking Age vessels.

Conclusion

Baltic ware in Lödöse is a little group consisting of small, spherical cooking pots made in the household and should consequently be viewed as a local product not influenced by Slavic potters. The type occurs in deposits as early as the end of the eleventh century, when the town was established, while the majority are from *c.* 1120–1220. The tradition disappears just before 1300. The most common vessels have everted medium-length rims with rounded or outward-sloping edges and a slightly rebated or convex inside. Together with the remains of Late Viking Age household production, they characterize the kitchen utensils in the same way as in Skara. Western European vessel shapes nevertheless dominate among cooking vessels throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both as imports and through stylistic influence.

Rural Västergötland

In the introduction to the presentation of Baltic ware from Skara I pointed out some essential lines of development for Västergötland as a whole. The province had a distinct political identity *vis-à-vis* the other central areas in the kingdom, Östergötland and the Mälaren valley. This position was based on a good agrarian economy and the hierarchization of local families, each marking its distinctive character. Västergötland chose its own course in the power struggle in Scandinavia, performing a balancing act for which contacts with Denmark and the other parts of kingdom of Sweden served as counterweights.

Rural Västergötland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

Apart from the copious amounts of pottery from Skara and Lödöse, the source material from Västergötland is meagre. The countryside is represented by settlement site material from Berghem and Råda.

Berghem in the south of the province was situated beside the River Nissan and thus along one of the roads linking the coast with the interior of Västergötland. Baltic ware from Berghem mostly consisted of sherds with inverted rims and inward-sloping and rounded edges (fig. 131). A single short vertical rim deviates from the rest of the pottery, which shows a limited number of forms. No everted rims, cylindrical necks, or special forms were found among the sherds. The potter used a turntable, as is evident from the horizontal traces on the body of the pot.

From *Råda* come a couple of pots, one of which has an everted rim with a medium-length, rounded edge and convex inside (fig. 132 a). The outside is decorated with irregular parallel lines which testify to the use of a slowly rotating turntable. The other rim is inverted.

A further six vessels from Västergötland are mentioned by Selling in her dissertation. From a cremation grave without datable finds in Assartorp, Borgund Parish, comes a pot with a long, sweeping everted rim, rounded edge, and convex inside (fig. 132 b).¹³⁶ A relatively sharp, short vertical shoulder is followed by a body with parallel lines as the only decoration. In Finnestorp, Malma Parish, a hearth pit yielded a vessel with a simple short vertical rim with rounded edge and straight inside (fig. 132 c).¹³⁷ The decoration is clumsily executed as a zigzag line

¹³⁶ Selling 1955, Abb. 23:13, Taf. 10:5.

¹³⁷ Selling 1955, Abb. 32:35.

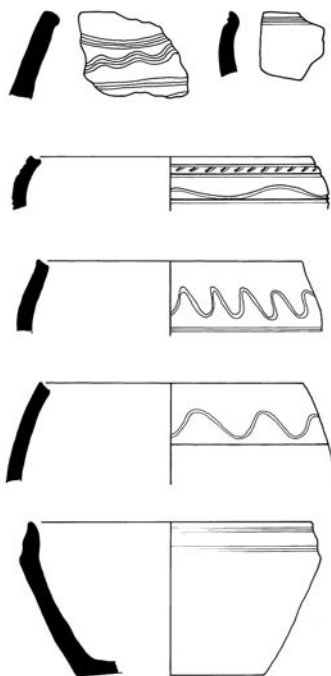


Fig. 131. Rural Västergötland. Berghem. The Baltic ware mostly has inverted rims. Scale 1:4.

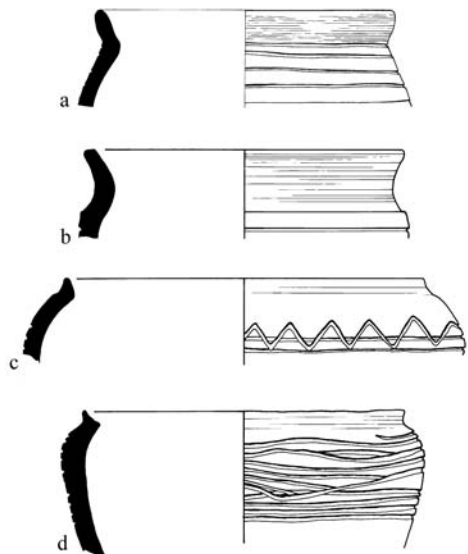


Fig. 132. Rural Västergötland. Baltic ware from (a) Råda, (b) Finnestorp, (c) Rättaregården, and (d) Assartorp. Scale 1:4.

combined with parallel lines. Yet another short vertical rim, although with a horizontal edge and a cleft inside, has been found together with several other sherds in an excavation of a stone circle in Karlsberg, Larv Parish.¹³⁸ The design is simple, as is the decoration consisting of stick marks above a coarse parallel line. Another identified sherd from the same assemblage is an inverted rim with a rounded edge and with indistinct oblique stick marks.¹³⁹ From a cremation grave at Rättaregården, Tun Parish, comes a pot with an inverted rim (fig. 132 d).¹⁴⁰ The simple form with inward-sloping rim and irregularly executed decoration with lines suggests that the pot was rotated slowly on a turntable. A finger drawn just under the rim on the outside supplements the decoration, simultaneously giving an extended, lip-shaped lower edge.

Finally we may mention a totally different vessel with an inverted rim and a moulding at the rim and irregular line decoration on the outside.¹⁴¹ The composition of the finds in the cremation grave from Västergården in Stora Mellby Parish from which it comes means that the vessel should not be reckoned as Baltic ware; it is instead connected to Middle Slavic Fresendorf ware, since the grave also contained a buckle dated to the ninth century, iron nails, lumps of glass, paste beads, and a clay spindle whorl. The manufacture and use of this vessel took place in an earlier period of contact with the West Slavic area.

Altogether the grave finds and stray finds from rural Västergötland show that short vertical and inverted rims are common there too, as in Skara and Berghem. The only deviating example is the vessel from Assartorp with its long everted rim.

One of the main questions in this study is when Baltic ware gained a foothold in Scandinavia, and in the province of Västergötland. When Skara and Lödöse were founded the households had Baltic ware among their pottery. The towns emerged after the new type of ware came into use in Scandinavia and the information from the earliest deposits cannot help us with the dating of its arrival in the area as a whole. The rural material is not so extensive and is at the same time difficult to date, so the dynamic of the establishment cannot be captured there either. The closest to a dating that we can come is the indirect conclusions that can be drawn on the basis of the vessels from the cremation graves in

¹³⁸ Selling 1955, Abb. 32:34, Taf. 28:6.

¹³⁹ Selling 1955, Abb. 24:12.

¹⁴⁰ Selling 1955, Abb. 24:14, Taf. 11:5.

¹⁴¹ Selling 1955, Abb. 25:24, Taf. 13:4.

Assartorp and Rättaregården. Västergötland was one of the provinces that was Christianized early on, besides which it was a core area from which the mission proceeded. The find contexts in both cases are not certainly recorded, but if the information is correct they should be dated at the latest to the eleventh century, perhaps the first half. The vessels from Råda are crudely dated to the eleventh century. From this it is evident that we cannot yet obtain a sure date for the start of the manufacture of Baltic ware in Västergötland. Some time during the eleventh century the potters slowly began to replace the Late Viking Age tradition.

The other main question concerns the forms of Baltic ware and its origin in relation to the pottery in the region and the Slavic areas. The situation that we noted in Skara, with contemporary manufacture of pots in the Late Viking Age style and of Baltic ware, can also be discerned in the countryside. In Berghem we find both types of ware together. How long parallel production went on in the countryside has not yet been investigated. Since urban settings are mostly centres of innovation, it ought not to be too far-fetched to assume that the Late Viking Age forms were in continued use in the countryside in the thirteenth century as well. If we look at Baltic ware in rural Västergötland, we see that it is represented by a few vessels which show that inverted rims are in the majority. Short vertical rims also occur and to a smaller extent everted ones. On the other hand, cylindrical necks are not found at all, nor are there any special forms. Manufacture was done on a turntable, but the outside, rims, and decoration of the vessels show that the speed of rotation was low. The simplicity and the presence of an earlier tradition give the impression that farms manufactured the pots they required, without the need for any specialized craftsmen.

The conclusions concerning production and forms lead to a similar result as for Skara on the matter of the inspiration and origin of Baltic ware in Västergötland. Analogies to the forms in the Slavic material in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries are few in number, and those that exist are associated with the simplest inverted rims, which are weak evidence of direct style transfer. The decoration in Västergötland differs greatly in quality from the Late Slavic material, above all due to the technique of building up pots on slowly rotating turntables in Västergötland. Instead the local connection between town and country is very strong. Among the forms, inverted rims with the edge sloping inwards are in the majority in both contexts. The everted rim from Råda can

also be found in the town. The inverted rims with wavy line and line decoration from Berghem can also be found in Skara. Drawn fingers at the edge of the rim on vessels from Berghem and Rättaregården are a characteristic detail in the design of vessels in Skara. As in Skara, the absence of cylindrical necks is an indication that there was a shared aesthetic and similar needs as regards vessel functions. On the other hand, the pattern of consumption differed as regards special forms, since people in Skara used oil lamps and lids.

If I am correct in assuming that contacts between Skara and eastern Denmark led to the transfer of Baltic ware as a part of the household service in the town, then this should also apply to the countryside. The development of the new tradition was based on connections within Scandinavia rather than commercial contacts with Slavic areas.

Conclusion

In the eleventh century there was a change in Västergötland's ceramic tradition when households, under influence from eastern Denmark, began to manufacture Baltic ware. The changes comprised both technique and forms, although with links to the continued Late Viking Age pottery seen in the predominant shape. Inverted rims with inward-sloping edges were preferred, but occasional short vertical and everted rims were also produced. No cylindrical necks or special forms have been found in the countryside, and the vessels are small to medium-sized. Other types of ware than Late Viking Age pottery and Baltic ware are not found among the sherds. Apart from the initial contact with Danish potters, the range of forms in the region seems to be closed. The upper time limit for Baltic ware cannot be captured in the rural material. If we accept the datings from Skara, the tradition ended in the mid-thirteenth century.

Östergötland

Skänninge, Linköping and Söderköping

In the Middle Ages Östergötland was a nursery for claimants to the royal throne. The dynasties of Sverker and Erik, and the Bjälbo dynasty, had their family estates in the fertile province and derived their political power from the local elite. We find the clearest evidence of this first in Sverker of Kaga and his wife Ulfhild, who were behind the foundation of the Cistercian abbey at Alvastra 1143. Control over the province in

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries lay in the hands of powerful men with grand aspirations and a need for external contacts to consolidate their position.

Östergötland's three early medieval towns—Skänninge, Linköping, and Söderköping—form a line running from west to east in rich agricultural country. Along this line we find most of the Romanesque stone churches in the province, above all in the western area where the economic centre of gravity lay in the Early Middle Ages. That this was also the case in the Late Viking Age is evident from the fact that the largest number of runic stones in Östergötland were raised in the same area. In previous research the places have been treated together because of the different functions they had in the province, and this will also happen here.¹⁴² Norrköping likewise shows features which make the site into an early medieval central place before the urban structure was established, but no Baltic ware has been documented by the excavations there.

What the three places have in common is that a phase with more extensive settlement and household activities preceded the establishment of the town proper, characterized by regulated plots and streets and archaeological evidence of craft and trade.¹⁴³ They all had at least one church built in the eleventh century with carved slabs of Eskilstuna type among the graves. The functions of the individual towns showed differing emphases. *Skänninge* is considered to have been a central place for the economically important western part of the province. Surplus agricultural produce was brought here from the surrounding countryside, and trade was facilitated by the establishment of the market square in the present-day Järntorgsparken. The position by the River Skenaån with the potential to power mills, and with several communication routes meeting here, has been held up as decisive for the localization.

Linköping is elusive as a secular central place as regards archaeological evidence. Very little is known about medieval Linköping both because there have been so few excavations in the town and also because of the very small size of the medieval settlement. The deposits of occupation layers are very thin, and no remains of structures can be traced until the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁴ Above all, the function as an ecclesiastic centre

¹⁴² Andersson 1990, pp. 46ff.; Broberg & Hasselmo 1978; Hasselmo 1983, pp. 53ff.

¹⁴³ Hasselmo 1992.

¹⁴⁴ Feldt & Tagesson 1997, p. 75.

was important. A bishop is mentioned as early as 1120. The choice of placing was possibly steered by the proximity to *Lionga thing*, the assembly site. It cannot be denied that Linköping played an important administrative role for the province; however, the extent of the early medieval settlement and the activities there requires much more study.

This is not at all the case with *Söderköping* in the very east of the province. Rich finds have been made in the thick deposits in this town, both settlement remains and artefacts. A clear picture of an important place with external contacts emerged during the 1980s and 1990s.¹⁴⁵ As the only coastal settlement in the province and with its location at the confluence of the Storån, Lillån, and Slätbaken, it was natural that Söderköping served as the gateway to Östergötland for all external relations, both ecclesiastical and secular. The roots go back to the eleventh century, when Sankt Drotten was built on the north bank of the Storån, with the royal estate overlooking the church from its location south of the river. The importance of the place is also underlined by the runic stones erected in the area where the central place developed. The confluence of the rivers made this a fine place for people in the region to meet, supervised by the king's administrators. Söderköping's first period as a central place in the east of the province is not evident from the archaeological source material. Two phases preceding the regulated urban settlement have been observed. Faint remains in the form of hearths and waste pits and a few finds indicate that people may have lived there in the late eleventh century or early twelfth century. The dating of the first pre-urban phase is based on combs, most of which are from the twelfth century, and the occurrence of Baltic ware. In the period 1140–1200 the settlement became more distinct, with hints of regulation and contacts with other peoples around the Baltic Sea. For this period the dating is based on dendrochronological results and the use of *Kugeltopf* ware from the west. Just after 1200 the town expanded in population and area in a short time, to comprise the banks of all three rivers. The increasingly used streets and the square were paved with planking, and accessibility from the water was improved. It was not until this phase that Söderköping became a town in the true sense. For all three places, the establishment of the town proper was only completed in the first half of the thirteenth century. It is hard to prove that the functions were divided as has been suggested, but the

¹⁴⁵ Hasselmo 1992; Tesch & Hasselmo 1987.

activities in Skänninge may have been connected to a need for contact with the richer western part of Östergötland, while Linköping had more administrative duties as a bishop's seat and the site of a judicial assembly. Söderköping, facing the sea, invited visitors and more supra-regional mercantile contacts.

The external contacts that the three towns in Östergötland maintained are difficult to capture in other material than pottery since most artefact groups have not yet been presented in any archaeological synthesis. From Skänninge there are no studies describing the ceramic profile of the town, whereas Linköping has recently been given a more distinct profile and Söderköping is well documented. From Skänninge there is information about the occurrence of early black earthenware, early red earthenware, and early stoneware.¹⁴⁶ Linköping has a small amount of pottery from the period on which the present study focused. From about the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century we find occasional sherds of local Late Viking Age type. There are all the more remains of late black earthenware, cooking pots with three legs and handles. Glazed early red earthenware with white slip and roulette decoration, applied scales and mouldings of Bruges/Aardenburg type occur in Linköping. Early stoneware was used as tableware from the end of the thirteenth century, with the majority of the sherds deposited in the first half of the following century. Wholly vitrified stoneware was subsequently the predominant type of ware for jars.

In Söderköping people continued to make traditional Late Viking Age pottery until the mid-thirteenth century. The rim is always inverted with the edge sloping inwards, horizontal, or pointed-oval (fig. 133).¹⁴⁷ The fabric is hard, black, and sometimes with a large quantity of sand, which can make it bewilderingly like Baltic ware, but the forms—vertical grooves drawn on the surface of the vessel—and the absence of decoration mean that the vessels differ from Baltic ware. The latter has been documented in the early medieval layers. The presence of this Slavic-influenced pottery has been interpreted as evidence of trade with Slavic areas, which then shifted in favour of Germany in the twelfth century.¹⁴⁸ A particularly interesting group is therefore the German *Kugeltöpfe* and their offshoots in the form of locally made pots. Already

¹⁴⁶ Hasselmo 1983, p. 51.

¹⁴⁷ Broberg & Hasselmo 1981, p. 39, fig. 18.

¹⁴⁸ Hasselmo 1992, p. 43.

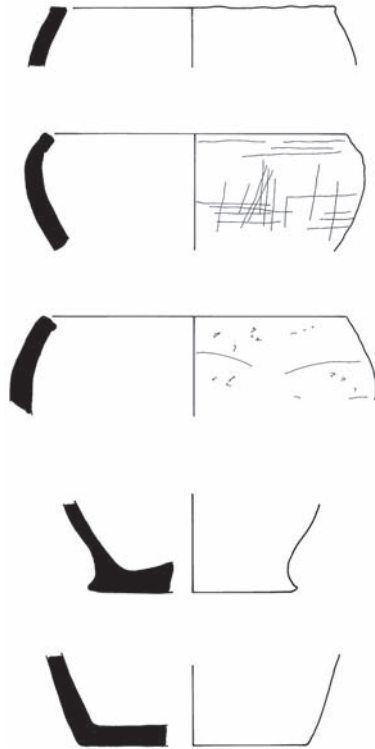


Fig. 133. Söderköping. Late Viking Age pottery from the von Platen and Hertigen blocks. Scale 1:4.

in the mid-twelfth century the first round-based pots arrived in the town, corresponding to the first legless hard-fired cooking pots which occur in Germany at the same time, that is, *harte Grauware variant A*. The vessels reached the households in the period 1140–1200 and were used until the mid-thirteenth century. At the same time, local manufacture of similar spherical vessels with everted rims arose on a small scale (fig. 134).¹⁴⁹ An earlier ceramic tradition that dominated the time from the twelfth century to the mid-thirteenth was succeeded by three-legged pots of late black earthenware (*harte Grauware variant B*), jugs of the same ware, and a large quantity of early red earthenware. Judging by illustrations, several of them are of Bruges/Aardenburg type with roulette-patterned

¹⁴⁹ Broberg & Hasselmo 1981, p. 38, fig. 18 b.

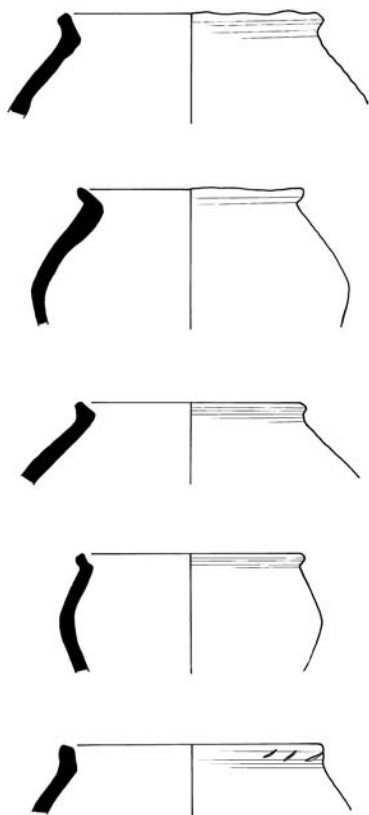


Fig. 134. Söderköping, von Platen and Hertigen. Local variants of Western European *Kugeltöpfe*. Scale 1:4.

bodies or with moulding and scale decoration.¹⁵⁰ A small amount of Paffrath-like ware and vessels from the Andenne or Meuse area have also been found in the town, as have pots of white clay from France and England.¹⁵¹ Early stoneware appears relatively late bearing in mind the start of this production in Germany around 1200. Guests in Söderköping brought along such jugs and jars from the second half of the century. The set of pottery from the period covered by this study up to *c.* 1300 proves to be highly varied, giving the impression that Söderköping had exchange with several trading partners.

¹⁵⁰ Broberg & Hasselmo 1981, pp. 42ff., fig. 18 g-i.

¹⁵¹ Broberg & Hasselmo 1981, p. 119.

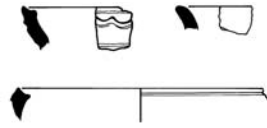


Fig. 135. Linköping. Baltic ware and the presumed Rus' rim at the top left. Scale 1:4.

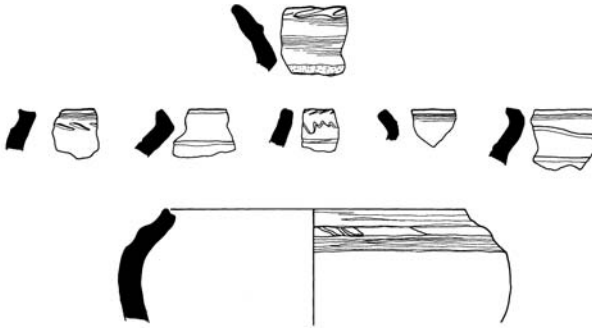


Fig. 136. Skänninge, Järntorgsparken and the Nunnan block. Baltic ware, and at the top the presumed Rus' rim. Source material analysed in 2006 gives a clearer picture of rim forms in Skänninge. Of the 164 identifiable rims, 59% are inverted, 33% everted, 7% short vertical, and 1% with a short cylindrical neck (Roslund in print). Scale 1:4.

Skänninge, Linköping, and Söderköping between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

The three towns in Östergötland display both similarities and differences when it comes to the ceramic profile of early black earthenware. Household-manufactured pottery of Late Viking Age type lingers in the material from all these places, and in Söderköping we can follow it up to the mid-thirteenth century or just after. Western European forms seem to have been reproduced by potters in Söderköping, which with its inter-regional trading contacts received many German guests. Yet even among Baltic ware there are contrasts. Skänninge and Linköping have a similar range of very simple forms, not accentuated and with inverted or short vertical rims which resemble the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition. Söderköping's more varied and morphologically expressive set, with a preference for distinctly everted rims, suggests closer contacts with other regions.

For the two towns in the interior of the province it is not possible to capture any chronological development (fig. 135 and 136). In Skänninge

there are short everted and short vertical rims and a tiny proportion of inverted rims. A very simple range of forms is found in this meagre material, alongside the absence of more accentuated details such as long, rebated, or inward-sloping everted rims. Söderköping, on the other hand, shows interesting results if we wish to study the earliest phase of establishment for Baltic ware. It is clear that Baltic ware occurs in the earliest phases from just before or after 1100 in the Hertigen block. The majority of this ware, however, comes in the next pre-urban phase. As much as 60% of all rims, bases, and decorated body sherds are found in the period *c.* 1140–1200 and 24% after this, with a later limit at *c.* 1250. In other words, 84% of all units occur in a hundred-year period. At the same time the set of pots in the town households was dominated by Western European forms, both imported and local. Parallel to these sets of foreign origin, very simple household vessels were still manufactured in the town. In the mid-thirteenth century, then, we find a declining or even abandoned tradition of early coarse-tempered pots built up by hand or on turntables, being replaced by more professional production. The most common products are a group of pots with almost cylindrical appearance with a horizontal rim edge and straight inside (fig. 137). Altogether, the observations give the impression that a normal pot of Baltic ware type in Söderköping had an everted rim with a horizontal or sloping edge and straight or rebated inside. If we try to discern a course of innovation despite the small number of rims, we find that the period before 1140 is very weakly represented. It is not until the period 1140–1200 that we can reckon with a clear breakthrough for Baltic ware. After 1200 the number of forms decreases. Newly added rim types show the same tendency, with an even more obvious concentration in the second quarter of the twelfth century. The relation between new and abandoned forms shows negative figures already after 1200, which also gives the impression that Baltic ware is closely connected to the twelfth-century household, where oil lamps were also part of the pottery, and possibly lids.

In all the towns a group of sherds has also been observed which may be Late Slavic pottery. Thin-walled and with hard fabric and accentuated shape, they clearly differ from the related simpler type. There is a hint of imports of vessels from Slavic areas where specialization in the potter's craft had gone further than in Sweden. The earliest evidence can be found in the period 1140–1200, where all the known rims belong. Both the cylindrical neck and the long everted rim have

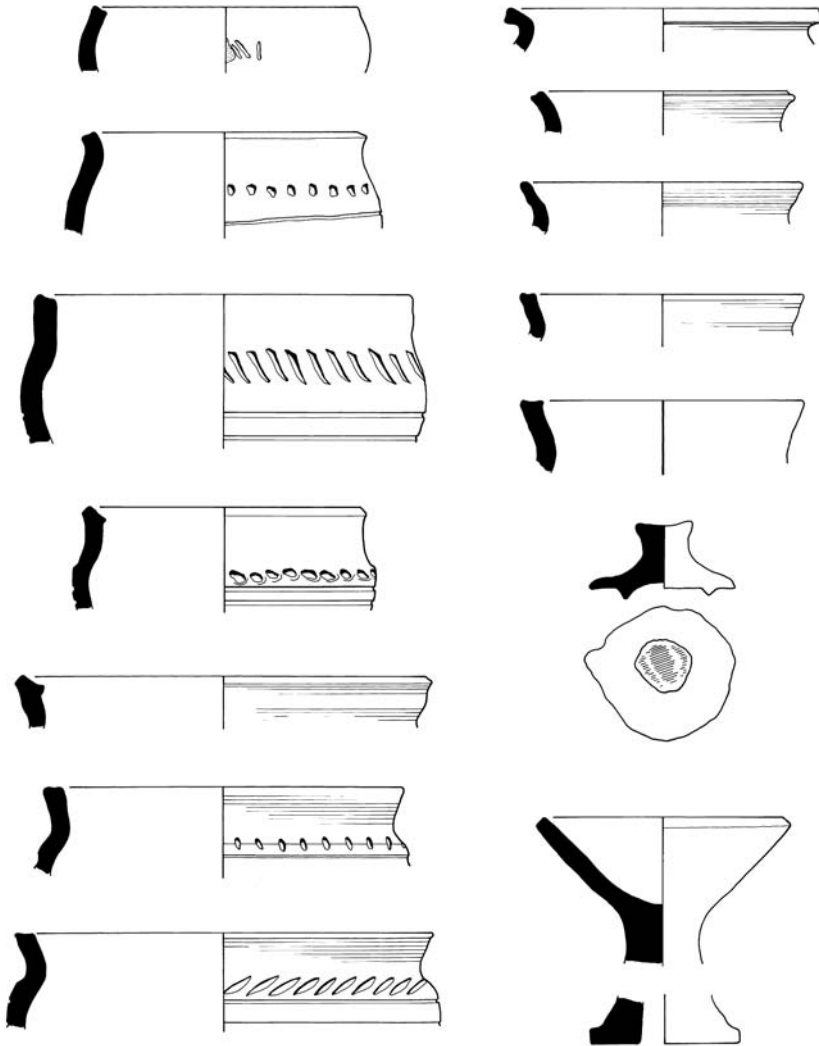


Fig. 137. Söderköping, von Platen and Hertigen. Baltic ware. At the bottom right are a lid and an oil lamp. Scale 1:4.

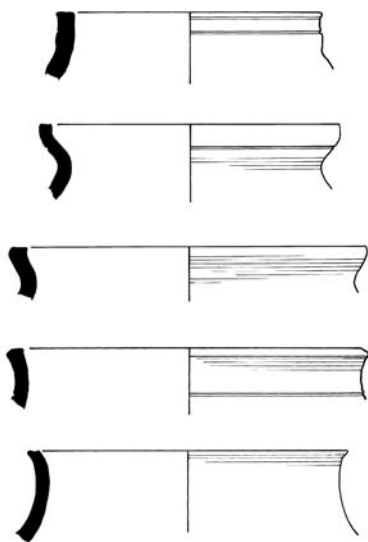


Fig. 138. Söderköping, von Platen and Hertigen. Vessels of presumed Rus' origin. Scale 1:4.

clear parallels in Rus' pottery manufacture (fig. 138). The former is in the Hertigen block in Söderköping, dated to the period *c.* 1140–1200, and according to Russian datings should be in the early part of that range. The everted rim is a typical representative of forms from the twelfth century or early thirteenth century. The same applies to the long everted rim from Skänninge and the wave-decorated rim from Linköping (figs. 135, uppermost to the left and 136, uppermost). The attribution is still only tentative, since the clay has not been analysed and there are few forms.

Conclusion

In the three towns of Skänninge, Linköping, and Söderköping there was local household production in the Early Middle Ages which probably ceased around the mid-thirteenth century. The forms proceeded from the Late Viking Age tradition, dominated by inverted rims. Baltic ware was developed within a Scandinavian contact sphere and has nothing to do with southward links with the Wends. The forms of the inverted, short vertical, or simple everted rims have more in common with other local traditions in central Sweden and Gotland. On the other hand, we find ware of high quality and with accentuated forms in the three towns. Söderköping, as a market town, was most important in contacts

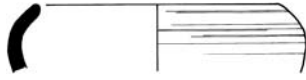


Fig. 139. Rural Östergötland. Borg. Vessel of Late Viking Age type with smooth surface and hard fabric. Scale 1:4.

with the outside world, and it is there we find most vessel fragments. The rims that can be reconstructed might have parallels in Rus', where Pskov and Novgorod were important points of contact. They possibly originated there. Both Baltic and Late Slavic ware can be found in the first half of the twelfth century in Söderköping. The Baltic ware tradition as a whole seems to come to an end in the mid-thirteenth century, when the proportion of German vessels increases, reflecting the new main trend in connections.

Rural Östergötland

In the rich province of Östergötland, the towns were places for the consumption of the surplus agricultural produce. In the Middle Ages trade and contacts within the province and with other regions was channelled to Skänninge, Linköping, and above all Söderköping. The central location is highlighted by the string of early medieval churches in the arable district and the establishment of monasteries in the same region. Despite this wealth, rural Östergötland is indistinct in archaeological terms. As with other parts of Sweden, there is little source material. Only occasional sherds can be presented from most sites. A unique place which differs in this respect is the manor of Borg in the parish of the same name, where a rich body of artefacts from the Late Iron Age and Middle Ages has been excavated. There is a smaller amount of material from Pryssgården in the same province.

Rural Östergötland between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

In the Late Viking Age the inhabitants of Östergötland made their own pottery according to well-internalized norms for technique and form. In Borg we still find these older forms in contexts from the early thirteenth century, albeit in well-fired ware (fig. 139). The dating is confirmed by observations from Söderköping, where indigenous pots with inverted rims circulated in households until the mid-thirteenth century. Among the sherds of the indigenous type we find examples of the adoption of decorative elements from the new Baltic ware in the province.

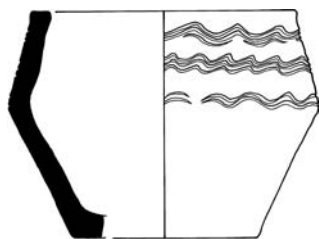


Fig. 140. Rural Östergötland. Översta, Askeby Parish. Vessel from a cremation grave without grave goods. Scale 1:4.

The earliest dating of the new tradition of Baltic ware is elusive. One hint can be obtained from some vessels used in the pre-Christian burial ritual. In Dagmar Selling's analysis of early black earthenware in Sweden she describes four AII vessels from Östergötland, two of which were deposited in cremation graves.¹⁵² The vessel with an inverted rim and horizontal edge from *Översta*, Askeby Parish, has a distinct biconical silhouette and the outside decorated with three wavy bands on the upper part (fig. 140). It displays a clear similarity to a vessel from the Menkendorf *Reihe* 3 found in the fortress of Mecklenburg and may thus be from the tenth century.¹⁵³ No other grave goods were registered together with it. This is the case, however, with a vessel from *Solberga* in the same parish.¹⁵⁴ The rim is inverted with a rounded edge and soft shoulder decorated with parallel lines. The content of the cremation grave consisted of handle attachments of bronze, pins from two bronze fibulae, two glass plates, and ten glass beads. The little vessel with a cylindrical, short everted neck from *Landeryd* comes with no further details about the find circumstances, but it agrees well with other forms in the province.¹⁵⁵ In view of Östergötland's central role in Christianization, the cremation graves are probably not later than the eleventh century. We cannot arrive at a closer dating of the first occurrences of Baltic ware.

Borg Manor beside today's Norrköping belonged to the king during the Middle Ages.¹⁵⁶ Because it was royal property and thus differed in

¹⁵² Selling 1955, Taf. 7:6, 16:1, 31:5.

¹⁵³ Schuldt 1956, Abb. 10e.

¹⁵⁴ Selling 1955, Taf. 16:1.

¹⁵⁵ Selling 1955, Taf. 31:5.

¹⁵⁶ Lindeblad & Nielsen 1997.

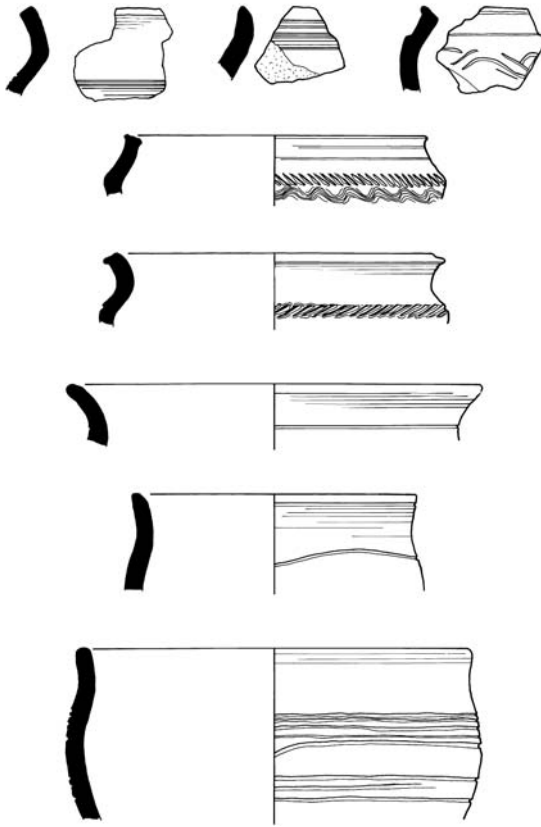


Fig. 141. Rural Östergötland. Borg Manor. Baltic ware. Scale 1:4.

function from other villages, it is difficult to see the ceramic forms from there as representative of all of Östergötland. A royal estate with a central function would probably have been more inclined to maintain contacts with foreign guests and have a higher degree of division of labour than other agrarian units. The chances that Baltic ware would gain a foothold early on were good.

The Baltic ware from Borg is the largest assemblage of source material from the province, despite the fact that we have only nine rims and one base. The most common form is everted rims with the edge sloping outwards, but there is also one short vertical rim and two inverted rims (fig. 141). The form of the cylindrical necks is restrained, and the main form cannot be compared with the distinct necks we find at Sigtuna or the closer Söderköping. The set of pots did not include any special forms, at least judging by the limited source material.

The fragments from Borg come from three different contexts which can be broadly dated. A fragment of a rim is assigned a range from the Late Iron Age to some time in the eleventh century. Five of the vessels were found in or beside an oven in a house radiocarbon-dated to 1070–1279. Discussion of the internal stratigraphy has led to a narrower chronological framework, suggesting that the house to which the oven belonged was built some time in the eleventh century and stood until a short time into the twelfth century.¹⁵⁷ Another group of vessels comes from a layer that represents a later phase on the site than the preceding context. A *terminus post quem* for deposits can be set in the late twelfth century. An important observation for the closing date for Baltic ware in Borg is the fact that no units exist in contexts later than *c.* 1250. If we divide the vessels into the respective periods, we find that the group of five rims and one base differs in form and decoration from the three rims from the layer on the cobbling of the yard. In the first group we find both clearly faceted everted rims and one everted and two cylindrical necks with gently rounded rim edges of uniform design. A rough dating suggested for this group is *c.* 1050–1150. The later group also displays shared features. One everted rim and the two inverted rims all have a distinct transition between shoulder and body, so sharp that the rim seems to be directly placed on the body. A bold guess would place these pots in the time from *c.* 1150 with an even more diffuse terminus in the mid-thirteenth century. The source material is too small to allow us to draw any far-reaching conclusions about the relation between form, decoration, and chronology. The results suggested here should be critically appraised by other investigations in Östergötland.

Pryssgården is a stone's throw from Borg, north of Motala Ström.¹⁵⁸ Among the structures from the Middle Ages there was a vessel that could be almost totally reconstructed (fig. 142 b). The fine-tempered fabric and the vessel wall, which is only 7 mm thick, gives the impression that the potter was skilled at his craft. The rim is virtually cylindrical but is identified here as long, everted, with a horizontal edge and rebated inside. The decoration consists of a line drawn only three revolutions around the body, on the uppermost part of the shoulder. The vessel is

¹⁵⁷ Lindeblad & Nielsen 1997, pp. 49ff.

¹⁵⁸ Bornha-Ahlkvist *et al.* 1998.

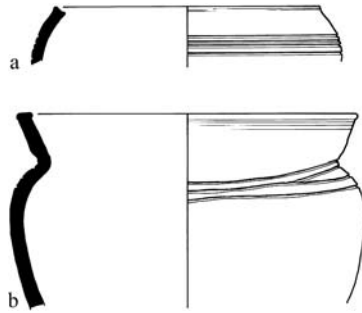


Fig. 142. Rural Östergötland. Baltic ware. (a) Vessel from Västra Bökestad, (b) vessel from Pryssgården. Scale 1:4.

dated to the interval 1044–1190.¹⁵⁹ As a secondary observation it can be compared with Baltic ware in Söderköping. The form resembles the long, everted rims we find there. In a broader geographical perspective, the long everted rims and cylindrical necks associated with these are not common in eastern Sweden until the twelfth century. A good guess is that the vessel belongs in this century.

A fragment of a vessel with an inverted rim comes from *Västra Bökestad* within the boundary of the present-day city of Linköping. The edge slopes inwards and the fabric is only 5 mm thick and well-fired (fig. 142 a). Occasional fragments or reconstructable vessels have also been found at *Stora Ullevi*, *Klinga*, *Valla*, *Ringstad*, *Svintuna*, and beside *Borg church*. A measure of how common or integrated Baltic ware was in life in the early medieval countryside comes from the relationship to indigenous pottery from an excavation at *Stora Ullevi* just outside Linköping. Among 69 units, 16 were decorated with lines or waves, unlike the traditional ware, which is undecorated. The distribution of Baltic ware was thus relatively widespread if we consider the small number of known rural excavations, and sherds have been found at most sites excavated in recent years. An important observation is thus that Baltic ware is found at all early medieval settlements in Östergötland.

All the main forms occur in the material from Östergötland. Most common are everted rims, chiefly long ones. Slightly clumsily shaped cylindrical necks with gently rounded forms are found in Borg together with inverted and short vertical rims. Since the source material is so

¹⁵⁹ Borna-Ahlkvist *et al.* 1998, p. 140.

small, it is not relevant to say which individual form is most common. If we look at the manufacture of Baltic ware in the town and the countryside as a whole, we see an agreement in forms in several respects. The majority of the vessels can be dated to the twelfth century and are simply, sometimes clumsily, executed. The relative distribution of the main forms is the same at Söderköping and Berga, with everted rims in the majority at both places, followed by cylindrical necks. In the countryside, however, we do not find special forms or examples of the thin and hard ware that may have been imported from Russia.

The inspiration for Baltic ware in rural Östergötland, as in most other parts of Scandinavia, does not primarily come from Slavic potters. The slightly clumsy manufacture of the vessels and vague analogies in the Slavic core areas make it difficult to ascribe the pottery to immigrant craftsmen or visiting merchants. The development is instead linked to changes within Scandinavia and increased integration with other parts of eastern Sweden. The similarities in form are instead found in other places in the diocese of Linköping.

Conclusion

Households in rural Östergötland acquired Baltic ware some time in the early eleventh century. The forms have a regional basis, showing no direct link with Slavic potters. The intensity of the integration is seen in the fact that it is unearthed by most excavations in the countryside and that the relative proportions of the older and the newer tradition are much the same. Late Viking Age pots were made in the countryside, as in the town, and the forms displayed by the Baltic ware are also similar. Both types of pottery ceased to be manufactured around 1250.

THE MÄLAREN VALLEY

Around Lake Mälaren the Middle Ages saw the rise of a number of places which acquired a central function in their district. After the change of the economic and political structure around the lake in the second half of the tenth century, settlement started on the shore at the place that would become Sigtuna. For a long time the town was the only place in the area where administrative, religious, and economic functions converged in one unit. The king's presence meant that Sigtuna acted as a magnet on the local elite, who—in the spirit of the time—established ties of friendship with him through pledges and gifts. The population

of the town grew. Other central places took time in emerging. There were no doubt meeting places for limited districts functioning parallel to Sigtuna, but without the political weight and radiance that attracted the interest of foreign powers and thus created an incentive for trade. The towns of Nyköping, Strängnäs, Västerås, Enköping, Södertälje, and Uppsala became important in the twelfth century. Archaeological observations indicate that non-agrarian functions such as craft and exchange may have been attached to some of them as early as the eleventh century. Uppsala's close relationship to the older cultic centre of Gamla Uppsala is important in this respect. For several of these places, however, there is no evidence of an urban infrastructure until the first half of the thirteenth century. This was when settlement was regulated, and we also find more distinct remains in the archaeological record in the form of sturdier buildings, extensive household waste, and residue from several types of craft. After 1250 Stockholm began to grow, after having functioned solely as a control point locking the entrance to Mälaren in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The present work seeks to examine relations with Slavic areas based on Baltic ware. The towns included in the detailed study are those which have this type of pottery in their deposits. The amount of sherds and the quality of the documentation affect our potential for interpretation, but the mere presence of the ware and the qualitative aspects of technique and form are important. Sigtuna is the oldest town and has such a rich body of material that the situation there is presented first. Nyköping, Södertälje, Strängnäs, Västerås, Uppsala, and Stockholm follow, and Baltic ware from these towns is described and put in relation to the course of development in the oldest place as regards origin and dating. Because of its large amount of informative source material, Sigtuna is summed up on its own while the remaining towns are treated together.

Since Sigtuna is the only place that can display a large amount of pottery from the eleventh century, vessels from rural Sörmland and Uppland are very important for the study. It is chiefly graves that have yielded finds, but also occasional farmsteads have been excavated, above all in the late 1980s and the 1990s. Through these sources we can contrast the town with the pattern of consumption in the agrarian context.

Between west and east—black earthenware in Birka

For anyone who has come into contact with Sigtuna's material culture from the Middle Ages it is obvious how important a part Baltic ware played in everyday life. To be able to understand how it could have such an impact in Sigtuna it is necessary to grasp the pattern of ceramic consumption in Birka. We shall therefore take a trip to the island of Björkö before we head north in Mälaren for an in-depth study of Baltic ware in Sigtuna.

Dagmar Selling's analysis of early black earthenware has been commented on earlier in this dissertation. The results of recent years' excavations at Birka have led to finer divisions of the imported ware, simultaneously shedding light on the weakness of Selling's grouping.¹⁶⁰ The overall divisions of the early black earthenware and their relative proportions seem to stand, although the Middle Slavic ware is more common in the harbour area and the town than among the grave vessels with which Selling worked. The most important result is that the identification of fabric and provenance has been refined since the work done in the 1950s. Under the designation AI, a large number of production places have been identified from recent years' excavations in the town. Vessels from Badorf, Walberberg, Mayen, black earthenware from the north side of the Ardennes and Andenne ware have been added to the already known Tating jugs, the so-called Hedeby ware, Hunnenschanz ware, and hand-made West European vessels of unknown provenance.¹⁶¹ Selling also presented an Anglo-Saxon vessel from a grave dated to after 900; this has since been defined more exactly as Lincoln Kiln type.¹⁶² However, the Finno-Ugrian and indigenous Viking Age pottery has not yet been examined in detail. Other more exotic types of pottery are represented in the form of Byzantine amphorae, a Khazar jug, and glazed vessels of Byzantine or Islamic origin.¹⁶³

The most important thing for the discussion here is that Selling's broad AII group has turned out to contain vessels of different provenance and date. The problems with Selling's classification are concretely illustrated in the texts dealing with the material from Birka. She herself pointed to a West Slavic origin, with a broad production area

¹⁶⁰ Ambrosiani & Arrhenius 1973; Callmer 1989; Roslund 1992; Bäck 1995.

¹⁶¹ Ambrosiani & Arrhenius 1973; Bäck 1995.

¹⁶² Selling 1955, p. 61, Taf. 4:1; Vince 1996, p. 23.

¹⁶³ Bäck 1995.

from Śląsk/Silesia in the south to a more concentrated origin on the coast, to be specific, at the Oder estuary. The report from the 1970–1971 excavation on Björkö, by a later team, also claims that the West Slavic influence is strongest, and the vessels are consequently divided into Schuldt's Menkendorf, Feldberg, Fresendorf, Woldegk, and Bobzin groups.¹⁶⁴ In a detailed study of Slavic connections from the eighth to the tenth century, Callmer presents the chronological information that is concealed in the quantitative relationship between the different Middle Slavic ceramic traditions.¹⁶⁵ He believes that the West Slavic contacts with Birka existed already when the town was established at the end of the eighth century. The start of the contacts is confirmed by the sherds of Feldberg type that came to the place up to the mid-ninth century. Another phase begins with a majority of Fresendorf vessels, but this ended soon, in the early tenth century. The later Menkendorf types occur to a very small extent, and the close link to the lands south of the Baltic which was maintained during the preceding two centuries was weakened before the mid-tenth century. Callmer also draws attention to some vessels in the graves which may be of East Slavic origin (fig. 143).¹⁶⁶ The contacts were based on a presence which, unlike the western ones, had a solid foundation by virtue of the long-established personal and cultural connections with the eastern area. The interaction was closer on a personal level so that the material culture was affected by recurrent encounters. That is why we find, already in the last phase of Birka, Late Slavic pots arriving from the east with everted rims. The results of the excavations on Björkö in the 1990s confirm the presence of Middle Slavic pottery.¹⁶⁷

Reflections of contacts with the east even before the mid-tenth century are also seen in the elusive group that may be hand-made vessels of Staraya Ladoga type (fig. 143).¹⁶⁸ It is difficult to say whether this type exists on any large scale, since it risks drowning in the very similar Late Viking Age ware, a category in which Selling actually placed these vessels. It is nevertheless important to stress the ethnic pluralism in which these pots were produced. Staraya Ladoga had a mixed population of Baltic Sea Finns, Balts, Slavs, and Scandinavians when this simple

¹⁶⁴ Ambrosiani & Arrhenius 1973, pp. 142ff.

¹⁶⁵ Callmer 1989, pp. 669ff.

¹⁶⁶ Callmer 1989, p. 672; Björkö graves 51, 138, 914, 1143.

¹⁶⁷ Bäck 1995, pp. 10ff.

¹⁶⁸ Selling 1955, Taf. 45:6, 45:7, 45:8.



Fig. 143. Mälaren valley. Birka. Top, a vessel of Ladoga type from Rus' (grave 894) and under that two turntable-built vessels from Rus' (grave 1143 and grave 914). After Selling 1955, Taf. 45:8, Taf. 18:6, and Taf. 18:7. Not to scale.

household pottery was used, and it was moreover made within a larger area in rural north-west Russia. It should therefore be viewed as an element arriving from a region that later ended up in the expanding kingdom of Kiev, but which at this time in the ninth and tenth centuries was not purely Slavic. The direction of the contacts, on the other hand, corresponds well to the later complex of Rus' vessels.

For the discussion of the presence of foreign guests, the simple cooking vessels are clearer indicators than the transport vessels such as relief band amphorae or special vessels such as Tating jugs. Selling's AI:2 comprises round-based and flat-based pots which occur in small numbers but which show that the guests brought their household pots with them. The copious presence of Middle Slavic ware is evidence of vigorous contacts with the area between the Elbe and the Oder from the end of the eighth century to the start of the tenth century. Feldberg ware was included in an earlier phase, while Fresendorf took its place already in the mid-ninth century. Badorf, Mayen, and Walberberg ware ceased to be produced in their areas of origin around 900.¹⁶⁹ They therefore probably belong to Birka's ninth-century phase, thus also reflecting the decreasing contacts with the west at the start of the tenth century. Until Birka was abandoned, the proportion of East Slavic contacts increased. Before Sigtuna was established there was a situation with external contacts giving a small element of imported pottery from the Rhineland and a larger element from the region between the Elbe and the Oder. Some Baltic Sea Finnish and Rus' vessels show that connections with the east were also maintained.

Around 970 the trading site was abandoned in the wake of the major social changes affecting the region. It is clear that in Birka there were no coins of West European origin, of the kind that would soon reach the new meeting places around the Baltic Sea. Instead the excavations between 1990 and 1995 have yielded a large number of whole and fragmented Arabic silver coins which clearly indicate that the circulation of silver ended with the latest coin, minted in 964–965 A.D.¹⁷⁰ Contacts with distant areas were not totally broken. The crisis, or rather the change, may be seen as a decentralization of the control

¹⁶⁹ Heege 1992, p. 101.

¹⁷⁰ Gustin 2004, p. 15.

over inter-regional connections. We know that the Russian prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich fled from his brother Yaropolk in 977 to “the other side of the sea”, returning with a contingent of Varangians from Scandinavia three years later.¹⁷¹ Where exactly he was during his time in Scandinavia is not known, but in view of the powerful links that had long existed with the Mälaren valley, he could have stayed there. The refugee with his escort would thus have been an eye-witness to the phase of change in the wake of which Birka was brought down, while the political establishment could simultaneously guarantee protection for a wanted pretender to the Rus’ throne. In addition, Vladimir could assemble a retinue in the far from depopulated host country in preparation for his return to Rus’. The archaeological evidence is elusive since some time passed before a new power centre was established. It is difficult to ascertain whether goods from distant places arrived in the Mälaren valley, since the interval is short when measured by archaeological methods. The countryside seems nevertheless to have functioned independently in the tenth and eleventh centuries if we look at the craft activities represented on the farms in Gredelby, Pollista, Sanda, Valsta, and Säby. Trade connections were perhaps carried on by the agrarian units themselves before the new town of Sigtuna reached the status of an inter-regional place of exchange around 1000.

Sigtuna

Sigtuna occupies a special position in the Mälaren valley as the first early medieval town in the area. In the closing phase of the structural change that took place in the second half of the tenth century, when several basic functions in society disappeared and were replaced with new ones, the town was established on the north shore of Mälaren. Dendrochronological datings from the earliest deposits in Sigtuna show that it must have been founded around 980 or the decade before. Trenches dug to mark plot boundaries in the first phase, dividing the available land into a regulated settlement, have been taken as evidence that a superior power controlled the establishment of the place. The discussion of why the town was founded and by whom has been intensive. One view claims that the town was a thrust by the king of Götaland with the aim of forcing a wedge into the pagan Uppland and controlling

¹⁷¹ Nestorskrönikan (Chronicle of Nestor) 1998, p. 68.

power connections there.¹⁷² Analogies have been sought in the expansion of the Danish kingdom from the early power base in the western parts of the country and the establishment of new positions with the aid of the king's vassals in eastern Denmark, above all in Skåne.¹⁷³ In this explanatory model trade as an incentive for the establishment of the town takes second place to power politics. The archaeological source material in Sigtuna indicates that trade with silver as a medium and external contacts were not established until after the town had existed for some time.¹⁷⁴ Knowledge of who the guests were is important for understanding the ceramic development. The Western European connections that Birka maintained up to the mid-tenth century have not left any evidence in the artefacts excavated in Sigtuna. Once the external contacts had been established, it turns out that the Slavic connection survived after Birka had ceased to function as a supraregional meeting place. Above all, the focus on East Slavic areas makes itself felt.¹⁷⁵ A stream of Western European stakeholders such as Frisians and Saxons is clear if we look at the coins circulating in the Baltic area from the end of the tenth century onwards. The runic stone of the Frisian guild in Sigtuna shows that men from the Mälaren valley also travelled westwards to exchange or buy merchandise. I believe, however, that the low proportion of guests from the west, in the sense of personal presence, which was declining already after 900 in Birka, remained small in the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth. It was not until the second half of the twelfth century that western visitors once again came to the Mälaren valley, as reflected in cooking pots and other personal belongings.

The town's ceramic profile shows a heavy preponderance of black earthenware. The composition varies over time between the different wares, but a general picture shows that the indigenous Viking Age tradition still existed when deposits ceased around 1250 (fig. 144). A few examples of Finno-Ugrian pottery have been found, as have early forms of West Europe *Kugeltopf* ware (*weiche Grauware*). The second half of the twelfth century sees the arrival of hard-fired West European vessels with round bases (*harte Grauware variant A*) together with pottery of Andenne, Paffrath, and Pingsdorf type. Tableware in the form of glazed

¹⁷² Tesch 1990.

¹⁷³ Andrén 1983b.

¹⁷⁴ Roslund 1992.

¹⁷⁵ Roslund 1992, 1997.

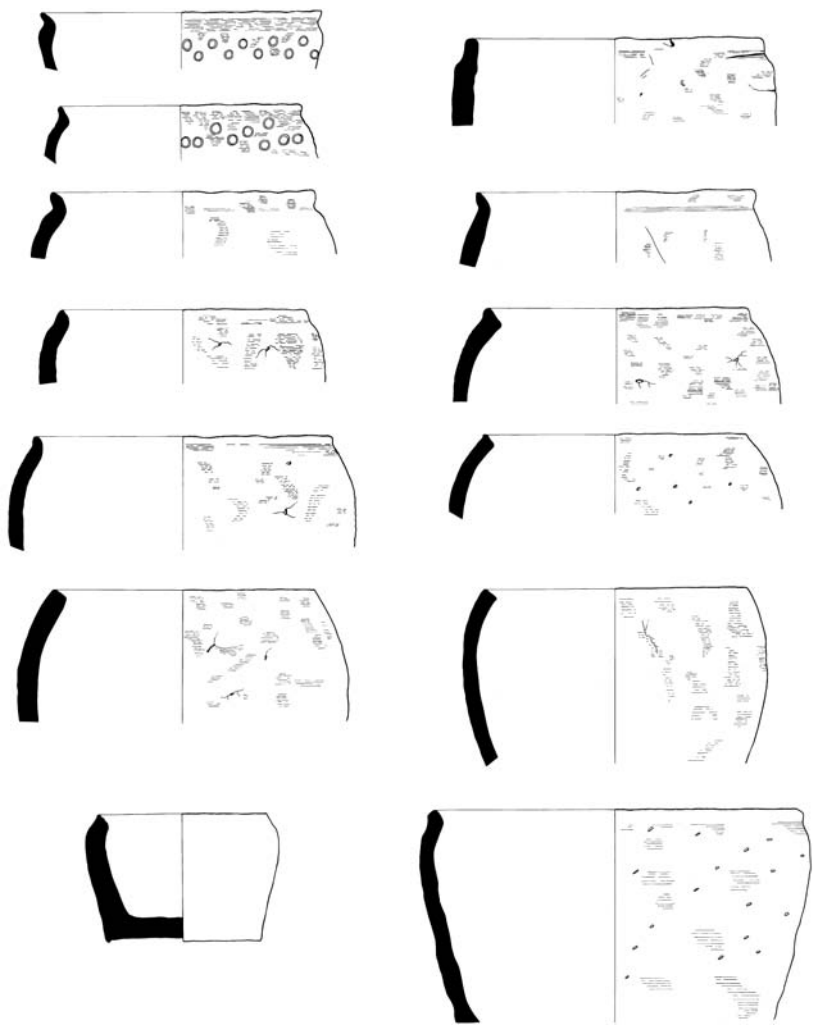


Fig. 144. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Vessels of Late Viking Age type. Scale 1:4.

jugs in white- and red-firing ware exists already in the second half of the twelfth century but increases in scope around 1200, as do vessels of early stoneware. Sigtuna's ceramic profile shows a distinctive local character but simultaneously follows the general ceramic development in the Scandinavian pattern of consumption from the second half of the twelfth century onwards.

Earlier studies of pottery from Sigtuna have been presented in the form of general surveys and a few more detailed texts. Short articles have above all appeared in *Situne Dei*, a periodically published series from Sigtuna Fornhem. In his survey "Sigtuna: Sveriges äldsta medeltidsstad" Erik Flodérus deals briefly with the black earthenware. He mentions there that the vessels "have their models among the Slavs south of the Baltic Sea, from whence some vessels may be imported".¹⁷⁶ Most important, however, is Dagmar Selling's dissertation from 1955 which, besides Birka and Lund, takes its source material from Sigtuna, but the wares and the forms are not presented in quantified form.

An excavation conducted between 1988 and 1990 in the block Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10 provided the conditions for a study of ceramic variation in the town. The location in the town and the diversity of the archaeological source material increases the possibility that the pottery retrieved represents a good cross-section of the ceramic tradition from the period *c.* 980–1250. The deposits from the following period were not intact and we therefore cannot acquire any knowledge about the subsequent development of the pattern of consumption.

Sigtuna between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

The in-depth study of Baltic ware in Sigtuna is the foundation for an increased understanding of the acculturation process that began in Birka and had the effect that this pottery became part of the material culture in the newly established town. The main features show that there were two variants of Baltic ware with clearly defined properties in the quality of the fabric and the mineralogical content. One of these, the local Baltic ware, is a type which, with its low-fired brownish-black fabric, agrees well with the Scandinavian tradition of Baltic ware. The other variant, Late Slavic pottery, is in stark contrast to the former, with its high quality as regards the hardness of the fabric, the even thickness of the walls, and the skilfully executed decoration.

¹⁷⁶ Flodérus 1941, p. 104.

The amount of information that can be extracted from the source material from Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10 makes it possible to capture the dynamic of the production and consumption of everyday pottery in Sigtuna. According to the ceramic profile of the site, there were several different types of black earthenware existing in parallel, originating in different ethnic traditions and varying in their chronological centre of gravity. At the same time, they are the result of different production conditions, with everything from household manufacture for personal needs to more specialized activity. Below I sum up the development of Baltic ware from Sigtuna with supplementary comments on the local Late Viking Age tradition. This must be included in the discussion of the origin of the new ceramic tradition.

Baltic ware in the town shows a highly varied and chronologically differentiated range of forms and decoration. Two separate types can be distinguished on the basis of technological and morphological differences: a local type and a Late Slavic type. If all units of these types are considered, in other words, all the vessel parts, it is clear that both existed throughout the studied period, although the Late Slavic ware is very weakly represented before about 1025 (fig. 145). More certain presence can be found from the last quarter of the eleventh century, but it is not until the first quarter of the twelfth century that a large number of units of Late Slavic vessels are found in the block. It is also obvious that the breakthrough at the end of the eleventh century marks a change in the proportion between the two traditions, since the Late Slavic ware increases gradually from this time compared with the Late Viking Age pottery and the local Baltic ware. From having dominated in households throughout the studied period, the latter decreased somewhat. In the rest of the twelfth century and the start of the thirteenth century the Late Slavic ware instead accounts for a growing share of the total quantity of early black earthenware and is increasing when the deposits cease around 1250.

Another observation is that the wealth of variation is large and changes through time. The rich array of forms and decorations shows that no stereotyped mass production prevailed in Sigtuna. Despite the overwhelming majority of everted rims, there is infinite variation in the details at the micro-level. Potters rounded off their products with artfully shaped rims, through which the differences were accentuated. The choice of rim also distinguishes the two Slavic-inspired wares from each other. With a couple of exceptions, the short vertical and inverted rims are totally absent among the Late Slavic vessels.

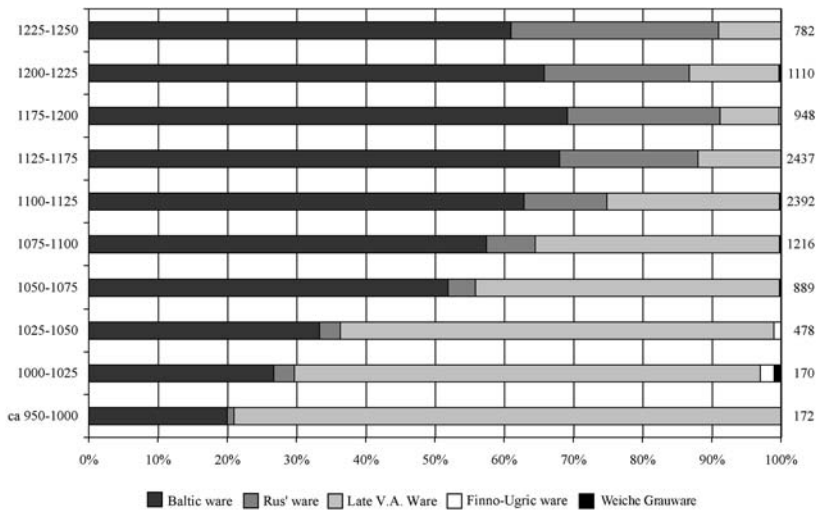


Fig. 145. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Percentage of early black earthenware in each period. A weak presence of Finno-Ugrian pottery (11 units) during the first half of the eleventh century and weiche Grauware (13 units) around 1100 testifies to the presence of people from the Gulf of Finland and the south-west Baltic. Note that the late black earthenware, harte Grauware, is not included in this presentation ($n = 10,594$).

As regards the local Baltic ware, the most common forms of cooking and storage vessels all have everted rims apart from one short vertical rim which differs from the general distribution (fig. 146 a, b, c, d, e). Among the 893 rims, most are medium-length but also show three long variants, and the rim edges slope outwards, are rounded, horizontal, and one slopes inwards. The insides of the rims are convex or straight, and in two cases rebated. The most common type is the everted medium-length rim with outward-sloping edge and convex inside, closely followed by a similar type but with a straight inside (fig. 146 f, g). The next form is a short vertical rim of medium length with a horizontal edge and straight inside (fig. 146 h). The fourth most common form is a long everted rim with a straight inside and outward-sloping edge (fig. 146 i, j). The next place is occupied by two forms, one of which differs greatly from the former with its long everted rim with an inward-sloping edge and rebated inside (fig. 146 k, l). The rim tends to be almost cylindrical, but is too heavily everted and short for this. The other is more normally everted, medium-length with the rim edge sloping outwards and a straight inside (fig. 147 a, b). The sixth most common form deviates in

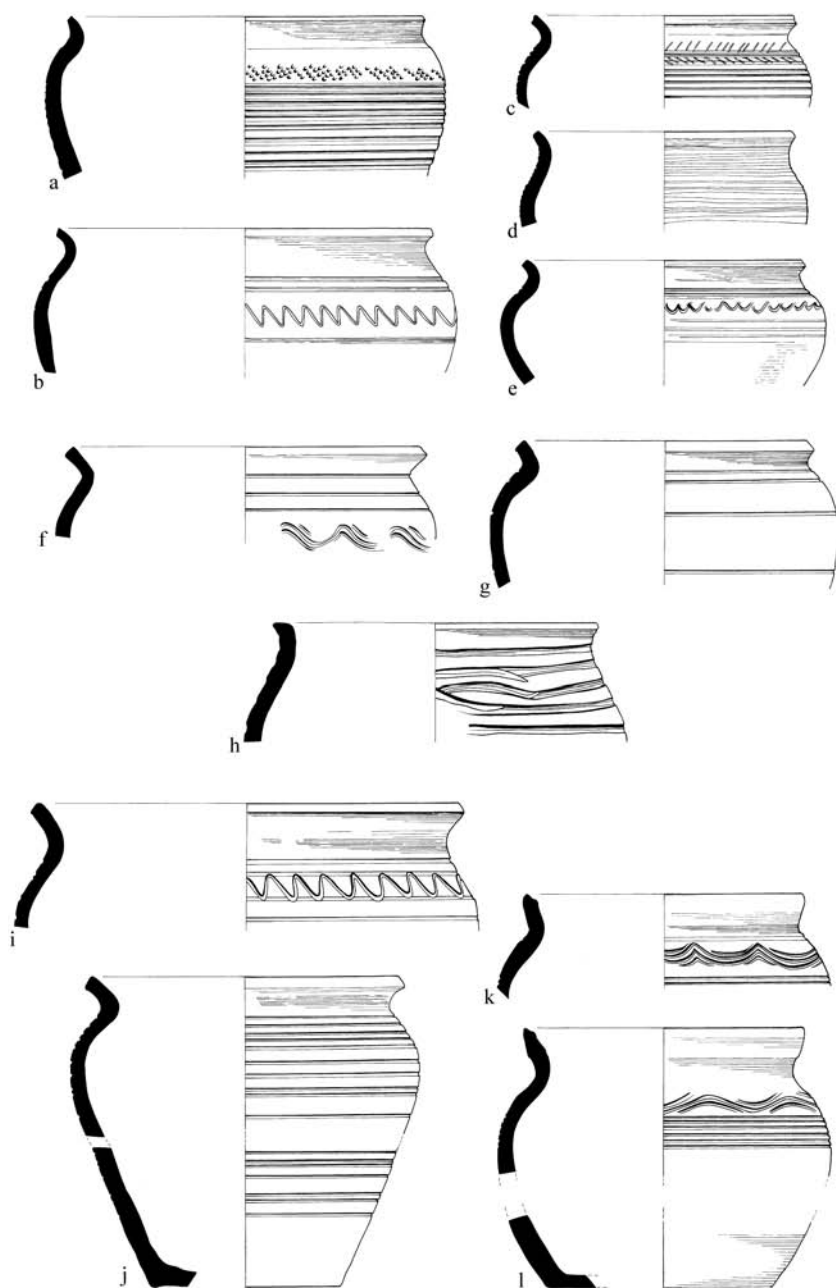


Fig. 146. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most frequent forms of normal and simple Baltic ware. The forms in fig. 146 and fig. 147 account for 56% of the total number of rims ($n = 893$). Scale 1:4.

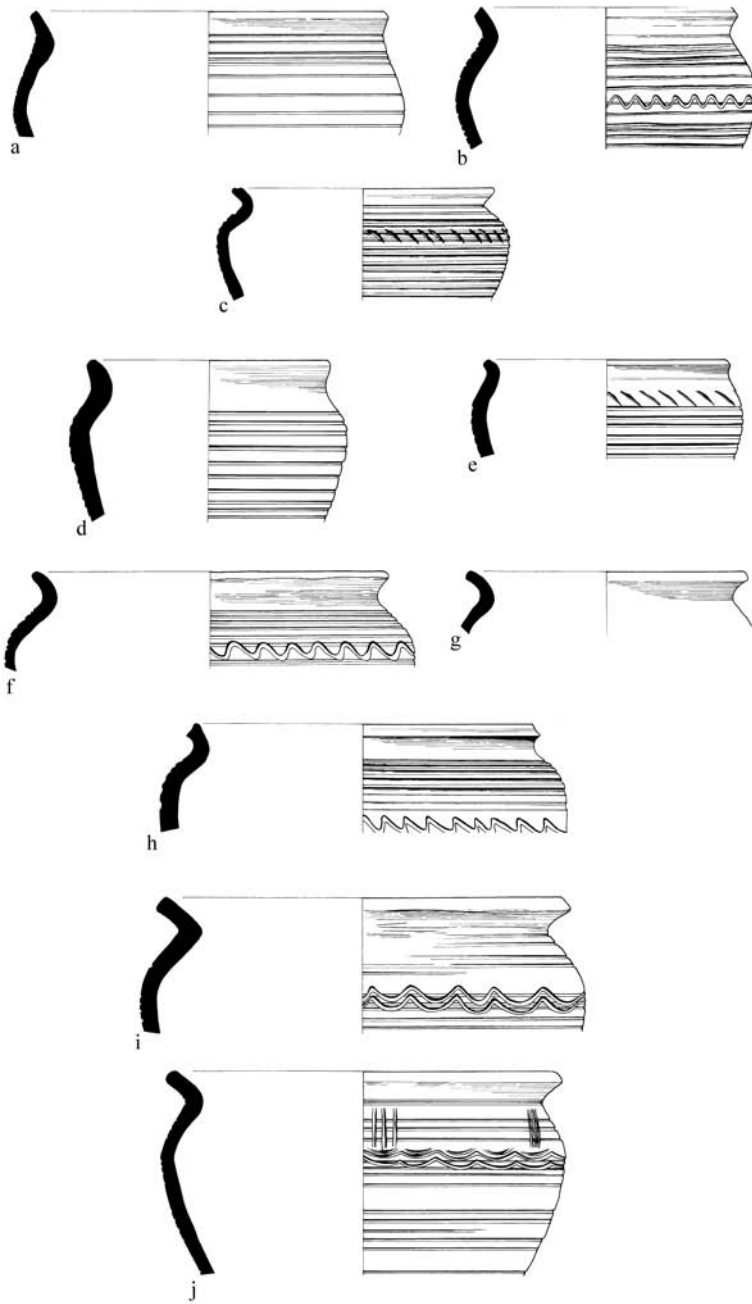


Fig. 147. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most frequent forms of normal and simple Baltic ware. Scale 1:4.

a different way from the normal everted rim. It is everted, but it has a characteristic rebate on the top of the horizontal rim edge and besides this has a convex inside (fig. 147 c). The next form is very simple, with an everted medium-length, rounded, convex rim which does not have any special details (fig. 147 d, e). A rim of slightly more accentuated length but with the same rounded rim edge and convex inside comes next in frequency (fig. 147 f, g). Of the last two rim types, the second last is the one that differs most from the others. It is everted, medium-length, with an outward-sloping rim edge but it has a rebated inside and is of very good quality (fig. 147 h). The tenth most common form is a return to the normal and simple appearance that is characteristic of the local Baltic ware. The rim is everted, long, and with a rounded edge and straight inside (fig. 147 i, j). Other vessel forms mostly have everted rims. It is worth noting that the next most common main group consists of short vertical rims of simple type, which is found in fourteen different variants. Cylindrical necks and inverted rims are uncommon, deviating from the general picture as regards the wealth of forms and the quantity.

The rim diameter can give some idea of the size of the vessels. There are no large storage pots in the material from the Trädgårdsmästaren block; what we find is a set of small cooking and storage vessels with little variation.

From the rich source material we can also obtain knowledge about the transfer of style from the Slavic to the Scandinavian potters. Here some of the forms which are found only in the local Baltic ware are of great interest. By concentrating on the microvariation among the rims, a special group of vessels has crystallized as a hybrid of Slavic pottery and the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition. It can be regarded as a subgroup of local Baltic ware, differing from the others in the same tradition on account of its form and the quality of the decoration; I therefore call it *simple Baltic ware*. This new addition to the discussion of the cultural identity of Baltic ware may seem subjective and the type series may seem vaguely formulated. Because the range of forms is close to the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition, however, it is possible to present the criteria for the identity of the groups.

Of the simpler rims of local Baltic ware, many have forms of a coarse quality that we do not find among Late Slavic pottery. The short vertical rims especially are simply made, but even among the inverted and everted rims there are vessels with crudely made rims (figs. 148 and 149).

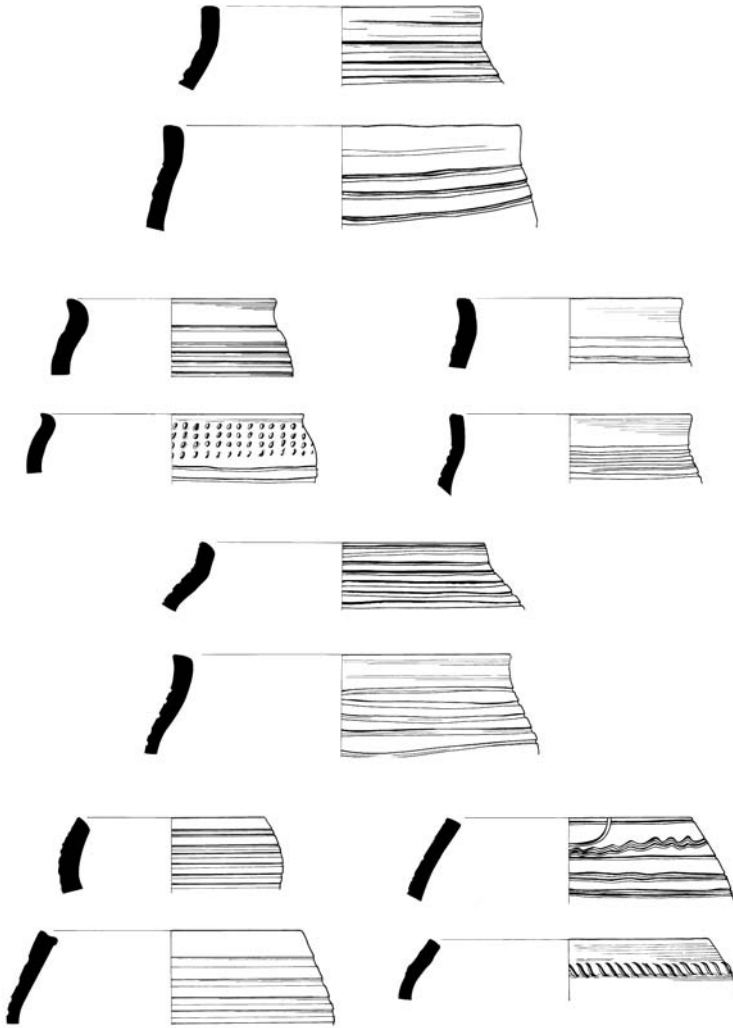


Fig. 148. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of simple Baltic ware. Scale 1:4.

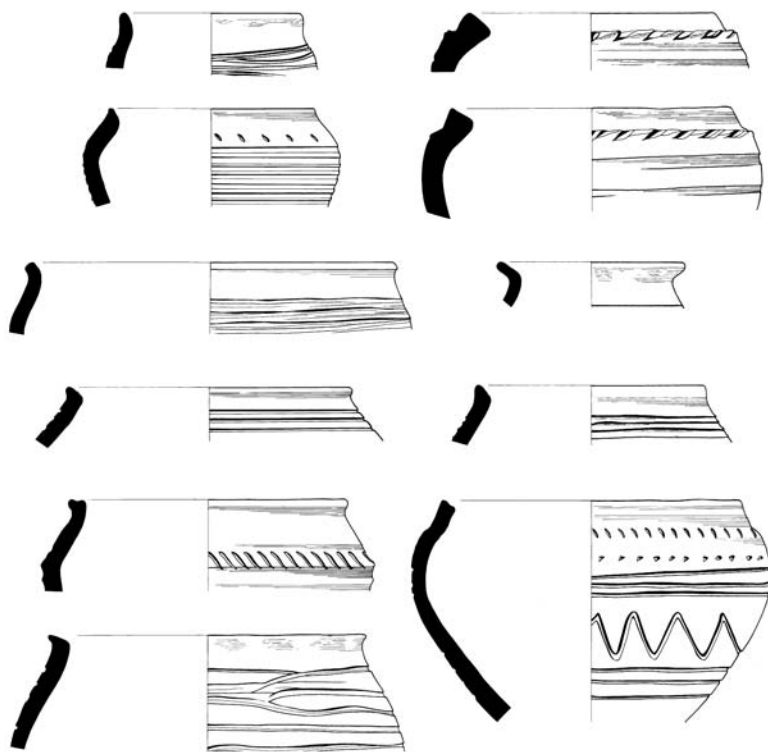


Fig. 149. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of simple Baltic ware. Scale 1:4.

By the terms simple and coarse I refer to the stylistic execution which did not devote any care to accentuation or faceting. There is thus close similarity to the indigenous Late Viking Age ware. To study the transfer of style, this tradition must also be included in the quest for contrasts and similarities.

The chronological development of the local Baltic ware can be followed over a long period from *c.* 980 to *c.* 1250, which gives a good basis for comparisons with other assemblages. Certain distinctive features among the main types of rim shapes elucidate the development. Everted rims are the prime hallmark of Sigtuna pottery in comparison with the material from other places. A watershed is evident in the first quarter of the twelfth century, when everted rims increase significantly; from having accounted for roughly 50% of the total to dominating with 80

to 90%. At the same time, the opposite happens with the short vertical rims, the second most common form on the site, which show a rising trend up to this period but then disappear almost completely. The same applies to the few inverted rims, which decline sharply in proportion after these decades. Instead they are clearly concentrated in 1050–1125, the period in which 71% of all the units fall. Cylindrical necks seem to be most common from the second quarter of the eleventh century quarter to the second quarter of the twelfth century, although occasional examples are found in other periods. It is not possible to see any similar development with distinct changes in the shape of short vertical or inverted rims. In these it is rather individual vessel forms which fit into specific time ranges.

The dynamic in the choice of forms can also be studied on the basis of the 'birth' and 'death' of individual form references and differences in the course of innovation. New forms appear in succession from *c.* 980 until the first quarter of the twelfth century. A decline is clear in the period *c.* 1125–1175, and the last three phases have very low innovation frequencies. In terms of methodology one can compare this with a population study in which nativity and in-migration of forms are contrasted with mortality and out-migration through simple subtraction. During the first four phases there is stability in this process, with a slight increase in innovation towards the end of the eleventh century. The first quarter of the twelfth century shows a 50% decrease compared with the preceding period, and during the four remaining phases there is such a drastic change that 'the population curve' turns downwards. The last quarter of the twelfth century shows a particularly strong negative tendency.

Bowls or lamps are found in 11 variants (fig. 150). They came into use towards the end of the eleventh century and were then employed throughout the observable time up to the first half of the thirteenth century. Specialized lamps on high feet are found in material from the second quarter of the twelfth century. Decoration occurs only occasionally, and then with very simple patterns.

Late Slavic pottery is in stark contrast to the preceding type. It was not until the last quarter of the eleventh century that the ware became properly established, although a small number of rims may be noted in the time before. If all sherds of this ware from the intensively studied area in the Trädgårdsmästaren block are included, the presence



Fig. 150. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Normal Baltic ware. Lids, oil lamps, and low bowls. Scale 1:4.

of this pottery is evident from around 980 (fig. 145). For the stylistic studies, however, there are only 276 rims. Of the most common forms, twelve are everted and two have cylindrical necks. Two thirds of the everted rims are medium-length and the rest are long. The rim edges vary greatly, the majority being outward-sloping, followed by rounded, inward-sloping, and one each vertical and horizontal. The form of the insides also differs from that of local Baltic ware, since most are rebated. Far fewer are convex, and in last position we find a straight inside. The most common rim form is executed with a sure hand, everted, medium-length with a rounded edge and rebated inside (fig. 151 a, b, c). The next type is a variant of this but with an outward-sloping rim (fig. 151 d, e, f). The third most common form is a highly characteristic everted, long, inward-sloping rim with rebated inside (fig. 151 g). In fourth place are two everted rims, one of which is the medium-length, outward-sloping and convex type which is most common for local Baltic ware (fig. 151 h). The other, in contrast, is noticeably flared and long, with the edge sloping inwards and the inside rebated (fig. 151 i-k). The

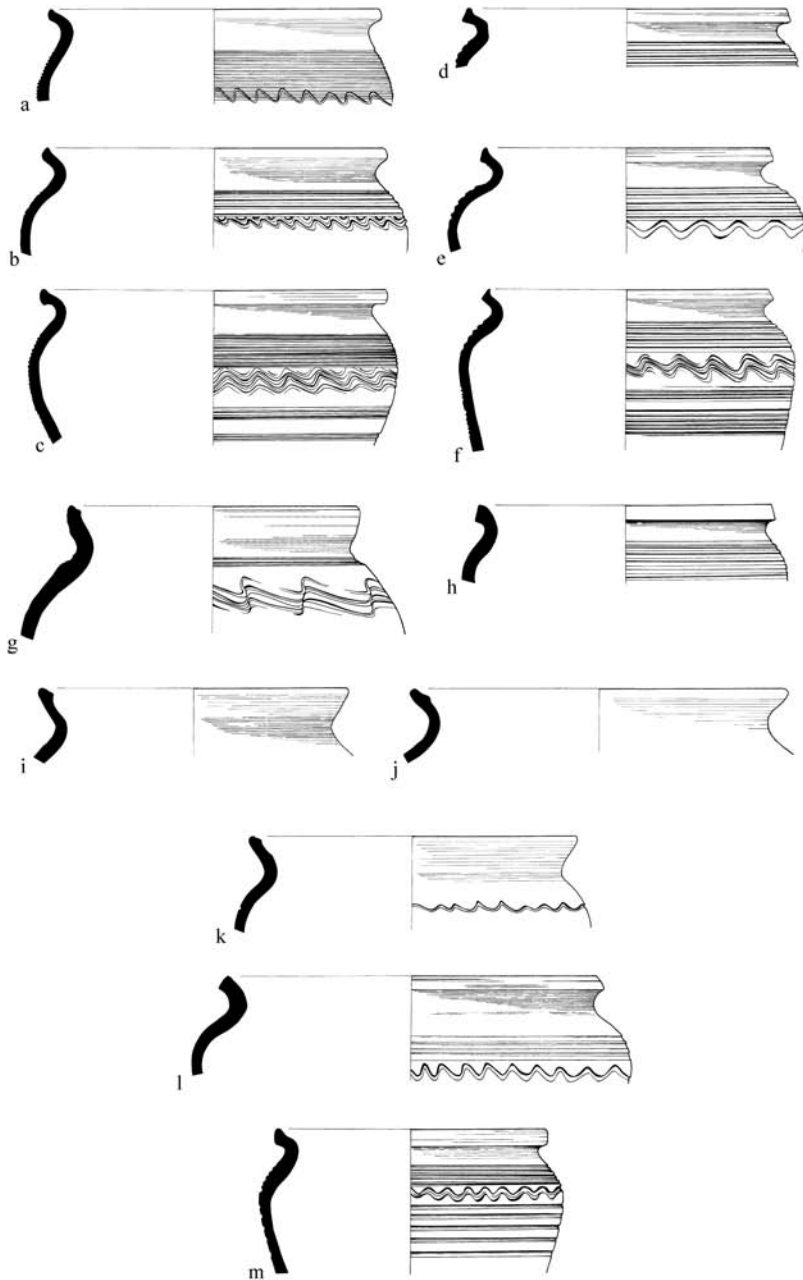


Fig. 151. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of Rus' pottery *c.* 980 to 1250. Forms a–m account for 49% of the total number of rims ($n = 274$). Scale 1:4.

only rim with a straight inside comes next (fig. 151 l). Among local Baltic ware it is the next most common and is medium-length, everted with outward-sloping edge. Of the sixth most common form, one has a vertical rim edge while the other has a long, everted cylindrical neck with horizontal edge (fig. 151 m and 152 a, b). Two forms share seventh place. One has a long, vertical, cylindrical neck with the edge sloping inwards while the other is everted, long, with an outward-sloping edge and straight inside (fig. 152, 152 c, d and 152 g, h). The next form is one of the simplest among the everted rims, with its medium-length rim which is rounded and convex (fig. 152 e, f). On the other hand, there is greater variation among those in ninth place. One is everted, medium-length, with a horizontal edge and convex inside, and the other has a cylindrical neck which is long, slightly everted, and with the edge sloping inwards (fig. 153 a, b, c and 153 d, e, f). Three everted rims share the last position. One is medium-long with an outward-sloping edge and convex inside (fig. 153 g, h). Together with this there is a long rim with an outward-sloping edge and rebated inside which can be ascribed to the same tradition (fig. 153 i, j). The last form is distinctive, almost resembling Western European forms with its long rim, rounded, club-shaped edge, and rebated inside (fig. 153 k, l). Short vertical and inverted rims occur only once each, thus accounting for a vanishingly small share of the total forms. The functions of the vessels show a limited range, since they all seem to be for cooking and storage, but the variation in dimensions is greater than for local Baltic ware.

The main forms of the rim types show limited chronological changes. The reason is that only the everted rims are found in any quantity, while cylindrical necks make up only a small proportion of the total material (figs. 154 and 155). Everted forms are found, albeit only a few, from *c.* 980 to 1050, and the first cylindrical neck appears in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Cylindrical necks are most common in the second and third quarter of the twelfth century but also occur in the remaining phases. Inverted and short vertical rims are only represented by one form each, in the first and last quarter of the twelfth century respectively. The low bowls or lamps that do occur as local Baltic ware are not found in this better quality.

After the separate analysis of the two types of ware it is now possible to look for contrasts and similarities between them in order to investigate whether we can trace any transfer of a Slavic style to Scandinavian potters. To do this requires a series of comparisons. First, the Late

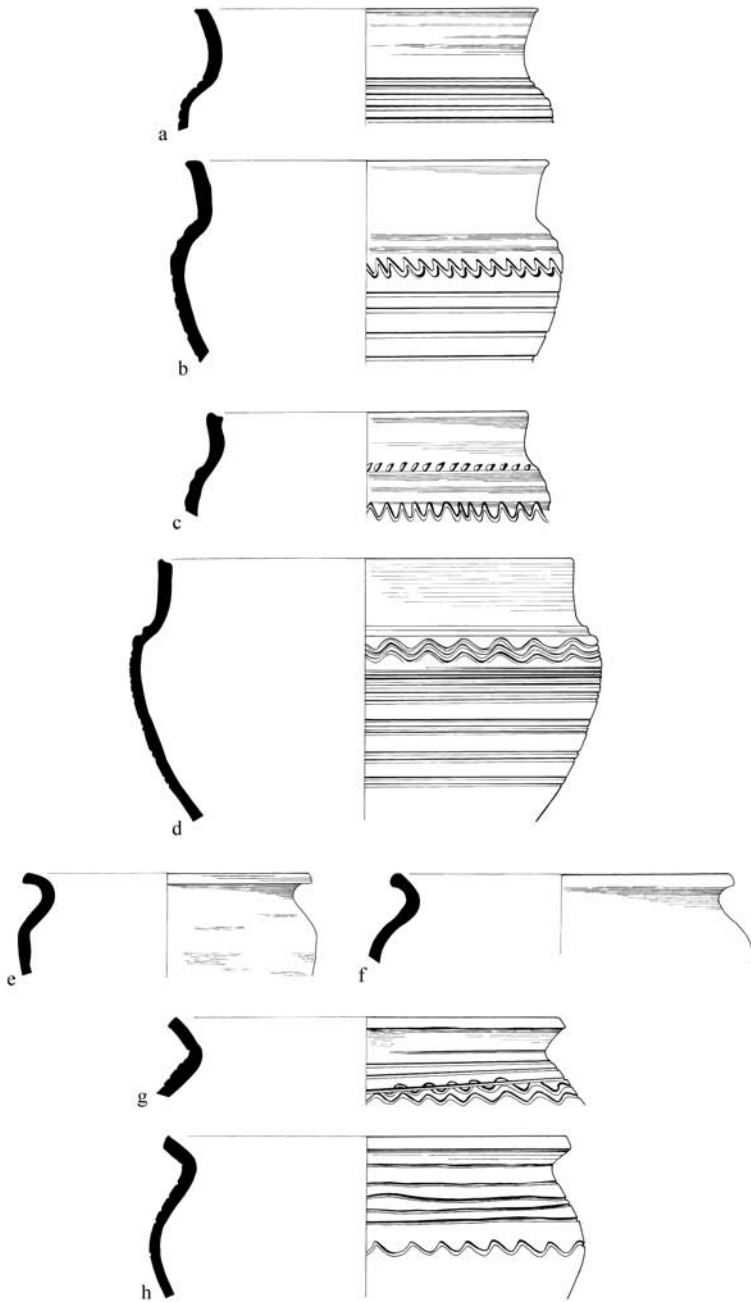


Fig. 152. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of Rus' pottery, *c.* 980 to 1250. Scale 1:4.

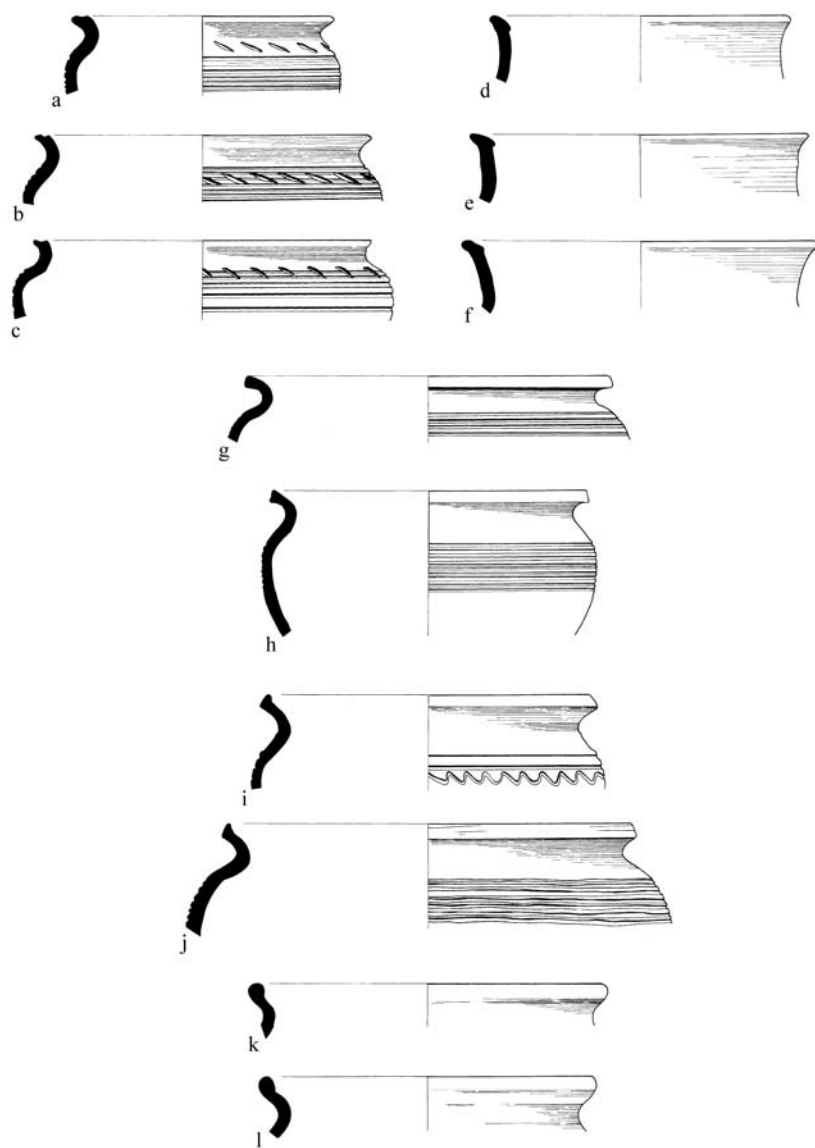


Fig. 153. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. The most common forms of Rus' pottery, *c.* 980 to 1250. Scale 1:4.

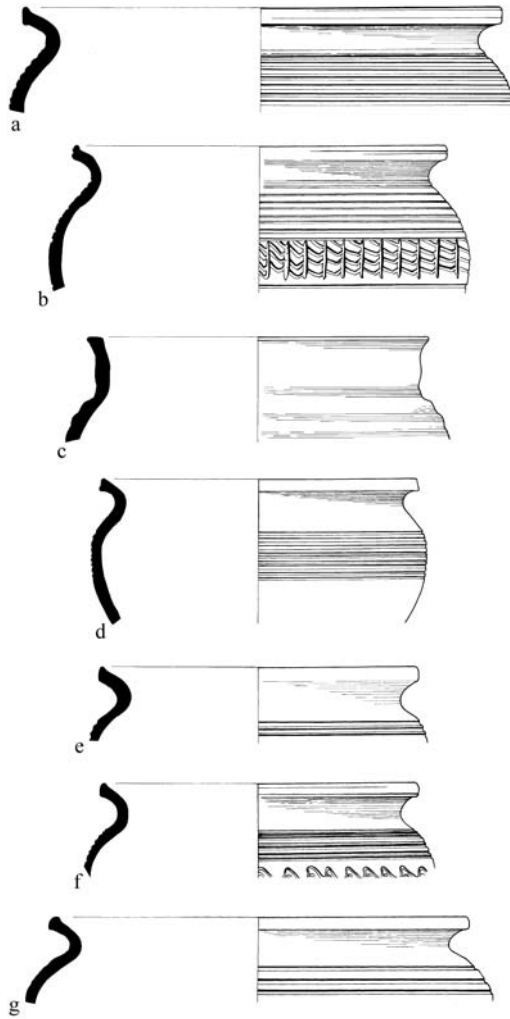


Fig. 154. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Representatives of other forms of Rus' pottery, *c.* 980 to 1250. Scale 1:4.

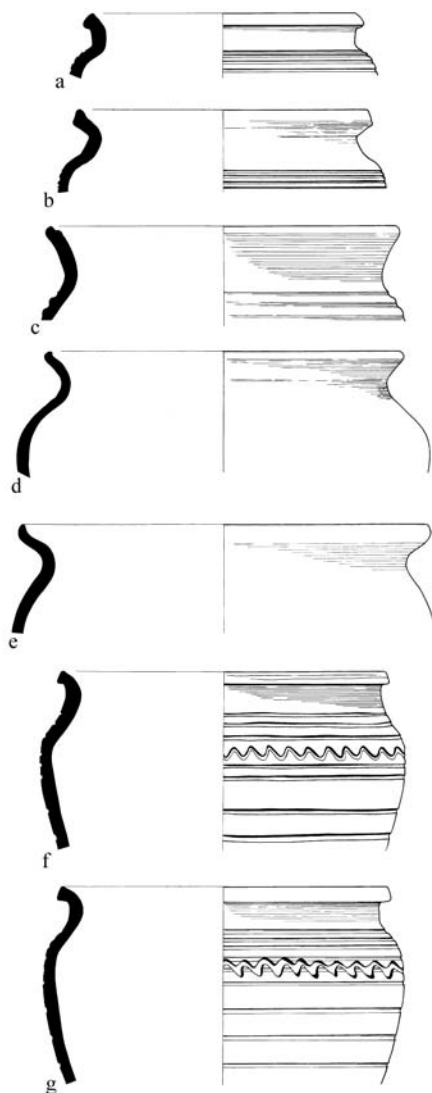


Fig. 155. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Representatives of other forms of Rus' pottery, *c.* 980 to 1250. Scale 1:4.

Slavic vessels must be distinguished from the more ethnically undefined group of local Baltic ware. Second, local Baltic ware must be studied closely to find similarities with Late Slavic forms. The third level is the comparison of the indigenous Late Viking Age ceramic tradition and local Baltic ware in order to examine the link between them. It is only when the relationship between these three ceramic traditions has been established that it is possible to interpret changes in style over time in the Trädgårdsmästaren block.

Vessels which belong exclusively to the high-quality Late Slavic tradition have everted rims or cylindrical necks. Their forms are accentuated, and all are found in Late Slavic pottery sets. Judging by the characteristic design tradition and the technological level, I would be bold enough to claim that the tradition defined as Late Slavic really should be regarded as imported. In essential respects the agreements with Late Slavic pottery are so great that the origin is unambiguous. The circumstances of the manufacture of pottery in Scandinavian and Slavic areas also make it possible to draw these conclusions. The social organization of ceramic production differs so much that the quality and homogeneous forms represented by the Late Slavic pottery observed in Sigtuna is difficult to view as a Scandinavian development of the simple Late Viking Age tradition. The latter is closely associated here with simple but functional household manufacture, which shows that a division of labour similar to the one seen in the Slavic lands had not reached simple utility pottery.

This brings us to the question of where the imported Late Slavic vessels may be envisaged to have come from. If we look at the source material itself, we see that many of the most common everted rims are found in the whole of Slavic northern Europe, from Mecklenburg in the west to north-west Rus'. The rebated inside of the rim is a feature shared with vessels from West Slavic areas in today's Germany, Poland, and Russia. A few aspects of form are important to consider, since they make north-west Rus' the most likely place of origin.

Cylindrical necks on vessels show a chronological difference between west and east Slavic areas. In Rus' this form exists already in the tenth century in a few variants, usually with a short neck.¹⁷⁷ The stylistic feature becomes more accentuated just before 1050, when the variation

¹⁷⁷ Smirnova 1956, p. 234, fig. 2, and p. 235, fig. 3.

also becomes richer.¹⁷⁸ In Szczecin and other towns along the coast of Pomerania they are first produced in the last quarter of the eleventh century, increasing in popularity in the subsequent two centuries.¹⁷⁹ The forms are also found further to the west in Mecklenburg. Cylindrical necks appear in Sigtuna already in the first half of the eleventh century, which makes it difficult to see them as a West Slavic import.

In the twelfth century, when the largest amount of Late Slavic pottery is found in Sigtuna, vessels of Teterow type made a major impact among the West Slavs.¹⁸⁰ In the Swedish town there are only 10 vessels with short necks and everted rims among 1,169 units. At the same time, there is a positive correlation with distinctive rims found in Rus' at the same time as in Sigtuna. Also, the small bowls can be related to similar finds from Novgorod where they have been observed in layers from the eleventh century up to the fourteenth century.¹⁸¹

In the source material from the Trädgårdsmästaren block there are 17 base marks. The majority have ordinary cross shapes, radial lines, and sometimes they seem to be unintentional impressions made by wooden fibres on the turntable. One in particular will be mentioned here in connection with the search for the source of the influences. On a base of a Late Slavic vessel from the second quarter of the twelfth century there is a bird-like impression (fig. 156). Unlike the other base marks, this has a direct link to a well-known family. The same symbol was used by Rurik's successors in Rus' and it occurs on coins, wooden cases for birchbark letters, and other juridical and regal contexts. The bird of prey swooping on its victims is also found on sword ferrules and can thus be connected to the *družina*, the warrior retinue of the Rurikid princes. When the vessel was in use, the sons of Vladimir Monomakh ruled Rus' during a time of severe internal conflict. Our concern is not to obtain exact knowledge of which family used the vessel. Instead it is the direct link to the powerful Slavic kingdom that strengthens the argument that this is the source of the imported Slavic pottery.

Yet another argument that the Late Slavic pottery comes from north-west Rus' can be found in the clay from which the vessels were

¹⁷⁸ Maligin 1991, p. 214, fig. 10 A.

¹⁷⁹ Łosiński & Rogosz 1984, p. 204.

¹⁸⁰ Kempke 1984, p. 117, table 21; Łosiński & Rogosz 1986, p. 61, fig. 2.

¹⁸¹ Smirnova 1956, figs. 4, 5, 6, 7.

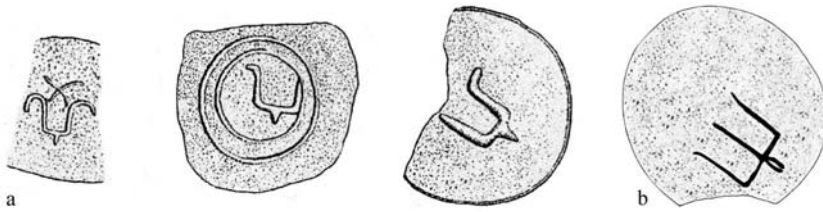


Fig. 156. Base marks in the form of Rurikid symbols. (a) Kiev, (b) Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Base marks from Kiev after Tolochko 1981. Not to scale.

made. A clay-mineralogical analysis of Late Slavic pots from Sigtuna and Novgorod and of clay pits in the Novgorod area revealed evident agreements.¹⁸² In the chronologically distinct source material a change in clay recipes is obvious from the time around 1000 until the twelfth century. In the early period potters in both Sigtuna and Novgorod preferred fine clay or medium clay which was tempered with crushed granite or naturally tempered coarse clay, while elements of grog were found in only one case. During the twelfth century the potters of Novgorod preferred to work with fine clay with an admixture of crushed granite and grog. The tendency over time is also that the proportion of tempering medium is higher in the early period than in the late period. In the clay from Novgorod for both periods there was also a large number of diatoms enclosed in the water-deposited clay.¹⁸³ The diatoms cannot be regarded as an addition to improve the properties of the clay since they were not consciously added in the manufacturing process. On the other hand, they do testify to the environment in which the aquatic organisms were living before they were deposited in the clay. The species that occurred in the samples all indicate an origin on the banks of the Volkhov at Novgorod. The components grog and the distinct diatoms are found both in vessels from Novgorod and in the Late Slavic imports in Sigtuna. One of the vessels in the series of samples from Sigtuna was tempered solely with grog. The sherds from the smashed vessel that were used for tempering the new one contained the same diatoms. Moreover, the forms and clay content of

¹⁸² Hulthén 2001.

¹⁸³ Håkansson 2001.

some vessels from Sigtuna and Novgorod are identical. Several factors are convincing evidence that the Late Slavic pottery we find in Sigtuna came from north-west Rus'.

Having defined the range of forms and origin of Late Slavic pottery, we now come to a more difficult point. Even if the genuine Late Slavic imports from Rus' can be so clearly assigned to specific forms and clays, it is more difficult to find the cultural origin of other forms manufactured in Sigtuna. The question concerns whether the large group of local Baltic ware can be separated into a Late Slavic and a Scandinavian tradition. One thing which suggests that Slavic craftsmen produced vessels in the town is forms that exist with raw material from local clay pits. All styles are found in sets from the period 950–1300 in East Slavic material, and some among West Slavic material as well. Among the normal rims of local Baltic ware made of local clays in Sigtuna, there are Late Slavic forms with a rebate on the inside of the rim edge.¹⁸⁴ I take these clay-mineralogical and morphological circumstances as proof that Slavic potters worked in Sigtuna, with access to the same clay pits as the local Scandinavian population. The Slavic potters probably worked in Sigtuna right from the establishment of the town, since we find Slavic forms from the time before 1000 and in the first quarter of the eleventh century, manufactured with local clays.

Despite the intricate and in-depth information embracing the morphological and clay-mineralogical aspects, a large group of vessels are still difficult to assign to any specific ethnic ceramic tradition. Who made the majority of the normal vessels with rims that are defined as normal local Baltic ware? The group includes vessels made of local clay with rims which could have been shaped by both Slavic and Scandinavian potters.

As we have seen, the Late Viking Age ceramic tradition is present throughout the period that can be studied in Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Evidently households were in large measure self-sufficient as regards containers for cooking and storage. The forms show that the makers stuck firmly to the traditions of the older Viking Age pottery, although the rims vary in shape. In Sigtuna inverted rims are the most frequent form in this ware. The study of the pottery from the Trädgårdsmästaren

¹⁸⁴ Form references Sig 18, 91, 94, and 225.

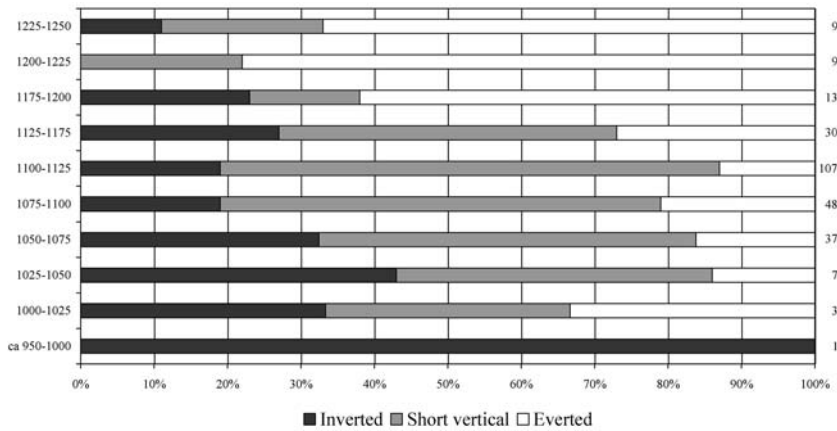


Fig. 157. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Percentage of rim forms in the simple Baltic ware distributed over time. To the right is the number of units per period (n = 264).

site shows that the short vertical rims on vessels of indigenous Late Viking Age type are most frequent up to the first quarter of the twelfth century, after which they undergo a drastic decline. Exactly the same development is seen in the short vertical rims of the traditional local Baltic ware (fig. 157). The relationship between the Late Viking Age everted rims and the simple everted rims of local Baltic ware also reflects a concordant chronological development. Both increase in percentage from *c.* 1175 and retain their position until the deposits cease around 1250. Inverted rims of both wares differ, however, in that the indigenous Late Viking Age vessels have a stronger position all through the period, whereas vessels of local Baltic ware with this form decrease steadily after the first quarter of the twelfth century.

Despite some ambiguities in the source material, we have a clearer picture of pottery manufacture in Sigtuna thanks to the analysis of the source material from Trädgårdsmästaren. I believe that the forms of rims and bases, the quality of decoration, the agreement in the structure of the fabric and analogies in the morphology of the indigenous Late Viking Age vessels and the simple forms of local Baltic ware show that the older local tradition played a part in the creation of Baltic ware. We thus have here, in the simple forms of local Baltic ware, an example of hybridized manufacture of Slavic-inspired pottery by Scandinavian potters.

Conclusion

The development of household pottery in the urban contexts of Birka and Sigtuna can be briefly sketched as increased integration with East Slavic areas. With the establishment of Birka in the second half of the eighth century, links were forged with the parts of Western Europe under Carolingian influence. Storage vessels and cooking pots from Germanic Europe were found side by side with a much larger quantity of West Slavic vessels from the area between the Elbe and the Oder. Baltic Sea Finnish and hand-built vessels of Ladoga type from north-west Russia also found their way to the trading site. After the ninth century's western dominance, contacts in this direction decreased or took on a different character in the early tenth century, and by around 970 they ceased when Birka disappeared in the structural change occurring at the time. Instead ties with the east were strengthened. East Slavic pots built up on turntables ended up in the rich graves of Birka already in the mid-tenth century. The Scandinavian population adopted stylistic elements from the Slavic vessels, above all decoration, which transformed the expressions used by the indigenous potters. The Birka heritage seems to have been maintained throughout the short intervening period when the role of the Mälaren valley in inter-regional trade was weakened.

The social restructuring that affected the whole of Northern Europe just before the new millennium was one reason why Sigtuna was established as a new power pole in Mälaren around 970/80. During the first 40 years of Sigtuna's existence, there seem to have been very limited external contacts. Those which did occur were directed eastwards, since the Baltic Sea Finnish earthenware and above all the Late Slavic pottery that can be found in the town from this time are the types that may be envisaged as having an external origin. During the third quarter of the eleventh century the proportion of Baltic ware increased so much that it became the most frequent type of cooking pot at this time. This situation was retained right up to the time just before 1250, when the late German black earthenware of *Kugeltopf* type emerged as the largest single kind of pottery. The changes in Baltic ware during the intervening time are important for understanding how the adoption of the Slavic ceramic tradition came about.

In the description and the analysis of Sigtuna's household pottery, different groups of black earthenware have crystallized for the period c. 980 to c. 1250. The oldest is the continued household manufacture of

coarse Late Viking Age pottery. A small quantity of Baltic Sea Finnish black earthenware and occasional sherds of soft *Kugeltöpfe* (*weiche Grauware*) should be mentioned. Late Slavic vessels arrived from Rus'. The local Baltic ware has been divided on qualitative grounds into normal Baltic ware and simple Baltic ware. The latter is seen as vessels of simple form and decoration, of local origin, with forms deriving from the Late Viking Age tradition. The last to arrive was Western European late black earthenware, which in Sigtuna mainly consists of grey to greyish-brown cooking pots without legs or handles (*harte Grauware variant A*). A small proportion of *harte Grauware variant B* is also found in the material in the form of round-based cooking pots with lighter-coloured, slighter harder fabric and with legs and handles.

How is the source material distributed between the ceramic groups which are essential in this connection, Late Viking Age pottery, local Baltic ware, and Late Slavic vessels? The inhabitants of Sigtuna initially used the indigenous pots to the same extent as the people of Birka. They account for 80% of the total quantity of early black earthenware, while Baltic ware amounts to almost 20% (fig. 145). If we leave the coarse categorization according to the systems of Selling and Schuldt, it is clear that the indigenous Late Viking Age household pottery has an element of Slavic decoration which was adopted before the decline of Birka. Among them are vessels with short vertical, inverted, and everted rims which are decorated with wavy lines, zigzag lines, wavy bands, stick marks, and parallel lines. The potters in Sigtuna continued to produce both decorated and undecorated Late Viking Age household pots on such a scale that they were in the majority during the first phase of the new town. Just after 1050, however, the tradition is broken and the proportion of indigenous vessels decreases gradually up to the mid-thirteenth century. Instead local Baltic ware becomes the most common type of pot around the hearth. Contemporary with the Viking Age household ware, the potters in the town make simple forms of local Baltic ware which are a result of the close contacts with Rus'. The simple short vertical, inverted, and coarsely everted rims and the proportions of the vessels have more in common with the indigenous tradition than genuine Slavic pottery has. A clear breach with the simple Baltic ware tradition comes in the second quarter of the twelfth century when these coarser pots among the local Baltic ware largely disappear. Instead the forms become more Slavic-inspired, as underlined by the

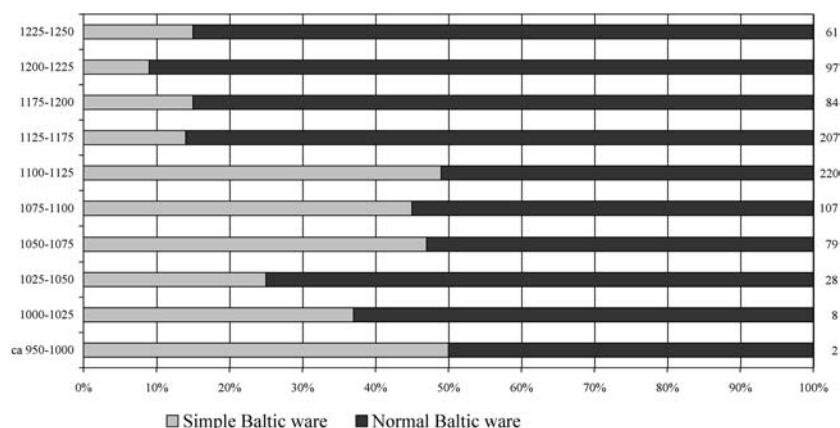


Fig. 158. Sigtuna, Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10. Baltic ware. Percentages of simple and normal rim forms in each period (n = 893).

fact that the simple rims that are retained are everted. The extent of this change is clear in the relative percentages of simple and normal rim forms of local Baltic ware before and after *c.* 1125 (fig. 158). In the period before, the proportions are even, with 54% normal and 46% simple forms, while the simple forms amount to only 14% of all the rims of local Baltic ware in the period after. The local Baltic ware, then, shows a duality as regards the potter's cultural identity which is still difficult to explain. A clearer classification of rim forms, going beyond 'normal' and 'simple', is not possible, and the similarity in the choice of clays makes an analysis of the raw material fruitless. Despite this, we can conclude that vessels with simple rims and decoration were made by Scandinavian potters. The contemporaneity of the increased import of genuine Slavic vessels and the abandonment of the simple rim forms is obvious and cannot be a coincidence. I view this as the start of a new era when relations become closer and the range of forms became wholly dominated by either genuine Slavic ware or vessels of Slavic form produced in Sigtuna. In short, the Slavic influence in Sigtuna's households increased after the first quarter of the twelfth century, as a result of more intensive contacts and increased personal presence. There is a problem with the more developed forms of the normal local Baltic ware. I personally regard them as an integration of Slavs in the Scandinavian population in Sigtuna.

Genuine Late Slavic pottery also occurs in large quantities in Sigtuna. Imports of vessels with everted rims or cylindrical necks are extremely limited until the last decades of the eleventh century. They become common from the first quarter of the twelfth century and remain popular until the mid-thirteenth century. The vessels are technically and morphologically advanced compared with the local Baltic ware and have their roots in specialized production environment. I have argued above that the majority of this imported pottery probably came from Rus'. The most striking feature is the agreement in the chronological development of form and decoration which can be followed in Sigtuna and the Russian towns of Novgorod and Pskov up to the mid-thirteenth century. Clay mineralogy shows that the clay content of the Russian sherds corresponds to the fabric of the majority of the Late Slavic vessels found in Sigtuna.

The only reason why the typological sequence is broken around 1250 is that the deposits on the Trädgårdsmästaren site cease at this time. There may possibly be other areas in the town with untouched layers from the latter part of the Middle Ages which could provide evidence of continued imports from Rus' and manufacture of local Baltic ware. When the deposits on this site stop, just over 60% of all the early black earthenware is of local Baltic type and 30% is Late Slavic ware, while the Late Viking Age tradition which is still present accounts for less than 10% of the total number of units.

The greatest change at the transition to the High Middle Ages was the arrival of Germans in the inner Baltic Sea. In archaeological terms this is distinguishable in two stages from the second half of the twelfth century, when the Slavic tradition encountered competition in the households. Round-based *Kugeltöpfe* then came into use, and in the second stage, just before 1250, became the *single* most common pot on hearths in Sigtuna. At the same time, the use of the local Baltic ware and Slavic vessels *together* is still the dominant tradition in the households when the deposits cease in the mid-thirteenth century. To obtain knowledge about the proportions after this time, other towns in the Mälaren valley must provide material for the discussion.

The question of what Baltic ware in Sigtuna represents cannot be answered in the light of a clear typology. A distinct definition of the group is important, but in the semi-obscurity the similarities and differences between the indigenous Late Viking Age ceramic tradition, the

simple local Baltic ware, and the imported Late Slavic pottery become noticeable. It is in the grey zone among the hybrid forms that we should look for the transfer of style.

Nyköping, Södertälje, and Strängnäs

The southernmost medieval town in the Mälaren valley is *Nyköping*. The location on the Baltic Sea beside the estuary of the River Nyköpingsån and the proximity to Östergötland gave the town a different geographic and political character from the towns around Lake Mälaren. Although it is situated close to the border with Östergötland, the town belonged juridically to Södermanland. In view of the role played by the castle of Nyköpingshus as an administrative centre for the province from the start of the thirteenth century, I treat the Baltic ware from Nyköping together with the material from the towns to the north.

The earliest history of Nyköping as a town is still obscure, largely because few excavations have been conducted there. Another reason is that the first activities in the town are based on artefacts which are difficult to date. Keys, shoes, and pottery of eleventh–twelfth century type have been held up as evidence of a presence, if not settlement, on the site as early as the eleventh century.¹⁸⁵ What is certain is that there was settlement there in the twelfth century and that coins were minted during the reign of Knut the Tall (1229–1234). The churches of All Saints and Saint Nicolas and the castle of Nyköpingshus were three major building enterprises in the mid-thirteenth century. The stronghold of temporal power together with the mint reflect a period of growth for the town. During the following century the place played a significant part in political life on the national level. The effect of this was that trade increased in significance.

The pottery in the study comes from the blocks of Stallbacken and Folkungabron in Nyköping.¹⁸⁶ The oldest strata from Stallbacken contain only early black earthenware, which suggests a dating before 1200. In the material from the time up to 1300 there is in addition late black earthenware, early red earthenware decorated with scales and moulding, and early stoneware. A closer examination of the early black earthenware reveals several differences in forms which reflect different

¹⁸⁵ Nordemar & Douglas 1987, p. 209.

¹⁸⁶ Broberg & Hasselmo 1981, pp. 32ff.; Nordeman & Douglas 1987.

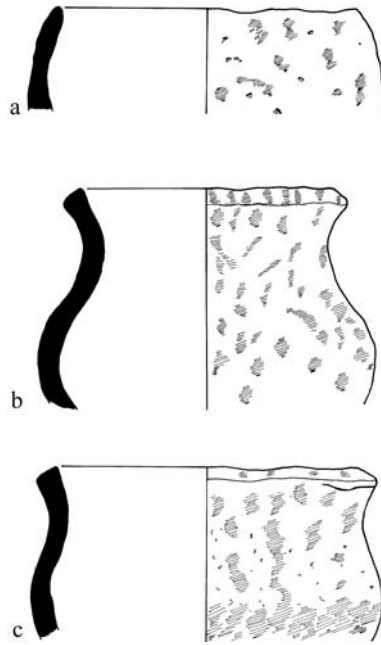


Fig. 159. Nyköping. (a) Late Viking Age vessel, (b–c) indigenous vessels influenced by the forms of *Kugeltöpfe*. Scale 1:4.

traditions. There are vessels from a type of production with its roots in the Late Viking Age household (fig. 159 a). A couple of examples with heavily everted rim and spherical body call to mind *Kugeltöpfe* but were made by hand (fig. 159 b, c). It is likely that potters in Nyköping copied German forms but proceeded from a local technique. For reasons connected with the time of the first contacts with the German ceramic tradition in the inner Baltic area, these vessels cannot be older than the second half of the twelfth century.

The strategic position of *Södertälje* where Lake Mälaren meets the Baltic Sea meant a great deal for the activities there.¹⁸⁷ Adam of Bremen mentions around 1070 that the road between Skåne and Sigtuna goes via Tälje. At this time the water route had long been functioning as one of the routes into the Mälaren area. The significance of the place in the eleventh century is evident from the runic stones erected within the

¹⁸⁷ Broberg 1979; Nordeman 1987.

area later covered by the town. No coherent remains of settlement have been documented, but occupation layers more than half a metre thick, with clay daub, clay-covered areas, and a large quantity of Late Viking Age pottery and Baltic ware, have been excavated. The finds of a coin of Ethelred from 991–997 and one of Otto-Adalheid from the 1020s have been taken as evidence that this site on the route into Mälaren was in active use as early as the first half of the eleventh century. It is difficult to interpret the inhumation graves found beside the church of Saint Ragnhild. The dead were placed in an east-west direction and seem to have been influenced by Christian burial customs. Despite their fragmentary state, they imply that there was settlement on the site at least since the eleventh century. The discussion of the further fate of the place has been associated with differing perceptions of when the rivers connecting Mälaren with the Baltic Sea became silted up.

The pottery from Södertälje has been reported briefly in two earlier texts.¹⁸⁸ In the early medieval layers, Late Viking Age pottery and Baltic ware have been found together, which suggests that a dating to the eleventh century at the earliest may be correct. Bäck believes that they differ in form from the Viking Age pots from Birka and should rather be compared with examples from Sigtuna, Strängnäs, Söderköping, and Västerås. He gives the assembled group of sherds a probable dating to the first half of the eleventh century.

The location of *Strängnäs* is considered to be due to the way communication routes were drawn through the fertile farming country in this part of the Mälaren area, and the fact that the place acquired central importance early on for the church. The Florence *provinciale* from around 1120 shows that Strängnäs was an episcopal seat. The ecclesiastical administrative function of the place is thus securely attested from the first half of the twelfth century, but what was secular life like here? It is obvious that people were attracted to the place by the market connected to the assembly for Södermanland, Samtinget, which met regularly, probably after the conversion of the region. There have been few excavations which could improve our knowledge of how people shaped their lives. The picture of the material culture is based on the finds from the Kapellet and Rådstugan blocks, excavated in 1978 and

¹⁸⁸ Nordeman 1987; Bäck 1996.

1984 respectively.¹⁸⁹ Above all it is the Rådstugan site that has provided information about development from the Early to the High Middle Ages.¹⁹⁰ It is believed that there has been permanent settlement since the second half of the eleventh century, attested through houses, slag left by extensive smithwork, and a rich amount of early black earthenware. The continuity of settlement is clear from the repeated relaying of clay floors and hearths. The twelfth century saw the regulation of the plots, after which activities can be followed up into the fourteenth century. Traces of bone and antler craft and an increasing quantity of artefacts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reflect the expansion and diversification of the settlement.

The pottery from Rådstugan has already been analysed in its entirety.¹⁹¹ The set of vessels in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries comprises late black earthenware, early red earthenware, early stoneware, and stoneware. Early black earthenware occurs in all of the five phases documented. The author of the report presents both Late Viking Age pottery and Baltic ware, along with an intermediate group of indigenous pots with Slavic decoration (fig. 160).

The towns around Mälaren between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

In the oldest ceramic material from *Nyköping* we find several different types of ware. In the households on the site people made pots of Late Viking Age type with inverted rim edges and a rough surface where the grains of temper are visible. In addition there are coarsely shaped round vessels with flared rims influenced by German forms. Among Baltic ware, the normal and simple type is most frequent. A cylindrical neck attracts attention because of its accentuated form, as does a heavily flared rim made of a hard fabric which differs from the others.

The number of units of Slavic-influenced pottery from Stallbacken and Folkungabron is very small, only 14. Despite this, a couple of important observations are possible. Two types can be discerned in the material; local Baltic ware which belongs to the normal kind for the area, and probably Late Slavic pottery which is thin-walled and shows a different composition in the raw material. Within the former group there are differences in the quality with which the forms are executed.

¹⁸⁹ Sjösvärd & Stenholm 1987.

¹⁹⁰ The name means 'The Town Hall'.

¹⁹¹ Sjösvärd & Stenholm 1987, pp. 263ff.

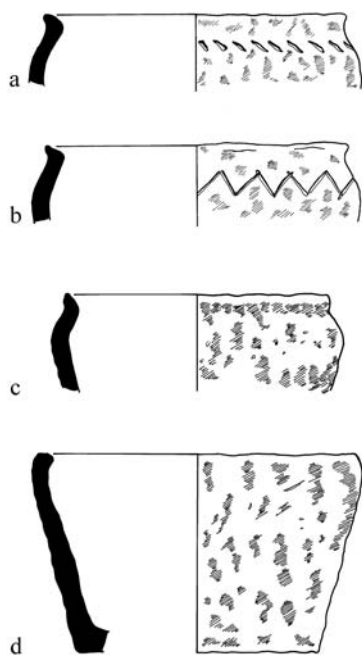


Fig. 160. Strängnäs. (a–b) Late Viking Age pottery with decoration inspired by Late Slavic style, (c–d) undecorated Late Viking Age pottery. Scale 1:4.

Most frequent is a group with simply shaped inverted rims with the edge sloping inwards (fig. 161 a, b, c). This is followed by medium-length everted rims with outward-sloping edges and straight insides which display technical and morphological features that are classical for Baltic ware in central Sweden (fig. 161 d, e). The range of forms is expanded with a couple of short vertical rims and one vessel with a cylindrical neck (fig. 161 g). One other rim made of different fabric from the rest is also distinctive in form and decoration (fig. 161 i). A bowl or part of an oil lamp from the Folkungabron block shows that the people of Nyköping had Baltic ware with more than just culinary functions (fig. 161 j).

All the sherds of early black earthenware from the Stallbacken block fall in the period *c.* 1150–1300.¹⁹² A close dating can be attempted for a vessel with a cylindrical neck to which we find parallels among local

¹⁹² Broberg & Hasselmo 1981, p. 32, fig. 13.

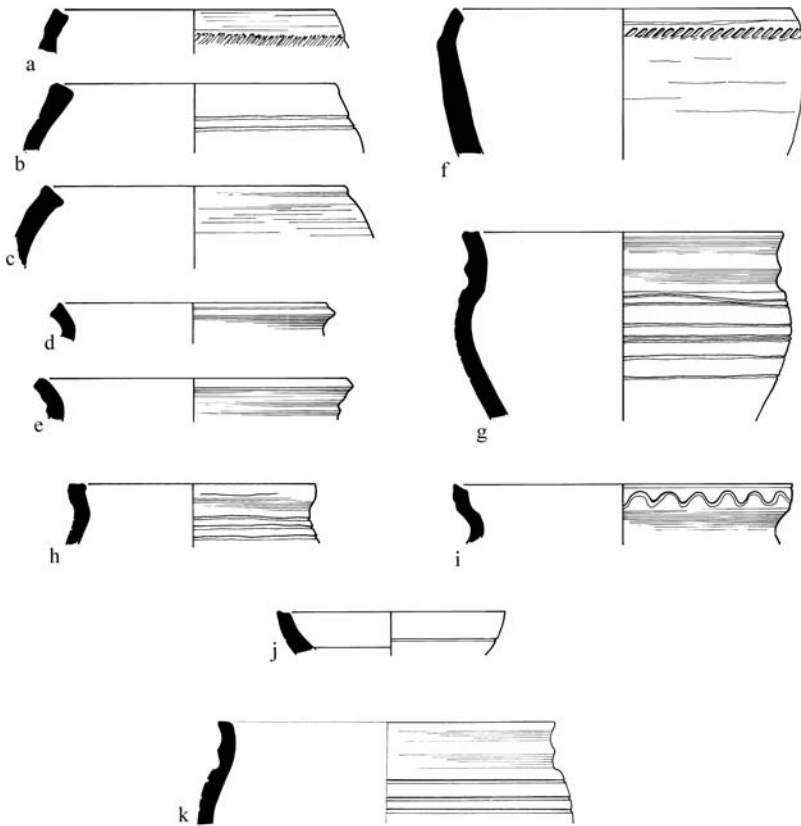


Fig. 161. Nyköping, Stallbacken and Folkungabron blocks. Baltic ware from the town, and a rim that may be of Rus' origin (i). From Sigtuna there is an analogue (k) to the vessel with the cylindrical neck (g). A pot with the same form has also been found in Strängnäs. It should also be mentioned that a Rus' rim with a form that can be dated to the late twelfth century or the thirteenth century has been found at an unknown spot in Nyköping. Scale 1:4.

Baltic ware in Sigtuna (fig. 161 k). Both have the same short neck and decoration consisting of parallel lines on the body of the pot and rilling on the actual neck. The example from Sigtuna was found in layers dated to the range *c.* 1125–1180, which agrees well with the find circumstances for the example from Nyköping.

To understand how Nyköping practised the Baltic ware tradition, the dating of the earliest finds must be borne in mind. Since Baltic ware is found both in the Mälaren valley and in rural Östergötland during the eleventh century, the forms and decorations were probably

known to people in Nyköping in the mid-twelfth century. The simpler forms with inverted rims and short vertical rims are closely connected to simple Baltic ware in Sigtuna and may be modelled on those and on the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition (fig. 161 a, b, c, f, h). Everted rims are medium-length and not accentuated; for example, there is no rebate at all, so these may be influenced from the same direction. We may thus reckon with a Scandinavian influence for these. On the other hand, the cylindrical neck described above opens other possibilities. It is closely connected to twelfth-century Russian forms, although clay-mineralogical analysis has not been able to determine the origin.

The find context is not described for the 17 rims that come from the Silen block in *Södertälje*, so the stratigraphic relations cannot assist studies of the course of innovation. On the basis of the few and limited trenches dug in *Södertälje*, the information that can be obtained about Baltic ware is nevertheless interesting. The number of forms and decorative elements is large in proportion to the amount of units. Most common are everted medium-length rims with outward-sloping or rounded edges and convex insides (fig. 162 a, b, c). A rebated everted rim differs from the others, as does one with an inward-sloping edge and straight inside (fig. 162 f, o). One of the inverted rims differs from the others by virtue of its thick opening and short vertical shoulder decorated with oblique stick marks made with some force (fig. 162 h). The short vertical rim with inward-sloping edge and rebated inside is very similar in form to one with an everted rim and may belong to the same vessel family (fig. 162 i, j). A couple of the rims are of such high quality that they may come from Rus' (fig. 162 e, o). The uncertainty means that they are not assigned to a separate group. The vessels are not so large, as the mean value for the rims is 13 centimetres. A lid covered the mouth of one of the vessels (fig. 162 p).

According to the information about the excavation results, both Late Viking Age pottery and Baltic ware were found together in all trenches, which means that the earliest possible dating is presumed to be around 1000. Some of the rims, however, can be associated with Sigtuna and datings of the settlement phases there. A very clear example is an exact copy of a frequently occurring form in the town north of Mälaren (fig. 162 h). With its unmistakable form and decoration it has been observed in layers from the time between 1050 and 1180, centred around the years 1075 to 1120. This reinforces the image of a late eleventh-cen-

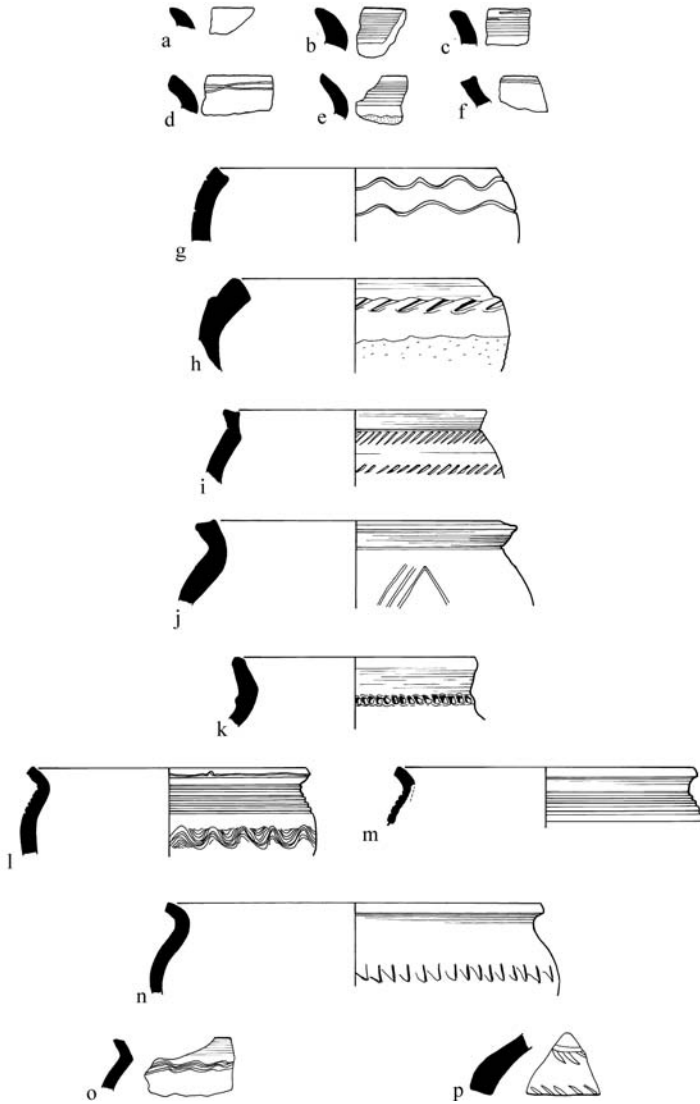


Fig. 162. Södertälje, Kilen block. Baltic ware of varied quality. Vessels e and o are of hard fabric and have a shape suggesting a Rus' origin. Vessels l and m are good examples of well-made normal Baltic ware in Sigtuna. Scale 1:4.

tury and possible twelfth-century dating for at least some of the vessels from the Silen block.

Of all the towns in the Mälaren valley, Södertälje shows the clearest links with Sigtuna in its sets of pots. But what does this say about Slavic contacts? There is nothing to show that two of the vessels with everted rims could not have come direct from some Slavic area, but they could just as easily have passed through Sigtuna before ending up further south (fig. 162 l, m). Several of the forms suggest indigenous manufacture because of the simple execution. Regardless of whether or not Sigtuna was an intermediary in the transmission of influences, the arguments for the origin of the style are the same as there. The Rus' connections which were maintained with Sigtuna and reshaped there were probably the foundation for the development of Baltic ware in Södertälje.

The material from the Rådstugan block in *Strängnäs* is too small for a fruitful discussion of how the tradition was transmitted from Slavic craftsmen to Scandinavians. The ten vessels of Baltic ware are thick-walled and simple. The most common form has everted, medium-length rims with rounded edges and convex insides, and short, everted rims with inward-sloping edges and convex insides (fig. 163 d, e and f, g). The two inverted rims both have the edge sloping inwards, and the only short vertical rim is medium-long, rounded, and convex (fig. 163 b, c, h).

The situation that we face in *Strängnäs* is interesting. Firstly, we find several types of ware represented in the time between the end of the eleventh century and the thirteenth–fourteenth century. There is simple Late Viking Age pottery, both with and without decoration inspired by Slavic ceramics, but there is also Baltic ware. Among the forms, however, there is nothing to suggest that the latter group is imported. It is more likely part of the integrated Baltic ware tradition that is richly represented in Sigtuna. From the Kapellet block in another part of the town there are moreover some important rims which link *Strängnäs* to a few selected towns in medieval Sweden. One is heavily everted, medium-length, with a convex inside and belongs to the tradition of normal Baltic ware (fig. 163 i). The other two rims are Late Slavic ware with forms showing distinct parallels in Rus' and Sigtuna (fig. 163 j, k). Both have everted, medium-length rims and rebated insides. In Sigtuna these forms can be dated to the period 1100–1180, but in

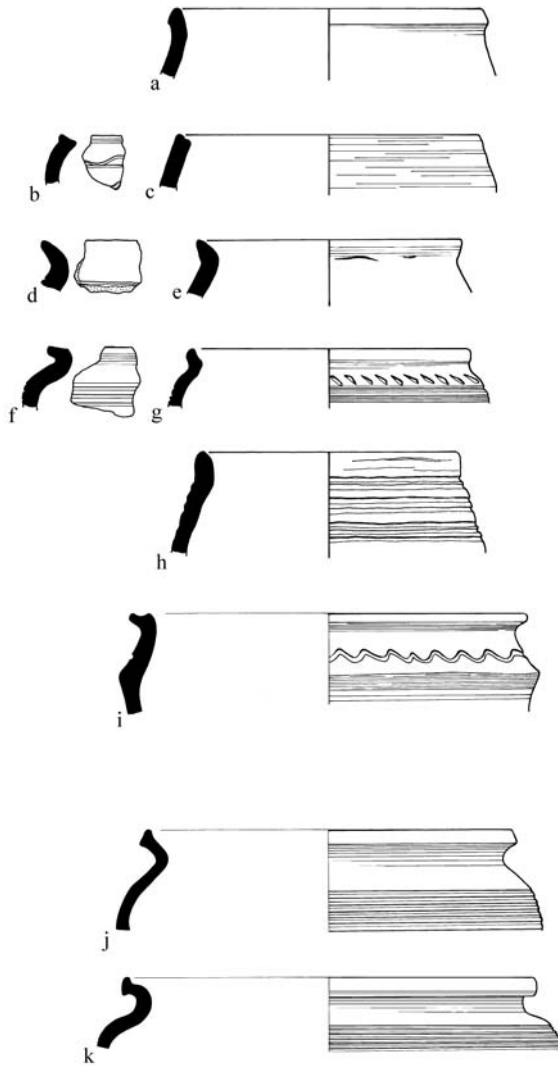


Fig. 163. Strängnäs, Rådstugan 3 and 4. Despite the limited source material, both (a-i) Baltic ware and (j-k) Rus' pottery were found in the block. A further two Rus' vessels with the same form have been found in the Bodarne block. This makes Strängnäs the town in the Mälaren valley, after Sigtuna, with the clearest evidence of Rus' presence. Scale 1:4.

Rus' they show a greater chronological spread with occasional examples through the whole century and up to *c.* 1250. In my opinion, those from Strängnäs should be placed in the twelfth century.

A small quantity of Baltic ware has been found in recent years by excavations in Västerås, Uppsala, and Stockholm. Finds from Västerås suggest activities there as early as the eleventh century. Uppsala, on the other hand, does not acquire an urban character until the second half of the twelfth century and Stockholm a century later. The material from Stockholm at least should be regarded as having been found in a place which did not have a distinct urban character in the Early Middle Ages.

The location of *Västerås* at the estuary of the River Svartån was favourable for contacts with the surrounding countryside and the area around Mälaren.¹⁹³ When the town was established is somewhat uncertain. In the Florence *provinciale* from *c.* 1120 the town is mentioned as an episcopal seat together with Skara, Sigtuna, Linköping, Eskilstuna, and Strängnäs, and this is confirmed at the establishment of the archbishopric in 1164. It has not been possible to link any church building to this period. A collection of graves on the east bank of the Svartån may contain the remains of the first people in what may have been a central place in the twelfth century, since they are covered by deposits from the following century. In the archaeological record we can discern a slightly different picture which may take the early settlement back to the preceding century. In the Linnea block an excavation in 1988 uncovered the remains of a bronze-casting workshop from the mid-eleventh century, in the form of hearth pits and waste pits.¹⁹⁴ The most striking find is the crucibles and craft waste thrown away along with semi-manufactured items with Late Viking Age decoration. It is difficult to say what surrounded the bronze caster when he raised his eyes from the crucibles. No clear remains of houses were documented in the vicinity of the workplace. The town of Västerås probably has nothing to do with the settlement on the riverbank, but the activities are evidence of the early interest in the location that would later develop into a large meeting place. A coin struck during the reign of Bolesław I in Prague (929–967) was found in one of the five waste pits. The area

¹⁹³ Annuswer *et al.* 1990.

¹⁹⁴ Bergquist 1996.

had been flooded, and the wattle fences that were made afterwards seem to have been put in place some time in the twelfth century. In the layers which have been excavated beside the fences there was household waste and craft residue, but no traces of houses. These can, however, be followed from the start of the thirteenth century, when the plots were laid out, and the structure was then preserved throughout the Middle Ages. The town had taken shape. At the same time, Västerås acquired a Dominican friary in 1244 and the Cathedral (Saint Mary's) and the churches of Saint Nicholas and Saint Ilian were built during the same century, as was the castle. The intensification of activities during the urbanization expansion in the thirteenth century can be followed in the three phases in the Linnea block which cover the century.

The pottery from the excavation of the Linnea site shows a similar composition to that of the other towns and the inner part of Mälaren. The town is very important for the dating of local Baltic ware in the Mälaren valley outside Sigtuna. We find the ware there in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, besides which we get a final date for the manufacture, in the mid-thirteenth century. Judging by the body sherds, it was simple Baltic ware that was consumed. Only two rims can be reconstructed. One is short and everted with a rounded edge and convex inside (fig. 164 a). The other is the remains of a rim that is slightly everted, medium-long, with the edge sloping outwards and a convex inside. Both agree well with the local development of Baltic ware in the Mälaren valley.

During the short period when the bronze-casting workshop was functioning, the inhabitants used both indigenous Late Viking Age pottery and simple Baltic ware. This is the only securely dated complex of Baltic ware from the eleventh century outside Sigtuna, Södertälje, and the rural graves. Early black earthenware is likewise the only ceramic type in the layers deposited at the end of the twelfth century. It is not until the mid-thirteenth century that we find new vessel forms in the houses of Västerås, in the form of cooking pots of late black earthenware (*harte Grauware variant A*), jugs of early red earthenware, and early stoneware. The red earthenware is of Bruges/Aardenburg type with scale decoration applied in broad bands. Up to this point in time the local Late Viking Age pottery and Baltic ware were important parts of the household service, but they disappeared in mid-thirteenth century.

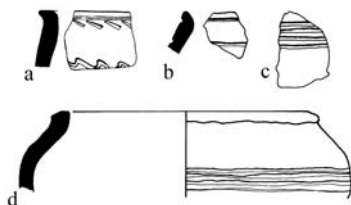


Fig. 164. Baltic ware from (a) Västerås, Linnea block, and (b–d) Stockholm, Storkyrkobrinken and Mynttorget. Body sherd c probably from a Rus' vessel.
Scale 1:4.

Uppsala, or Östra Aros as the town was called up to the end of the thirteenth century, seems to have acquired its first stationary settlement in the mid-twelfth century, when it is also mentioned for the first time in the written sources.¹⁹⁵ According to a record from 1164 or 1167, there was a dean there and coins struck in the town occur from the same time. The archaeologically attested settlement on Studentholmen, in the blocks of Näktergalen, Rådhuset, Domen, and Bryggaren, was established during this period without any traces of earlier activities. During its earliest phase the extent of Östra Aros was limited, stretching along the Fyrisån between Gamla Torget and a point north of Islandsfallet. Several ecclesiastical institutions were built in the Middle Ages to care for the souls of the townspeople. The oldest is thought to be Saint Mary's since this church is mentioned in a document from 1221, but graves found beside Saint Peter's have been dated to the twelfth century, and Trinity Church, according to *Erikslegenden*, was preceded by an earlier church. From the start of the thirteenth century the town acquired a firmer structure and the urban character was reinforced with the move of the Franciscans into their newly built friary in 1247. With the transfer in the 1270s of the archbishopric from Gamla Uppsala to the town that was now given the name Uppsala, the administrative side of the urban identity was strengthened. The crown, by contrast, seems to have taken a lukewarm interest in consolidating the status of Uppsala, since the base of the itinerant royal court was first Sigtuna, then Stockholm. After a regression in the mid-fourteenth century, Uppsala started growing again in the next century. It reached its largest extent in the sixteenth century, judging by the spread of late red

¹⁹⁵ Syse 1987.

earthenware and stoneware.¹⁹⁶ This was also when the castle was built, dominating the silhouette of the town together with the cathedral.

The pottery found in Uppsala consists overwhelmingly of late red earthenware of both indigenous and imported types.¹⁹⁷ Among the ware that is interesting for studies of the time from the establishment of the town just after 1150 until 1300, there is Late Viking Age local type, occasional sherds of Baltic ware, late black earthenware, early stoneware, and early red earthenware. No examples of early English ware from the second half of the twelfth century or contemporary imports of Pingsdorf and Andenne ware have been presented. The stoneware first occurs after 1300. A closer examination of early black earthenware from Uppsala reveals a number of features worth stressing. The number of sherds of this ware is very small, only about forty from the whole town.¹⁹⁸ The majority follow the local Late Viking Age tradition with a gentle rim section and flat base or with forms inspired by German tradition.¹⁹⁹ Occasional sherds of Baltic ware come from the Domen block west of the Fyrisån.²⁰⁰ Only one certain body sherd of Baltic ware attracts attention, but unfortunately it seems to come from redeposited layers. The fabric is only 6 millimetres thick and the vessel was probably imported from Russia. All the external features and the simple wavy line which can be seen on one edge indicate this. Regrettably, no rims of Baltic ware have been found in Uppsala.

Before the foundation of *Stockholm* there was probably a checkpoint on the site, with a barrier in the water to protect the inner part of Mälaren.²⁰¹ The structure that was built consumed a great deal of the oak and other deciduous trees in the surroundings when the work was done around 1000. Apart from the stout oak piles that made up the barrier in Norrström, no material traces from the period in question have been found. The oldest artefacts from the town are remains of jugs of early red earthenware which have been dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, agreeing well with the date of the foundation of Stockholm. Seven sherds of Baltic ware which were found in 1993–94 at Storkyrkobrinken and Mynttorget in the Old Town (Gamla Stan) are

¹⁹⁶ Elfwendahl 1995, p. 73, figs. 12 and 13.

¹⁹⁷ Elfwendahl 1995, 1999.

¹⁹⁸ Elfwendahl 1995, p. 70.

¹⁹⁹ Elfwendahl 1999, p. 238.

²⁰⁰ Syse 1987, pp. 311ff.

²⁰¹ Ödman 1987, pp. 116ff.

older than any other finds hitherto presented from the town. Two of them are remains of rims belonging to the group of local Baltic ware. One has a short everted rim with a rounded edge and convex inside (fig. 164 b, c, d). The other is a bigger sherd with a short everted rim, outward-sloping edge, and convex inside. An undecorated body sherd probably belongs to the group of imported Russian vessels, but there has been no clay-mineralogical analysis to confirm this. The dating of Baltic ware in Stockholm can only be done by analogy with Sigtuna between *c.* 980 and 1250, and possibly in a late phase because of the presumably imported sherd. What is interesting, however, is that people were living on the island that would become the heart of Stockholm before the actual establishment of the town in the second half of the thirteenth century; previously there was no evidence for this in the form of artefacts.

As a detail, it should be pointed out that occasional sherds of Baltic ware have been found in *Enköping*.²⁰² These have not been documented in the present work.

Conclusion

Sigtuna, Nyköping, Södertälje, Strängnäs, Västerås, Uppsala, and Stockholm were established at different times in the Early Middle Ages and acquired different roles in the political and economic development of the Mälaren region. This is of course reflected in the composition of artefacts in the places, and also in the pottery. The pattern of consumption in the late tenth century and the early eleventh century can be captured only in Sigtuna, while Södertälje emerges in the second half of the century. Västerås, with an early bronze-casting workshop from the mid-eleventh century, belongs to the group of towns with Baltic ware from this century. The dating of the oldest layers in Strängnäs, on the other hand, is somewhat tentative since it is based solely on the presence of Late Viking Age ceramic and Baltic ware. The combination of the two types of ware occurs over a long period comprising the time up to around 1250, and the layers could equally well have been accumulated in the subsequent century. Nyköping and Uppsala join the towns in the region in the twelfth century, the former in the first half of the century, the latter in the late 1100s. What Stockholm represents at this time is

²⁰² Broberg & Hasselmo 1981, p. 125.

uncertain. In all the towns people made pots of the Late Viking Age indigenous type in the household. Among them are also examples of the adoption of Slavic decoration, as in Strängnäs where there was a fondness for simple zigzag lines and stick marks. Judging by the finds from the Linnea site in Västerås, the tradition of making household vessels of early black earthenware ceased in the mid-thirteenth century in the urban settings.

The adoption of the new Baltic ware has more to do with contacts within the Mälaren valley than with Slavic guests. The earliest dates are those of the pottery from Sigtuna, and it was probably from there the tradition spread to the other places. Apart from the distinct presence in Sigtuna, above all in the twelfth century, there are occasional imported Rus' vessels in Nyköping, Södertälje, Strängnäs, and Uppsala.

Rural sites in the Mälaren valley

Having visited the towns around Mälaren, we must now turn our attention to the countryside. I use the term 'the rural Mälaren valley' because the region comprising the provinces of Närke, Västmanland, Södermanland, and Uppland is reckoned as a relatively homogeneous natural and cultural landscape.²⁰³ The fissure valleys in the bedrock and the continuous land uplift have created a topography in which the relationship between water and land has provided special conditions for communications and settlement patterns. Sailing ships could make their way on the long water routes from the Baltic Sea, or from the surrounding area, to the settlements around the lake. In this landscape, people in the Iron Age organized settlement units of different character. In the 1970s the prevailing view was that they consisted of single farms with their own cemeteries. Today this stance has been modified, and other types of social organization have been put forward as possible for the Mälaren valley.²⁰⁴ Single farms with cemeteries did exist, but there are also examples of the same settlement unit containing two or three farms, each with its own cemetery or with a large shared cemetery.

The source material consists mostly of isolated vessels found in mortuary contexts, while a small proportion is pottery from settlement sites and villages. This is largely due to the research situation. Archaeology

²⁰³ Sporrang 1985, pp. 32ff.

²⁰⁴ Biuw 1992, pp. 319ff; Broberg 1992, p. 279.

in the form of cemetery excavations linking up with settlement history is strong in relation to excavations of the world of the living. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, the focus has to a certain extent been shifted to include settlement units as well.

The question of how far into the eleventh century the cemeteries were used is being critically reviewed today. The excavations in Norra Spånga and at a cemetery in Valsta north of Stockholm show that they could have been in use up to mid-century or 1100.²⁰⁵ In the first case the dating is based on a coin found in a centrally located inhumation grave at a cemetery in Tensta, minted under Edward the Confessor between 1046 and 1048. The analysis of the chronology of the cemetery shows that it was not among the youngest, so the site was probably used in the second half of the eleventh century. A similar coin find was made at a cemetery in Ärvinge; it was minted in England under Hardecanute between 1032 and 1042. In Valsta people began to bury the dead without cremation at the end of the tenth century. Pagan attributes such as Thor's hammer rings and food offerings did not disappear until around 1100, when there was a clear breach with the old beliefs. At this time a remarkable grave was dug in an older mound at the highest point of the cemetery. The body of the Christian, as the deceased was, was placed in a cruciform, cist-like chamber together with a set of objects, the only ones preserved today being an iron cross, a faceted bead of quartz, and a rock crystal set in silver. Other grave goods have been removed by grave robbers. Late datings have also been presented by Anders Broberg, who shows convincingly that graves were dug in the old farm cemeteries during the last quarter of the eleventh century.²⁰⁶ From this we can conclude that the Baltic ware found in rural mortuary contexts may have been deposited with the dead until the year 1100.

Several villages have come into focus in the last two decades. Major infrastructure projects in Uppland north of Stockholm led to the excavation of settlement sites from the Late Iron Age and medieval villages. Places where Baltic ware has been found are Tuna in Sollentuna, Sanda in Fresta Parish, and Valsta and Säby in Norrsunda Parish. Further north in Uppland we find some well-excavated complexes in Lingnåre

²⁰⁵ Biuw 1992, p. 174; Andersson 1997b, p. 355.

²⁰⁶ Broberg 1991, p. 62.

and Barknåre which lack Baltic ware among the artefacts. Instead it is the Late Viking Age ceramic tradition that seems to have survived throughout the Early Middle Ages. A highly conservative pattern of consumption can thus be glimpsed in an area where runic stones and rich hoards give the impression of close contact with foreign regions.

Tuna in Skillinge, Sollentuna Parish, is not one of the recent places to have been excavated.²⁰⁷ Hans Hansson found a settlement complex consisting of about 12 house foundations there in 1941–42. According to Hansson, two phases were represented on the site, the Vendel Period and Viking Age. The one from the latter period was a large farm consisting of a dozen house foundations with a main building consisting of three wings placed in an open square.

In the Late Viking Age the farm of *Sanda* in Fresta Parish had two farms 300 metres from each other and with separate cemeteries.²⁰⁸ In the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages the traditional long-houses were replaced by a farm structure with several houses filling different functions. One long-house continued to stand until the mid-twelfth century, while the majority of buildings were smaller and assembled in groups around a number of open areas. Among the outbuildings, sunken-floor huts are a new feature. Up to about 1150 the pattern of consumption is such that one may presume that the farm was owned by an important farm in the area. The time after this is more vaguely represented in the artefacts, although there was still sporadic settlement on the site.

Valsta in Norrsunda Parish was established in the Roman Iron Age.²⁰⁹ The settlement and the activities in the Viking Age were concentrated around a loose grouping of houses on sills and some oval sunken-floor huts without hearths or ovens. Beside the settlement were about seventy graves, most of them from the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages. In the Middle Ages the settlement in *Valsta* was divided into two groups of three houses, of which the northern one overlay several Late Viking Age graves.

Säby, a stone's throw from *Valsta*, shows the same history as its neighbouring village.²¹⁰ The first permanent settlers came here during the Roman Iron Age and there was continuous occupation after that.

²⁰⁷ Biuw 1992, p. 309.

²⁰⁸ Åquist 1992.

²⁰⁹ Andersson 1997a; Andersson & Hållans 1997.

²¹⁰ Andersson & Hållans 1997.

During the Viking Age the houses were assembled in a cluster about a hundred metres from a cemetery and a *harg*, a sacred place in pre-Christian times. Apart from the ordinary houses there are rectangular sunken-floor huts with smoke ovens in a group. Säby decreased in size in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when settlement consisted of a few sunken-floor huts on the same site where the Viking Age houses had stood.

Occasional sherds in farm contexts have been found in *Granby-Hypinge*, Orkesta Parish, *Älgesta* in Husby-Ärlinghundra Parish, at *Hovgården* in Adelsö Parish, and Late Slavic Rus' vessels at *Birka*.

The rural Mälaren valley between Slavic and Scandinavian ceramic traditions

There is very little source material from the Mälaren valley, and no individual description of the ceramic complexes excavated from the farms or the graves will be presented. Only the above-mentioned villages of Tuna, Valsta, and Säby will be commented on in detail. To determine whether there are any differences between Södermanland and Uppland, I treat these provinces separately.

Among the 21 units that make up the base for Södermanland's Baltic ware, inverted rims account for as large a share as everted (figs. 165, 166 and 167). The situation is interesting because Sigtuna and the other towns in the region have everted forms as the most frequent. Short vertical rims exist, but there are fewer of them; the same is true of cylindrical necks of simple type. All the main forms are thus represented in rural Södermanland.

Five vessels with a diameter from 20 centimetres up are unusually large and thus stand out from the rest. Three items in this group are so close in form and decoration that they can be placed together as one vessel family. These are the finds from Nora in Vagnhärad Parish, Västnora in Västerhaninge Parish, and Björke Hemhaga in Västerlång Parish (fig. 166 a, b, e). The rims are long and accentuated, and the decoration is executed in a similar way with a frieze of stick marks at the top, coarse parallel lines, and a bold wavy line added to these or in a separate zone on the body. All come from cremation graves in coastal parishes and may be counted as a separate tradition testifying to local connections within the area of Södertörn and along the Södertälje route. Another important group is highly characteristic in form and decoration. The coarse, squat pots with inverted, thickened rims occur in the parishes of Salem, Botkyrka, and Österhaninge, which are well grouped just east of Södertälje (fig. 165 a, b, c). In this

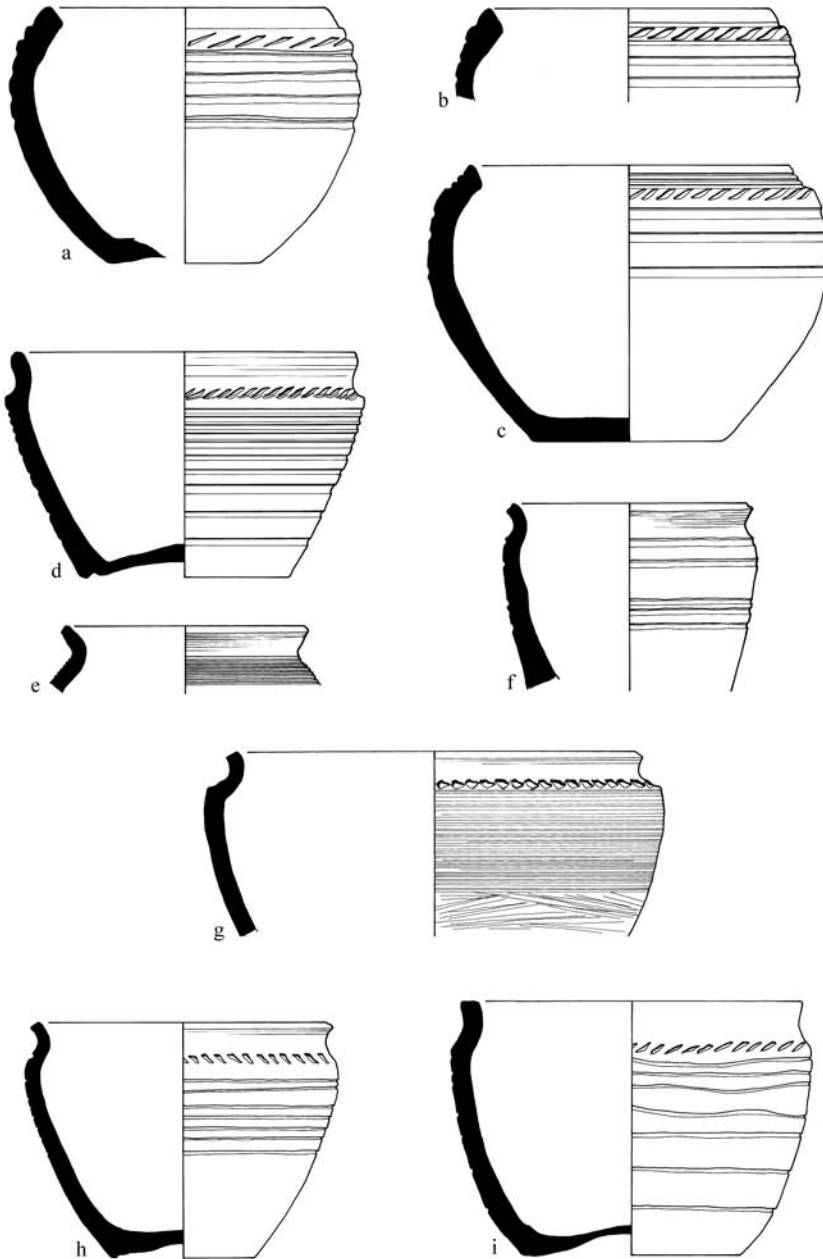


Fig. 165. Rural Södermanland. Baltic ware from (a) Alby, Botkyrka Parish, (b) Talby, Salem Parish, (c) Årsta, Österhaninge Parish, (d) Blacksta, Gåsinge Parish, (e) Ekensberg, Överenhörna Parish, (f) Husby, Trosa Parish, (g) Sille, Västerljung Parish, (h) Linga, Överjärna Parish, (i) Lötä, Bettna Parish. Scale 1:4.

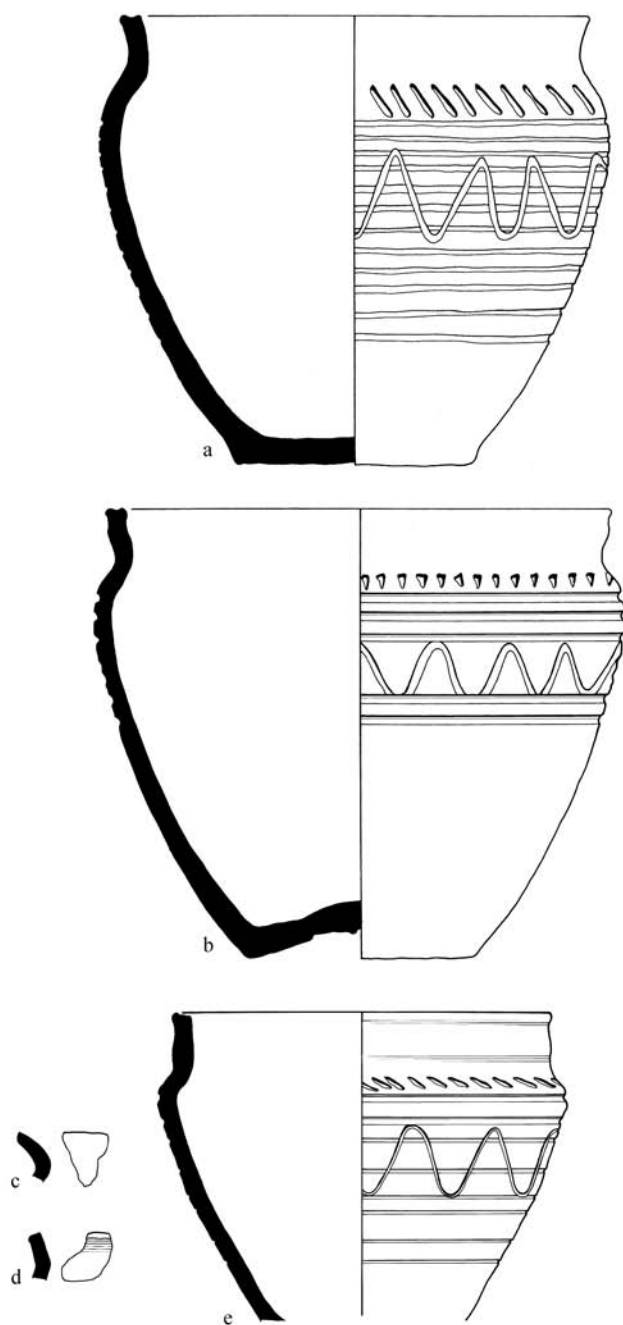


Fig. 166. Rural Södermanland. Baltic ware from (a) Nora, Vagnhärad Parish, (b) Västnora, Västerhaninge Parish, (c) Ekensberg, Överenhörna Parish, (d) Ekensberg, Överenhörna Parish, (e) Björke, Västerlång Parish. Scale 1:4.

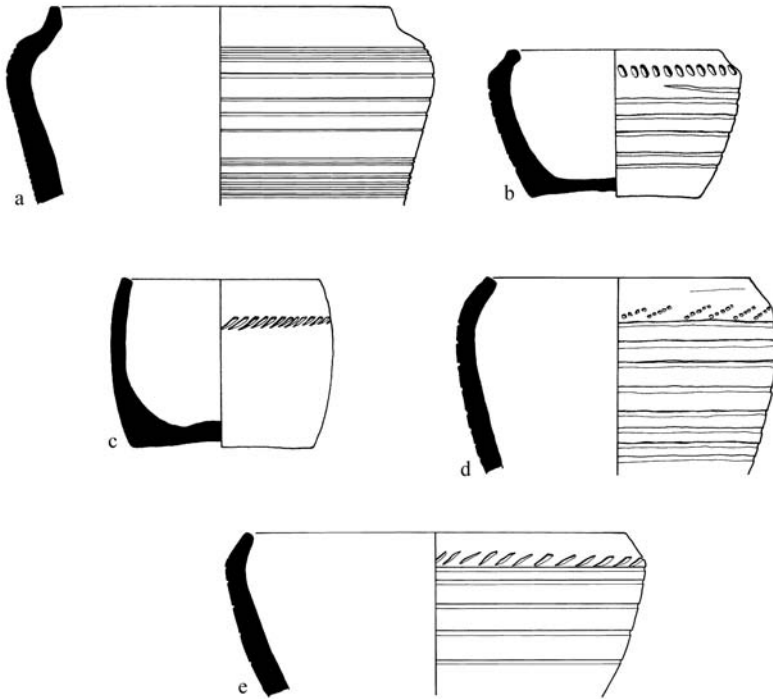


Fig. 167. Rural Södermanland. Baltic ware from (a) Husby, Vagnhärad Parish, (b) Oppeby, Nyköping, (d) Länna, Huddinge Parish, and (e) Skavsta, Nicolai Parish. Scale 1:4.

town an exactly identical vessel has been found with an inverted rim and oblique stick marks on a kind of ledge at the shoulder and shallow lines under this (fig. 162 h).

In Uppland we find 29 vessels of local Baltic ware. As in Sigtuna, the everted forms on the rims are most common (figs. 168–173). On the other hand, town and country differ in the next most frequent type, in that inverted rims occupy second place in the countryside. Short vertical rims come second last among the main forms and cylindrical necks last. Several of the vessels are completely identical or correspond to traditions in the Mälaren area. One from Vaksala Parish is identical to forms in Sigtuna and also a group with vessels from Södermanland (fig. 168 b). The inverted, thickened rim with oblique stick marks and shallow grooves on the shoulder is highly characteristic. A group of five inverted-rimmed vessels of thin fabric decorated with parallel lines or stick marks in double rows combined with lines comes from Stenby in

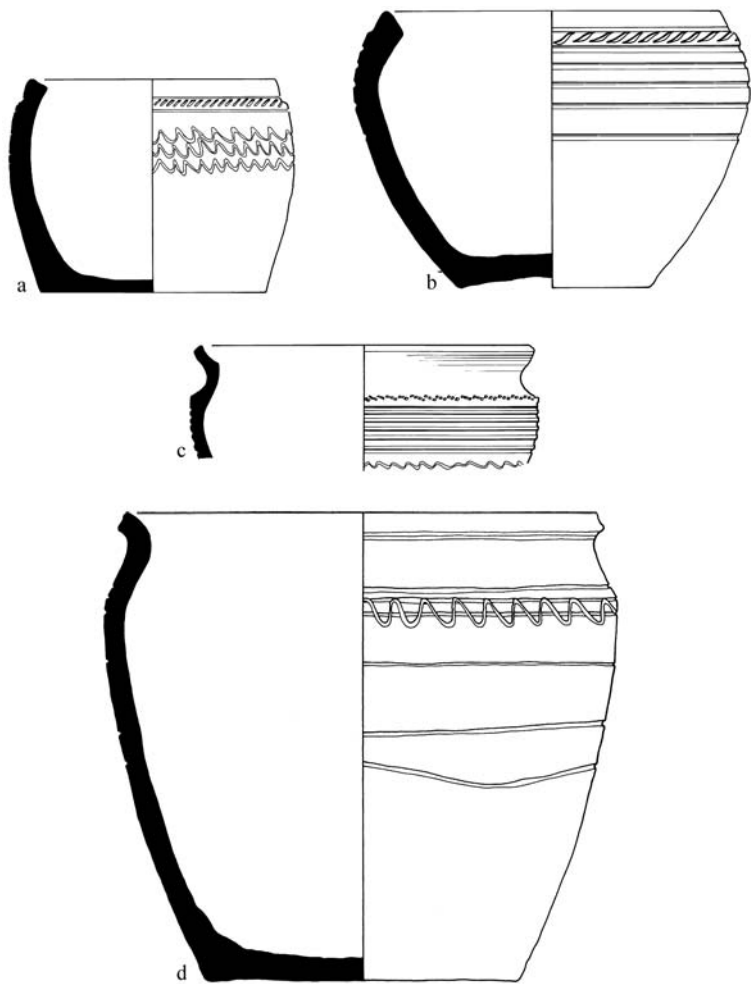


Fig. 168. Rural Uppland. Baltic ware from (a) Rekinde, Edsbro Parish, (b) Uppsala, Vaksala Parish, (c) Tuna, Sollentuna Parish, (d) Bromma, Stockholm. Scale 1:4.

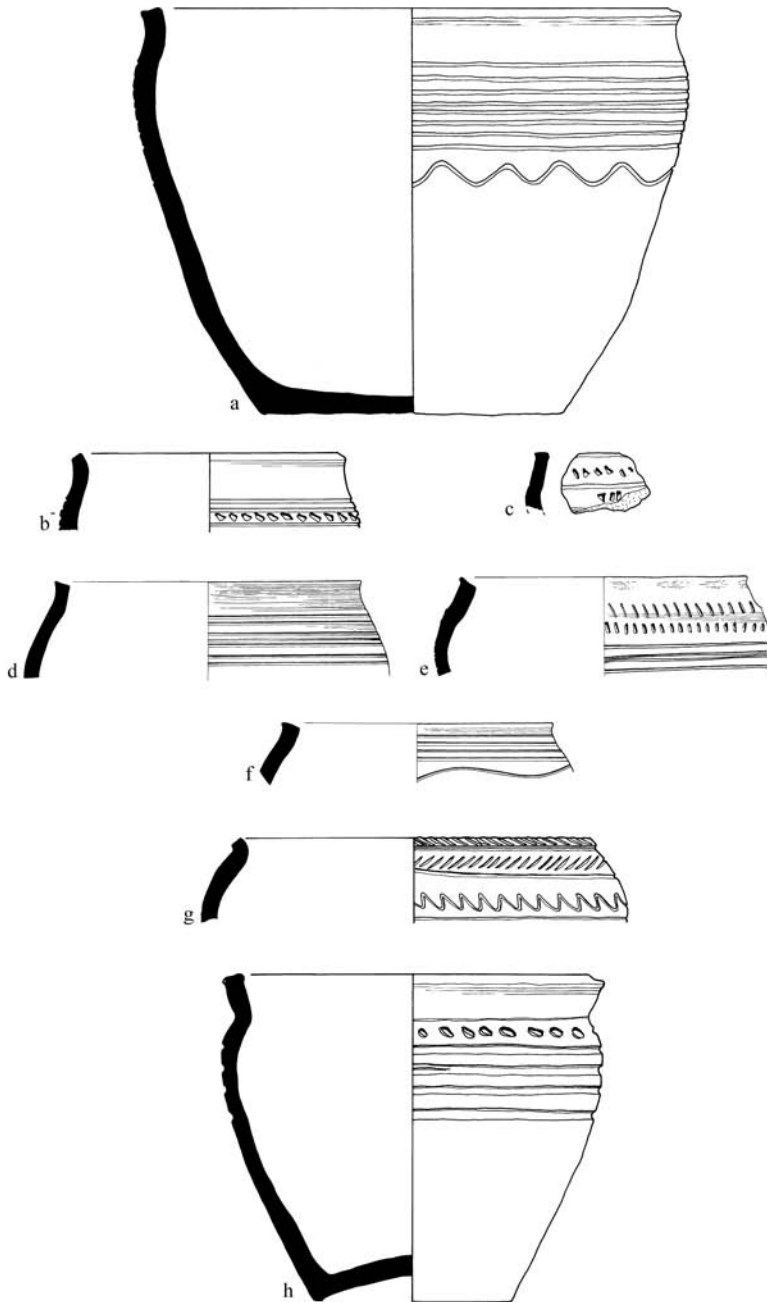


Fig. 169. Rural Uppland. Baltic ware from (a) Ytterbyn, Häverö Parish, (b) Stenby, Adelsö, (c) Stenby, Adelsö, (d–f) Säby, Norrsunda Parish, (g) Tarv, Knivsta Parish, (h) Stora Tensta, Spånga Parish. Scale 1:4.

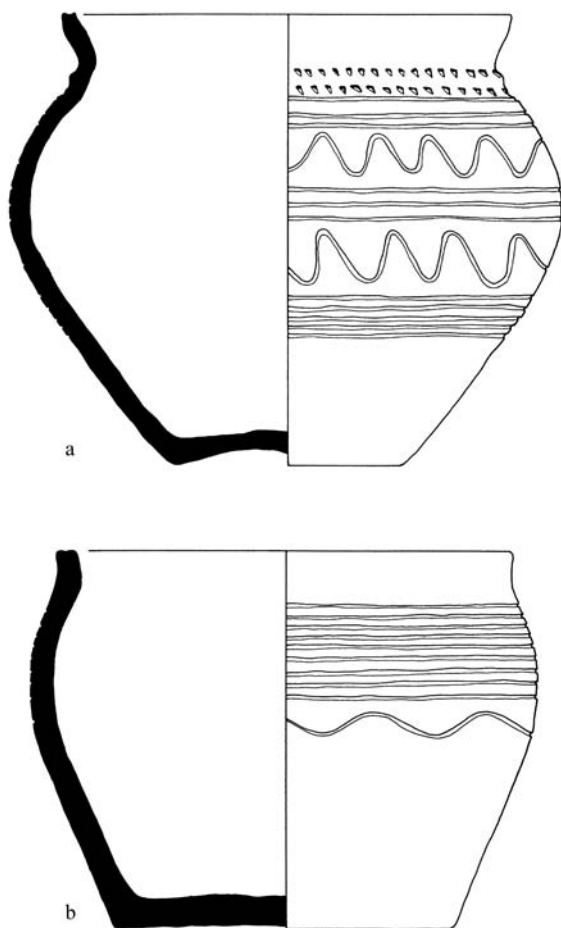


Fig. 170. Rural Uppland. Baltic ware from (a) Edeby, Skå Parish, (b) Stapel-
hagen, Vaddö Parish. Scale 1:4.

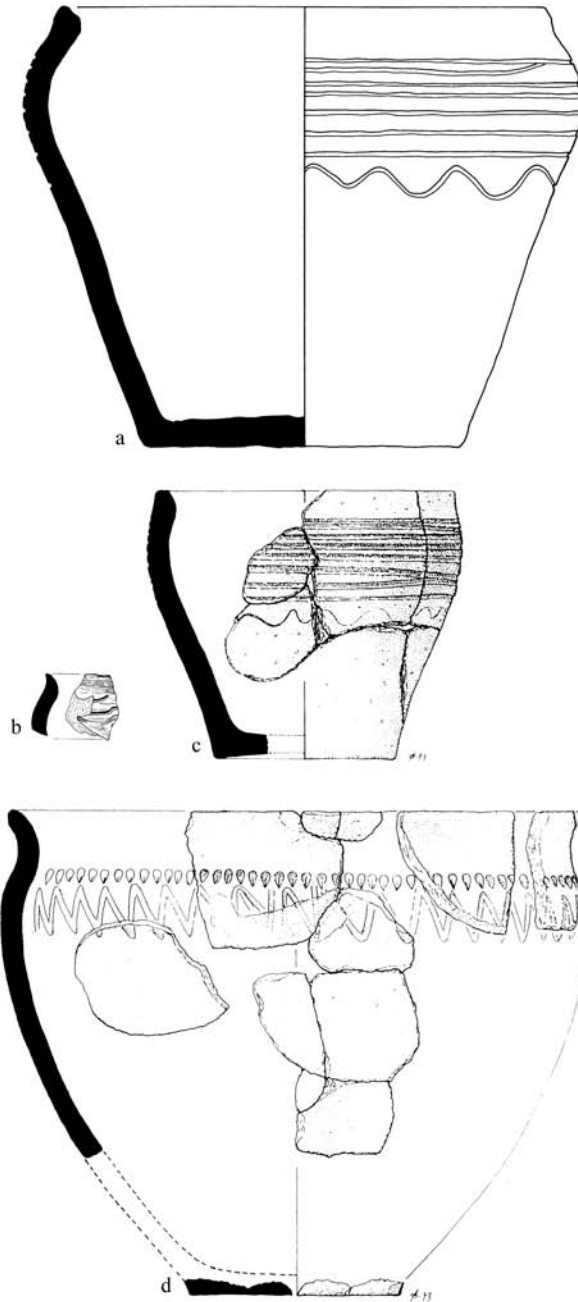


Fig. 171. Rural Uppland. Baltic ware from (a) Virö, Roslagsbro Parish, (b) Sanda, Fresta Parish, (c–d) Söderby, Danmark Parish. Scale 1:4.

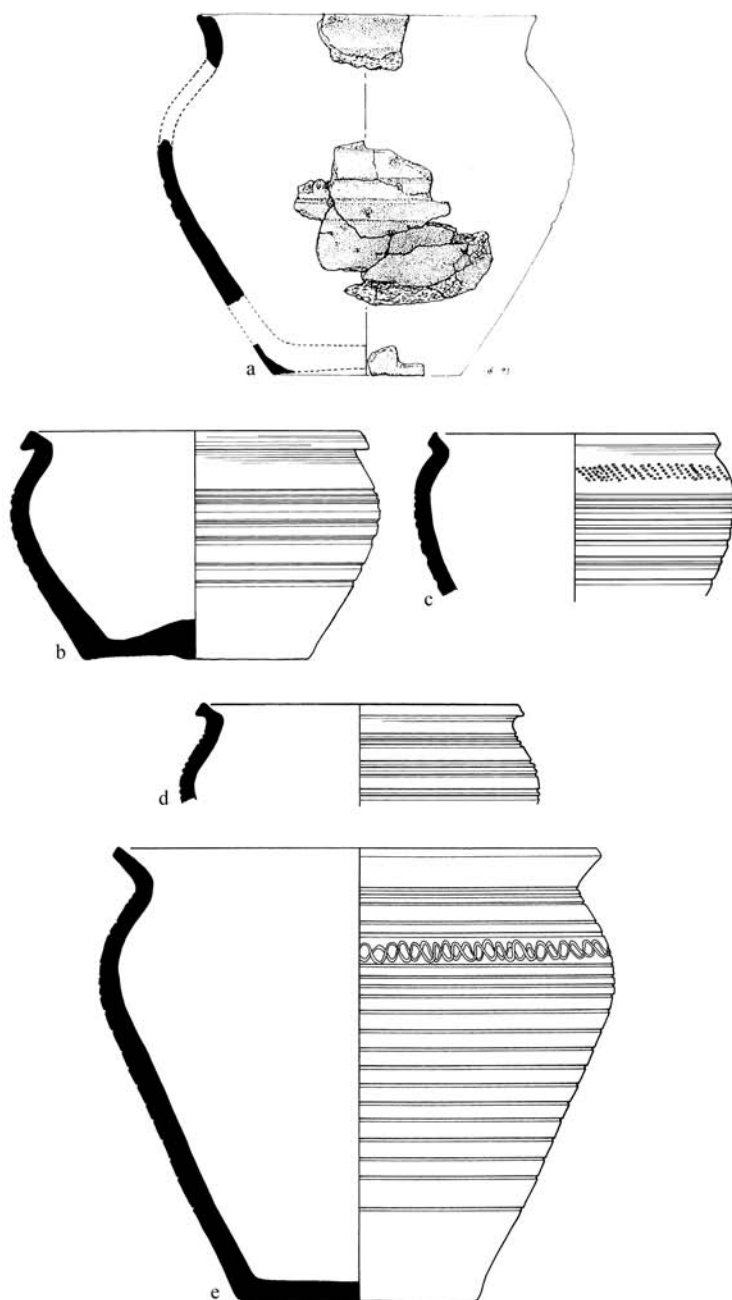


Fig. 172. Rural Uppland. Baltic ware from (a) Söderby, Danmark Parish, (b) Flytorp, Sollentuna Parish, (c) Valsta, Norrsunda Parish, (d) Tors Backe, Sollentuna Parish, (e) Nedre Sävja, Danmark Parish. Scale 1:4.

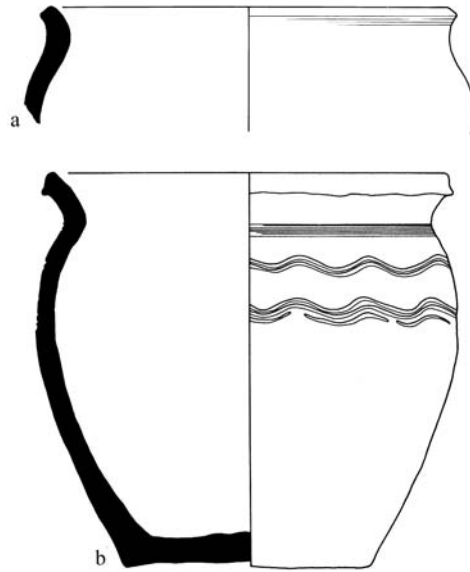


Fig. 173. Rural Uppland. Baltic ware from (a) Tuna Parish, (b) Husby, Vendel Parish. Scale 1:4.

Adelsö Parish and Säby in Norrsunda Parish (fig. 169 c, d, e, f). This is the single most common form in rural Uppland, and the tradition is also represented in Sigtuna, where it occurs copiously (fig. 149, at the bottom, extreme right). The big pots from Stora Tensta in Spånga and Edeby in Skå Parish are similar in proportions, form, and decoration to the large vessels from coastal sites in Södermanland (figs. 169 h and 170 a). A vessel family found only in Uppland comprises the finds from Ytterby in Häverö Parish, Stapelhamnen in Vaddö Parish, and Virö in Roslags-Bro Parish. These make up a geographically coherent group in coastal Roslagen (figs. 169 a, 170 b and 171 a). Sure indications of their affiliation are the proportions and the coarsely made rims, but most important is the decoration, which consists of clumsily executed lines with underlying wavy lines. Yet another vessel family is constituted by the three pots from Sollentuna and Norrsunda (fig. 172 b, c, d). They are of a good quality which is unusual in the countryside, with direct parallels in Sigtuna (figs. 146 f, g and 147 h).

An exceptional find is the Late Slavic vessel from Tuna in Sollentuna (fig. 168 c). As with the forms just described from the same parish, we find parallels in Sigtuna dated to the first quarter of the twelfth century

and in Strängnäs. We have here the only rim in rural Uppland that could have been imported from Rus'.

The dead were thus very rarely buried along with Baltic ware. What do we know about the consumption of pottery on settlement sites and in villages in the Mälaren valley? From the farms at Sanda, Säby, and Valsta we have a large quantity of pottery. The majority is locally made and has been identified as various types of early black earthenware. From Sanda there are about 825 units, of which only five are Baltic ware, or less than 1%. The farms in Säby yielded about 1,722 units of early black earthenware. Of these, 12 were of Baltic ware, or less than 1% of all the units on the site. In Valsta, finally, the number is even smaller. If we disregard the vessel in a grave within the settlement unit, there is only one body sherd with horizontal lines which may be of Baltic ware type. Of the 631 units, this is a negligible proportion.

The limited material from rural Södermanland, Västmanland, and Uppland shows, then, that Baltic ware is very weakly represented on farms and in graves in the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages. The picture we have of life in Sigtuna is that the flow of imported pottery and the townspeople's acceptance of the new influences is in stark contrast to the emptiness of the agrarian contexts. Even the people living in the surroundings of the towns, who must have had many opportunities to visit them, retained their household production with its roots in the Late Viking Age tradition of form and technology on the farm.

This picture of fidelity to tradition can be supplemented with a qualitative analysis of the few Baltic ware vessels that we find in the countryside. The Middle Slavic forms—Feldberg, Fresendorf, and Menkendorf—that were in use in Birka are totally lacking. The vessels in the graves were probably instead deposited in the eleventh century or possibly the early twelfth century. In Södermanland inverted and everted rims struggle for first place among the main forms, while in Uppland we see a clear preponderance of everted rims. The forms are simple and give the impression that the vessels may have been produced locally. Only a few approach the quality of the normal Baltic ware in Sigtuna. Otherwise the pots are clumsy but serviceable. A couple of places stand out in a qualitative survey. Since most vessels of Baltic ware are of a simple form, the grave vessels from Valsta in Norrsunda and Flytorp and Tors Backe in Sollentuna stand out as a contrast. They are well made, adroitly

decorated and belong to the normal Baltic ware in Sigtuna. Of further interest is the only Late Slavic imported vessel from the rural Mälaren valley, which was found on a farm at Tuna in Sollentuna.

That the inspiration of the Slavic vessels did actually spread to the local potters is shown by the Late Viking Age pots from Nälsta and Vällingby in Spånga Parish and one from Hägerstalund in the adjacent Järfälla Parish (fig. 174 b, c, d). All three have the same inverted rim and rough surface. The decoration on the examples from Spånga consists of careless wavy bands and on the one from Järfälla it is simple lines. In Södermanland too there are examples of the adoption of decoration on Late Viking Age vessels (fig. 174 a). The phenomenon is already attested at Birka, continues in Sigtuna, and can be detected in the countryside in nine vessels from Södermanland and fourteen from Uppland.

This qualitative analysis of the actual primary material in the form of vessel morphology can be supplemented with a study of their geographical distribution. Where in the Mälaren valley do we find Baltic ware, and what interpretations can be made on the basis of this distribution (fig. 175)? Baltic ware in rural graves and on farms is scattered along the water route from Stockholm to just north of Uppsala. South of Mälaren it is found on the Södertörn peninsula, along the coast of Södermanland, and further in near the Södertälje route. In contrast to this, the distribution of simple Late Viking Age household pottery is somewhat different in Uppland. Unlike Baltic ware, which is not found west of the belt in towards Sigtuna and Uppsala, this is evenly distributed on both sides of the water.

My interpretation of the distribution of Baltic ware is that it shows two different things. First, it reflects the channels of communication in the eleventh and early twelfth century into the most important districts of the time. The points of entry were what would later be Stockholm and the old Södertälje route. Second, it testifies to a network of contacts crossing Mälaren and linking eastern Södermanland with southern Uppland. Sigtuna must have played an important part in the spread of the new technology and style, even though only occasional examples from agrarian contexts reach the standard of the normal Baltic ware in the town.

The countryside and towns of the Mälaren valley

Sigtuna emerges as the first medieval town in the Mälaren valley at the end of the tenth century, and that is where we find the earliest dated

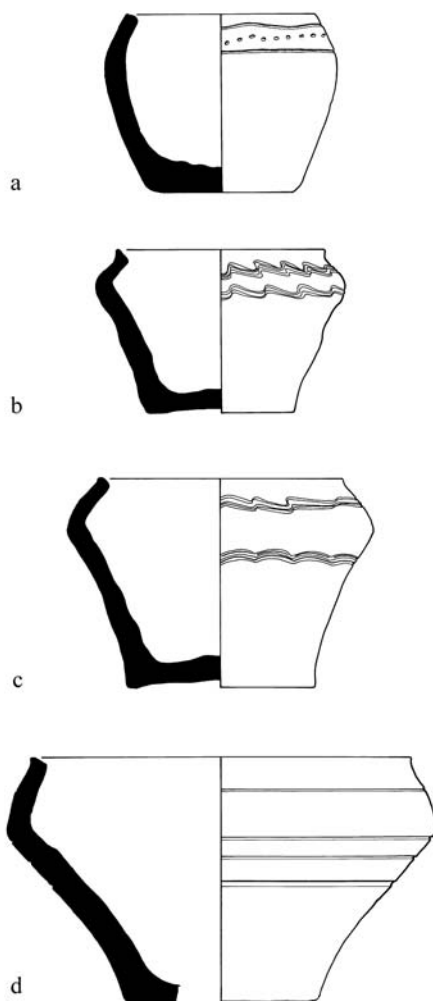


Fig. 174. Late Viking Age pottery with decoration inspired by Late Slavic style. (a) Silje, Västerljung Parish, Södermanland, (b) Nälsta, Spånga Parish, Uppland, (c) Vällingby, Spånga Parish, Uppland, (d) Hägerstalund, Järfälla Parish, Uppland. Scale 1:4.

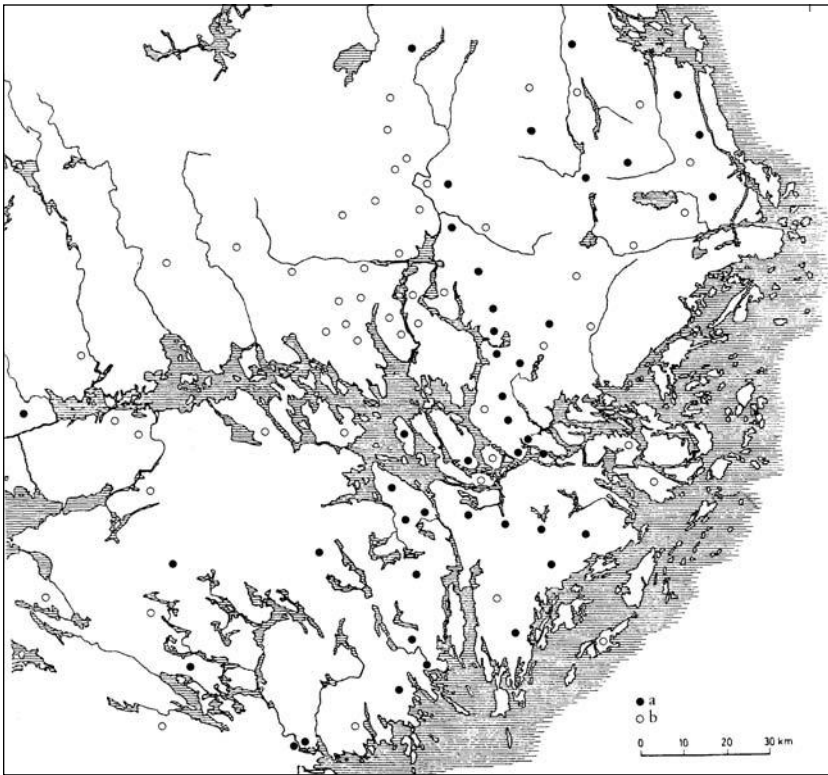


Fig. 175. Distribution of Baltic ware in the Mälaren valley. (a) places with both Baltic ware and Late Viking Age pottery, (b) places with only Late Viking Age pottery. The Baltic ware hitherto found in the rural Mälaren valley is mostly of the simple variant. Occasional vessels are of such a quality that they can be compared with normal Baltic ware in Sigtuna. Base map after Bennet 1987.

Baltic ware in the region. On the other hand, there are no secure datings of Baltic ware from the countryside or the small towns in the area to around 1000 or even to the first half of the eleventh century. The finds from Södertälje can possibly be placed in the first half of the century. In chronological terms this means that the acceptance and transfer of the Late Slavic tradition to local Baltic ware must have had its centre of innovation in Birka and Sigtuna. Further evidence for this is that, among the vessels from graves and agrarian settlements in the Mälaren valley there are no representatives at all of the Middle Slavic Feldberg or Fresendorf ware. These West Slavic cooking pots were used at Birka but did not spread to the countryside despite the town's well-attested contacts with the hinterland. Nor do the early Rus' Late Slavic forms, which began to be manufactured in the east around 930, occur in the graves. The pottery we find is instead Baltic ware in the form that arose later in interaction between Slavs and Scandinavians in Sigtuna and the towns in Rus'.

In Sigtuna people used Baltic ware from the foundation of the town, and it predominated in the households from the third quarter of the eleventh century. The relative proportions of this and other types of ware in the other places around Mälaren have not been studied in the present work. What has emerged from the earlier discussions is that Baltic ware occurs parallel to the Late Viking Age tradition in Nyköping, Södertälje, Strängnäs, Västerås, and Uppsala. Chronologically Södertälje and Västerås are securely placed in the eleventh century, while Strängnäs has an uncertain dating to that century. Nyköping and Uppsala are firmly planted in the twelfth century. The amount of Baltic ware in these places exceeds what we find in the countryside. There it accounts for a tiny fraction of the black earthenware throughout the Middle Ages. From Sanda, Säby, and Valsta we have numerical data to show that it represents less than 1% of the total pottery assemblage. Instead people in the countryside preferred the traditional techniques and forms of the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition. It is difficult at present to say whether this also applies to farms and villages in Södermanland, since excavations from such contexts have not yet been presented.

The few vessels of Baltic ware in the countryside are almost all of the simple type of which we have evidence in Sigtuna. Only in the parishes of Sollentuna and Norrsunda in Uppland do we find forms that can be assigned to the normal group. From Södermanland there are four

examples—from Ekensberg, Trosa, and Överjärna—with everted rims which have analogies in Sigtuna.

It is only in Sigtuna that genuine Late Slavic pottery is found in large amounts. Analogies in Russia and clay-mineralogical analyses show that the ware was imported from the immediate surroundings of Novgorod. Occasional sherds from Rus' are found in the later-established towns of Nyköping, Södertälje, Strängnäs, Uppsala, and Stockholm, along with one sherd from a rural context in Sollentuna, the village of Tuna. Unfortunately, no analyses have been performed on these; the view that they are imported is based on my experience of the material in Russian towns, Sigtuna, and Visby.

The spread of Baltic ware in rural Uppland shows a concentration, both quantitatively and qualitatively, around the water route that led via Södertälje or Stockholm, through Sigtuna, up to the district south of Gamla Uppsala. We should regard eastern Södermanland and the settlements along the Sigtuna route in Uppland as a culturally cohesive area where a very limited proportion of the households used Baltic ware. The majority of the population continued for a long time with the local manufacture of simple Late Viking Age forms.

The only secure *terminus post quem* for Baltic ware in the Mälaren valley is the Linnea site in Västerås, where early black earthenware in all its variants seems to cease around 1250. It is difficult to say whether this is the case in Sigtuna, since there are as yet no studies of contexts dated after the mid-thirteenth century. The presence of people from Novgorod in Visby is attested through Late Slavic pottery in the time after 1300. If Sigtuna continued to maintain the very close links with Russia at the same time, we have no archaeological evidence for this at the moment. The so-called Russian Church or St Nicholas' existed throughout the Middle Ages and may indicate continued personal presence in the town.

Conclusion

In the rural Mälaren valley people in the Early Middle Ages mainly retained the Viking Age ceramic tradition with its roots in the individual households. Baltic ware occurs in occasional examples in graves and on farms. In Södermanland people preferred Baltic ware with inverted or everted rims, while those in Uppland chose everted forms. The innovation seems to be scattered along the interface that the Sigtuna

route constituted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Stylistic relations between the vessels mean that it is possible to link the ceramic development in eastern Södermanland with that in southern Uppland, showing that the area may have had close links on the household level. The tradition of making pots of early earthenware ceased in Västerås around 1250. It is possible that this was also the case in the countryside.

CHAPTER FIVE

SLAVIC GUESTS IN THE SCANDINAVIAN HOUSE

A common question in encounters between professional archaeologists and the general public is how to explain the presence of foreign artefacts in Scandinavia. A superficial answer is that there have always been movements of people and things in the course of history. Inter-marriage, trade, exchange of prestige objects, immigration, and invasion float on the surface together with other vague hypotheses. But generalizations are mostly unsatisfactory, giving no understanding of the complex social process that lay behind the arrival and acceptance of the foreign items. This lack of knowledge has obstructed the view of how Baltic ware was transferred from Slavic areas to Scandinavia. The reasons concern factors outside the science of archaeology and methods within the discipline. In the introductory chapter looking back at the history of the Slavs and research on the topic, we saw that the Slavs and their interaction with Scandinavia have not been adequately investigated. Coarse categorizations of both people and pottery distort our picture of the contacts. We need a multifaceted method to arrive at a plausible interpretation. Our methods must be diverse if we are to achieve good results in the search for ceramic analogies and historical explanations.

Out of curiosity, and in an attempt to fill this black hole in the Early Middle Ages, I started this book by asking a question which can really be divided into two. What does Baltic ware tell us about Slavic presence in Scandinavia, and how was the tradition transferred to Scandinavian potters? Based on this division, I separate this closing chapter into two sections, underlining the different character of the questions. In the section 'Contacts and Baltic ware—what the potsherds tell us' I sum up what we know from each region in Sweden about the association between the Scandinavian and Slavic ceramic traditions. The empirical evidence signals clearly where the influences came from and how the forms spread. Through time, zones also formed within Scandinavia, displaying regional differences in the use of Baltic ware. One may regard this angle of approach as a typological, chronological, and chorological study which provides the foundation for the next step.

In the second section, 'People and Baltic ware—the potter's tale', I look more closely at explanations of the links between Slavic ethnic identity and Baltic ware, and how the cultural transfer may have taken place. There is a difference in the level of abstraction between the two sections, with the former lying closer to empirical observations and the latter inspired by hypotheses about how cultural and ethnic identity and cultural transfer may have functioned during the time from 900 to 1300 in southern Scandinavia.

Establishing a new view of the topic is fraught with difficulty. In contact with people who are interested in archaeology, one is faced with the task of giving a simplified synthesis of the past and simultaneously showing how problematic it is to interpret the diversity. If one stresses only the first of these aspects, one risks being superficial; if one gets lost in detail, on the other hand, the historical core can be obscured. By constantly focusing on the changeability and simultaneously stressing the specific situational contexts, one can resolve the dilemma. If one is able to formulate the course of events as interlinking associations, one can facilitate an understanding. At the same time, one can ascribe to people in the past roles as actors which explain their actions in terms of the prevailing conditions. We can act as anthropologists visiting the past.

My in-depth study of Baltic ware has shown that it is possible to change the image of this seemingly monolithic ceramic group. Having seen the diversity of Baltic ware in Scandinavia, it is obvious that the richly varied world of form and decoration appeared in many different guises and contexts in time and place. We find genuine imported Slavic vessels, other pots that could have been manufactured by Slavs in Scandinavia, and we find the products of Scandinavian potters based on both Late Slavic and Late Viking Age indigenous ware.

The contrasts are useful for interpreting the dynamic course of events whereby an obviously alien ceramic tradition arrives, is adopted, and takes on a life of its own in Scandinavia. But how are we to explain the transfer in view of the fact that the interaction concerned two different ethnic groups with their own languages, customs, and material culture? As the text shows, I believe that a formalist economic perspective alone does not give a sufficiently exhaustive answer to the question. In medieval archaeology, trade has often been invoked as an explanation for the occurrence of foreign objects in deposits. Wandering craftsmen freely exercising their skill have been invoked as another hypothesis, along with an objective inherent aspiration among Scandinavians

to produce technically better vessels. We must consider other social processes in order to be able to explain as subtle a change as cultural transfer. Products on the market do not live a life alongside everyday cultural codes. The transfer of pottery manufacture from the market sphere to the household sphere is therefore conceptually important for the continued interpretation. The answer to the question must be sought on several levels. Knowledge of how people used material culture to express cultural and ethnic identity indicates a new way to understand Baltic ware.

People in early medieval Scandinavia maintained contacts with and protected foreigners for special reasons. Social practice required those who strove for lordship to bestow gifts, preferably prestige objects of foreign origin. The exercise of power could also involve control of craft production, the manufacture of objects that could be used in a reciprocal relationship. But this was only the precondition for a transfer of foreign cultural elements, whether they were of a mental or material kind, besides which they circulated in the upper levels of society. To explain and understand what may have happened when Baltic ware became a Scandinavian concern, we must focus on a level closer to the people who made the pots. Baltic ware did not move by itself. Someone must have brought the tradition with them, so that it ended up in a new environment. In this new sphere, moreover, there must have been a social need for or an acceptance of the tradition. Regional differences in the composition of pottery in the households, and the chronological and spatial course of the change, are very important in this context. Through the study of local typologies we have exposed a significant dynamism which is the material basis for an interpretation. Yet it is not directly related to a social situation during the Middle Ages. We must reconstruct the context in which Baltic ware functioned and consider the type of economy and division of labour that prevailed. Did the potters act within a household or did they live by making vessels for sale? Was it women or men who were involved in the manufacture, and how was the craft passed on? How were styles assimilated? The explanation must proceed from the entirety, and both the structural framework of the society as a whole and a level close to human interaction must interact in the process of interpretation.

In this last chapter I shall bring together the experience and opinions gained in the earlier chapters. I shall then outline the consequences of my interpretations and the personal context in which the study germinated.

CONTACTS AND BALTIC WARE—WHAT THE POTSDHERDS TELL US

For the typological, chronological, and chorological study, a regional division has crystallized, based on contrasts and similarities in the set of pots. In what follows I shall divide present-day Sweden into the medieval regions of eastern Denmark,¹ Västergötland; Östergötland with Småland and Öland; Gotland; and the Mälaren valley.

I make a chronological division into fifty-year periods in order to bring out the dynamic quality of the changes. The difficulty of arriving at a finer periodization is caused by dissimilarities in the source material. In cases where it is possible to make more exact adjustments, this will be discussed in the relevant section.

Arrival—the time before 1000

Before the black wave of Late Slavic pottery arrived, few places had any direct links with Slavic guests. In Denmark east of the Sound they were strung like a necklace along the coast of Skåne. In the Mälaren valley, Birka had a unique position as a harbour for Slavic visitors. It is only there we find Feldberg and Fresendorf ware, and possibly Menkendorf vessels from West Slavic areas. There we also find coarse pots of Ladoga type from Rus' and the turntable-made pots that become increasingly common from the second quarter of the tenth century. A transfer of style took place, expressed in Slavic decoration applied to Late Viking Age indigenous pots. In Gotland we find Feldberg ware at important trading places such as Paviken and occasional sherds at the harbour that would become Visby. A hoard found on the island hints at the early arrival of Late Slavic pottery from Rus' just after the mid-tenth century.

In Sigtuna, Baltic ware was made of local clays during the decades before 1000, although the people there preferred the local Late Viking Age tradition. Household production on a low level was sufficient to meet the needs. Of more interest are the elements of East Slavic imported vessels which make themselves felt from around 980. Guests from Rus' were protected and welcomed in the newly established town, just as they had been in its predecessor, Birka. Shortly before or around the turn of the millennium, there were also West Slavs in Lund and

¹ Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge, sometimes together called *Skåneland*, in today's Sweden belonged to Denmark in the Middle Ages.

its hinterland, making Late Slavic pottery. Inverted Warder and late Fresendorf forms ended up in the oldest layers there.

Other regions have no clear evidence that Slavic vessels were used in the household. The grave vessel from Västergården, Stora Mellby parish in Västergötland, could possibly be a residue of fleeting contact during the ninth century. We can thus conclude with certainty that Late Slavic pottery arrived in Scandinavia with people just before the year 1000, albeit in small numbers. Cultural transfer could not have taken place if there had been no protected meeting places, or if the newcomers had not been incorporated into a family sphere. It was visitors to protected places who brought with them the knowledge of making pots.

Consolidation—the first half of the eleventh century

In the attempts to establish a bridgehead in the form of administrative centres in the landscape, royal power took on new expressions of a territorial character. During the time up to 1050, settlement in Lund and Sigtuna became denser and was more stringently organized. There is a great deal to suggest that the rural villages were also incorporated in a new topography of power at the same time. Activities in the early towns still had an agrarian stamp. Division of labour was low, with versatile ‘smiths’ working in wood, metal, and stone, although specialists provided the upper strata of society with prestige objects. The clearest reflection of this was the master minters belonging to the royal household.² We should regard production as being bound to some superior; in the terms of the time, the artisans were free or unfree individuals within a *familia*.

With the coming of the new millennium, Baltic ware had its real breakthrough. Lund and Sigtuna stand out as special in this respect, although we may reckon that rural south-west Skåne underwent a similar development to the most important town in the area. A slower transition is suggested by the Late Viking Age grave vessel dated to the early eleventh century from Fjälkinge in north-east Skåne, which has a skilfully executed wavy line on the shoulder. The decoration was easiest to borrow, while the technique and the rich diversity of forms was unknown to the potters of north-east Skåne. A find in a sunken-floor hut from the same village, together with a coin dating, is evidence that

² Andrén 1985, pp. 76f.

Baltic ware was in use there too, at least from the second quarter of the century. Deviations in quality and form in Halland and Blekinge indicate that some time passed before the new tradition reached these areas. The time need not have been particularly long, but the contrasts are nevertheless significant. Direct immigration of Slavic potters here at the same time as in south-west Skåne is out of the question.

More exact knowledge is difficult to obtain because both Lund and Sigtuna at the start of the eleventh century seem to have been places with a small population and scattered settlement. It is therefore difficult to draw conclusions based on the quantitative information. Despite this, we can infer that Baltic ware caught on in slightly different ways in the two towns. In Lund the influence came quickly, while in Sigtuna we see clearly that the ware did not become widespread until the second quarter of the century. There was also a great variety of forms at this time.

As regards the sets of pots, the towns were not similar either. Lund was wholly dominated by Baltic ware with inverted rims, while only a small proportion were everted. The rims on cooking pots in the new tradition were mostly everted in households in the north, and the function of the pots was limited to cooking and storage. Potters in Lund made a much more varied range with hanging vessels, lamps, and lids. The hanging vessels in Sigtuna are all of indigenous Late Viking Age type. During the first two decades of the eleventh century, there were households which still preferred Late Viking Age pots, but a small amount of normal Baltic ware was manufactured. From around 1025 the share of these vessels increased to comprise just over 30% of the total number of vessels of early black earthenware.

In Sigtuna the lasting connection with Rus' had consequences for the consumption of pottery. The encounters that had arisen at Birka were resumed in the new town after the structural transformation at the turn of the millennium. Some of the forms in this simple Baltic ware had more in common with the indigenous designs and were consequently made by Scandinavians, whereas normal everted vessels were made by East Slavic hands working locally. Occasional imported pots made their way to Sigtuna on ships from Rus'. No similar variation in the set of household pottery can be seen in Lund.

In Gotland there are vessels of the Baltic ware type in graves from the eleventh century. Protracted exchange with East Slavic areas created the conditions for interaction, the character of which is still obscure

because we have so little source material. What is certain is that the new style was based on the Late Slavic tradition from Rus'. The vast majority of rims were everted, although the small, squat pots suggest that the potters had a local connection. A set of grave vessels from southern Gotland enables us to study distribution in the countryside. A group of base marks made with identical stamps is spread over several parishes and cemeteries. It may therefore be concluded that manufacture was widespread and to some extent specialized. There is a great deal to suggest that the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition ceased in mid-century.

The large proportion of Late Viking Age pottery in Sigtuna shows that the specialization of pottery manufacture was low. A similar pattern emerges when we look at the countryside in the Mälaren valley. Baltic ware did not reach that far in the early eleventh century. When we can be sure of the chronology with the aid of analogies with forms in Sigtuna in the second half of the century, it is evident that Slavic presence is out of the question. The Baltic ware used for everyday chores had a very weak presence and was of the simpler variant, while Late Viking Age pots had a strong position on the farms. No Slavic potters were working in the countryside.

At other places and in the countryside, no Baltic ware is clearly seen before 1050. To be able to study this early development, we are dependent on well-dated contexts. Unfortunately, there are none for the rest of Sweden. A coin find is an indication of a dating to the first half of the eleventh century in Södertälje, but the forms belong to the next fifty-year period. This place may have established links of its own alongside those of Sigtuna, or it could possibly have had the role of gateway to Mälaren and therefore been a point of support for visiting Slavs under the protection of the king of the Svear. In other parts of the studied area there are no certain datings. Other regions of the country provide no sure evidence. Graves with Baltic ware could just as well be from the second half of the century, and in the Mälaren valley could also be from the start of the twelfth century.

In the first half of the eleventh century, south-west Skåne, Sigtuna, and Gotland stood out as three zones where the Late Slavic tradition was quickly accepted. The breakthrough for Baltic ware was chronologically similar for the places and areas that received the first guests. The underlying causes, on the other hand, were completely different.

Separate paths—the second half of the eleventh century

In the towns which were now half a century old, craft took on clearer outlines. It was distinguished topographically when the work began to be concentrated along the main streets. It was now possible to separate the craftsmen from the rest of household, which may reflect the start of new social ties for the brass caster and the comb maker. Production was still channelled through the head of the *familia*, but the scope of craft work changed so that it became necessary to relocate it in special production places on the plot.

During this period Baltic ware became broadened and diversified. Besides Lund with its hinterland and Sigtuna, we now have datings from Småland and Öland, Skara with rural Västergötland, rural Östergötland, Visby, rural Gotland, Södertälje, Västerås, and the rural Mälaren valley. It is also possible that there were people living in Lödöse and Söderköping in the closing years of the century, developing their variants of Baltic ware there too.

The changes during the second half of eleventh century were characterized by a wider geographical spread and increased variation. In more and more regions, local potters began to make household pots with their roots in the new tradition. At places where Baltic ware had been known since the turn of the millennium, the forms changed, as the liberation from the original Late Slavic pottery became clear. In Lund the heirs of the Slavic potters ceased their contacts with their old area, although occasional vessels or individuals arrived from there. In Sigtuna Scandinavian potters made increasing numbers of their own variants of simple Baltic ware, which now became more common than the older Late Viking Age household pots. At the same time, the presence of a larger number of guests from Rus' reinforced the stylistic influence. Baltic ware spread on a very small scale to the rural Mälaren valley, where a few vessels ended up in graves and on the farms' rubbish dumps.

In Lund and rural Skåne, people still stuck conservatively to inverted rims on standing and hanging cooking vessels in the kitchen for a little longer. Potters began however to shape more everted rims to replace the inverted rims that had previously dominated. The course of innovation had generally stagnated by this time. The first distinct quantitative and qualitative change took place in the last quarter of the century, when the amount of Baltic ware decreased somewhat as other types of ware increased in use. Among these we find *Kugeltöpfe* (*weiche Grauware*).

In the second half of the eleventh century, production of Baltic ware with a local character was established in southern Halland, north-eastern and southern Skåne. The quality of the vessels is poorer than that of the centre of innovation on the plain of Lund, although the forms show clear references to that source. In southern Halland, too, the Late Viking Age tradition probably died out during the eleventh century.

Eastern Blekinge, which belonged politically to Denmark later in the Middle Ages, was clearly oriented north-east towards the Möre coast, Öland, and to some extent Gotland. Slavic and Danish stylistic influence were totally absent.

In the second half of the eleventh century Visby acquired a special position as a guest harbour for foreigners under the protection of the thing at Roma. The harbour, which had previously been full of Gotlanders departing for and returning from other lands, now received guests from the entire Baltic area. The Slavs who came there were mostly from Rus'. Relations between Gotlanders and the Rus' were an important concern, so important that the islanders built a church dedicated to St Olaf in Novgorod, in the centre of their trading station there. The pact was confirmed with rights for merchants from Novgorod to visit Gotland. Their fixed point was the shore under the cliff, Klinten, where buildings were now organized in a more permanent structure.

Vessels with cylindrical necks found in Sweden can be dated at the earliest to the middle and second half of the eleventh century. The grave vessel from the Kilen block in Visby is one such, and there are a number of examples from other places in the town. Judging by the clays, at least one of them was manufactured in Gotland. Of normal Baltic ware and Late Slavic pottery used in Visby, it is the latter group that is most frequent. The first group is very simply made, probably in a Scandinavian setting. In contrast, the Late Slavic pottery can probably be ascribed to the Rus', either as imports or manufactured in Gotland by Slavic potters.

In rural Gotland, Baltic ware probably took over as a local tradition at the expense of the Late Viking Age pottery. The transfer of the style was already established before the foundation of Visby in the mid-eleventh century, so the people who carried the tradition must have been rooted in the agrarian setting. Visby therefore did not acquire the same major role as a centre of innovation that Lund and Sigtuna had. Instead the contacts were intensified and the presence of Slavs in the protected place became more noticeable, increasing the possibility of dialogue between the people there. If we were to assess the

degree of presence based on the rim forms of Late Slavic pottery, the time before the twelfth century is weakly represented. All through the eleventh century the most common main forms in Rus' were everted rims, medium-length with an oblique or rounded outer edge and a straight or rebated inside. Two pots from Gotska Sandön and a third from an unknown place show these features. They are also found in small quantities in Visby, but the centre of gravity showing when the pots arrived with guests is in the twelfth century.

The production conditions prevailing at the introduction of Baltic ware in Visby indicate that people made normal Baltic ware within the household. There is great variation in forms, despite the small number of vessels that have been documented. On the other hand, the potters among the visiting Slavs were based in a household structure, but through their specialization they were able to sell or exchange pots.

In Småland the few sherds from Berga and Åby testify that Baltic ware of a local type reached the inland via Östergötland or Halland. The grave vessel from Skärlöv in Öland points eastwards towards Gotland, with its distinctly cylindrical neck which has an exact counterpart in Visby. Baltic ware from Köpingsvik in Öland shows that there was a meeting place there from the second half of the eleventh century at the latest.

Skara emerged as a central place in Västergötland in the second half of the eleventh century, with its power base in the church and its economy rooted in full-scale arable farming. The settlement structure was initially dispersed and agrarian in character. External connections with trade as a goal do not seem to have had a prominent place, judging by the stock of pottery. Two traditions ran parallel ever since the first days of the town. One was firmly anchored in local Late Viking Age household manufacture and the other derived inspiration from Denmark. The relationship was based on close political and ecclesiastical connections. The Baltic ware shows features that can only be found in Skåne and southern Halland. Simple, coarsely shaped vessel bodies with inverted rims were made in the home. Occasional lids were also included in the range. The Danish connection was also reflected in lamps with feet, but they did not have the technical finesse of the objects that illuminated homes in the south. On the other hand, there was no direct influence from Slavic potters in Skara.

Lödöse has its roots in the last years of the eleventh century. If the production of pottery in Skara was closed, then Lödöse represents a somewhat more open pattern of consumption. Unlike the situation

in the inland town, however, Baltic ware had a very weak foundation on the coast. Together with vessels from a Late Viking Age tradition, however, it accounted for the majority of household vessels during the time before and around 1100. The simple everted rims, the monotonous decoration, and the bulging bodies had nothing to do with Slavic influence or imports. During the first decades the two traditions were maintained by local potters from Västergötland. In the countryside they lived on in households during the second half of the eleventh century. The town's western contacts are reflected in round-based pots of German origin, which became the most frequent type of ware at the start of the twelfth century.

In Östergötland, Baltic ware was in use in the countryside and in towns during the second half of the century. In Borg and Söderköping people stored and cooked food in simply shaped vessels of this type. It is also possible that they used oil lamps at the end of the eleventh century. At the same time, the Late Viking Age tradition lived on. Both were home-made, with no direct connection with Slavic potters.

In the Mälaren valley Baltic ware was well accepted in homes in Sigtuna. The tendency now was for normal Baltic ware to overtake the Late Viking Age group in quantity, although the latter still accounted for a considerable share of containers. This can be discerned as a gradual increase through the third and fourth quarters of the eleventh century. At the same time, the guests from Rus' reinforced their presence. A quantitative change in favour of Late Slavic pottery occurred during the last two decades before 1100. A new functional form—low bowls or lamps—became a part of the set of pottery at the same time. I interpret this as a reflection of the presence from Rus' where precisely this type of vessel was a household item.

In the last quarter of the eleventh century a large number of new rim types reached the people of Sigtuna. At the same time, only two forms disappeared from the hearths. There is possibly a link between the intensification of the guests' presence and the diversification of the products.

Södertälje stands out more clearly during the second half of the eleventh century as a central place where Baltic ware and also vessels resembling Late Slavic ceramics were in use. There is some doubt as to whether the pots came from Rus', but the quality certainly points in that direction. Also, at the place that would later be the town of Västerås, there were people making this type of ware together with Late Viking Age pottery. It is only in Södertälje that we have evidence

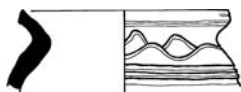


Fig. 176. In Hälsingland, Hög, Hög Parish, we find the northernmost vessel of Baltic ware in all the area studied. Scale 1:4.

of links with Slavic potters, but Baltic ware was more likely brought by people on the way to Sigtuna.

People in the rural Mälaren valley continued to use the Late Viking Age set of pots, and only occasional vessels of Baltic ware were deposited in graves.

One discrepant find should be mentioned in connection with the eleventh-century development. In Hög, in the parish of the same name in Hälsingland, we find the northernmost Baltic ware vessel (fig. 176).³ Although Dagmar Selling says that it was found in a cremation grave, the circumstances of the find are uncertain since no archaeologists were involved. It should thus be regarded as a stray find, but it is nevertheless interesting. Hög was one of the most important places in Hälsingland, with several runic stones in the locality and with a royal estate established some time in the Middle Ages.⁴ The everted rim and decoration of the pot correspond closely to the normal Baltic ware in Sigtuna.

Maximum—the first half of the twelfth century

The tendencies towards liberation for the craft that were glimpsed in the preceding period now developed further. In Lund and Sigtuna shops came into being, and in the southern town the typically urban phenomena of craft and trade were concentrated in the square.⁵ The changes must also have made their mark in other less developed central places and in rural Skåne. In the Mälaren valley, on the other hand, the countryside was separated from urban commodity production.

With the coming of the twelfth century we reach a time when Baltic ware attained an unprecedented distribution and variation. Baltic ware was spread over the whole of present-day southern Sweden up to Östergötland, while Södermanland and the area north of Mälaren chose

³ Selling 1955, p. 115.

⁴ Mogren 2000, pp. 165ff.

⁵ Andrén 1985, p. 81.

a different course. There Baltic ware became an urban phenomenon while the countryside stuck to an older cultural pattern with its Late Viking Age pottery. Direct cultural influence in the form of visiting merchants from Novgorod and Pskov, and perhaps other towns in Rus', set its stamp on more and more urban centres in eastern Sweden. In eastern Denmark, on the other hand, contacts with Wendish potters were still severed, with only occasional exceptions. Instead there arose several local forms, and in mid-century there came late Baltic ware with its roots in the older Baltic ware tradition.

In Lund there were major transformations in the appearance of cooking and storage vessels. Only half of them were now inverted, and potters tended to favour everted rims, which had become increasingly common towards the end of the previous century. The greatest change, however, was that the turntable manufacture of vessels with cylindrical necks expanded. These were mostly local variants of Late Slavic Teterow vessels, or of type K according to the Polish terminology, but they differed radically from the distinct forms from the other side of the Baltic Sea. Occasional examples were probably imported, but the majority had soft shoulders and indistinct silhouettes. We get the impression that the potters no longer thought of the aesthetic aspect but were more geared to function. With their much less accentuated shoulders, the vessels were given gently rounded outlines. The decoration and the forms took on a more elusive appearance. Rural Skåne still followed urban development closely, and we find the new rims of Baltic ware there too.

Knowledge of pottery consumption in Halland and Blekinge is too uncertain to allow us to determine any tendency in the development. People probably continued to make Baltic ware of the older type. On the other hand, it is clear that late Baltic ware cannot be found in the archaeological record from these provinces.

In Visby, by contrast, there were great changes. The incipient influx of guests from Rus' which could be traced at the end of the eleventh century continued to increase steadily. The most common rim form of Russian pottery was very frequent in Rus' from the first half of the twelfth century.⁶ In the present state of our sources we cannot date development in the town exactly, but there is a great deal to suggest

⁶ Form reference Vi 11.

that the presence increased at this time, before the major trade boom in the Baltic region in the second half of the twelfth century.

As with Halland and Blekinge, our picture of how Baltic ware is distributed in rural Gotland is still unclear. In view of the active trade pursued by the farms, it is probable that there was continuity in contacts with Rus' and a tendency to specialized pottery manufacture. An urn from Petsarve in Eke parish can be dated with the aid of the grave goods to the period 1100–1150. The vessel thus gives a single certain dating for Baltic ware at this time.

Småland and Öland are just as vague in the first decades of the twelfth century. Köpingsvik probably retained its position as a place for commodity exchange, as is shown by late forms of Baltic ware.

In Skara the potters reached a maximum in the number of forms and vessels in the first half of the twelfth century. They stuck stubbornly to the coarse inverted rims, and occasional lids protected food up to the middle of the century. Lamps on feet were likewise most common during this fifty-year period. Late Viking Age pottery was still being manufactured in the town.

In Lödöse, as in Skara, Baltic ware still had a local character. It attained its maximum in the mid-twelfth century, when the forms were more numerous than ever, accounting for the majority of household vessels. Despite this, Late Viking Age and Western European ceramics were also in use.

What happened in rural Västergötland is difficult to capture. Baltic ware probably was a continuous part of household production together with Late Viking Age pottery.

In the towns of Skänninge and Linköping in Östergötland, Baltic ware probably continued to be the most important type in households, but Late Viking Age ware also survived. The forms were closely connected to each other in a different way in these two towns than in Söderköping with its more interregional contacts. In this coastal town the potters followed a common design tradition which comprised other central places in the diocese of Linköping along with Köpingsvik and Visby. In quantitative terms, Baltic ware caught on in Söderköping just before mid-century. Guests arrived there at the same time from Novgorod or some other town in Rus'. With them they had the household utensils that with some uncertainty are archaeologically attested as Late Slavic ware. On the plain of Östergötland, Borg and Pryssgården are two dated rural complexes with Baltic ware.

In the biggest town of the Svear, Sigtuna on Lake Mälaren, potters in the first quarter of the twelfth century developed a range of forms that marked a break from the previous century. Everted rims became much more common on Baltic ware, at the expense of simpler short vertical rims and the few inverted examples. Moreover, before the middle of the century, the length of the everted rims increased, a tendency that was then reinforced in the next hundred years. The course of innovation undergone by the forms gives a similar hint of great changes in the potters' repertoire. Never before had the diversity of forms been as great as in the first half of the twelfth century and the years around the middle of the century. We can follow the same tendency if we look at the numbers of new and discarded forms. In the first quarter of the twelfth century there was a vigorous growth of new vessel forms, while many of the older forms disappeared. This is also obvious in the ratio of normal to simple forms of Baltic ware. Some time before the middle of the century, the vessels close to the Late Viking Age tradition declined sharply and the Slavic inspiration became stronger. This situation reflects a clear change in the view of what pottery should look like. Continuity can instead be seen in the low bowls and lamps that began to come into use at the end of the preceding century, since the number increased somewhat.

The guests from Rus' thus exerted an increasing influence on the potters in Sigtuna at this time. In quantity their products surpassed the Late Slavic tradition and even the local Late Viking Age types at the middle of the century. By then the two forms Sig 18 and Sig 91 dominated the Rus' pottery in Sigtuna, but they were not alone. The immigration was marked by a large quantity of new forms, probably from Novgorod and Pskov.

In the other central places in the Mälaren valley, the increased contacts with Sigtuna and Rus' made themselves felt. Södertälje, which had been brought into the change at the end of the eleventh century, continued to attract people in the Mälaren valley and the guests from outside. In Strängnäs we find, besides the Late Viking Age pots and the normal Baltic ware, a couple of Rus' vessels with the forms of the ware more common in the metropolis of Sigtuna. An alternative explanation why Late Slavic ceramics occur outside Sigtuna would be that occasional vessels were brought by travelling Scandinavians. The central place of Västerås seems to have acquired a more permanent structure some time during the twelfth century, when Baltic ware and

Late Viking Age pottery were common. In contrast, connections with Rus' do not seem to have led to any sherds being deposited in the inner parts of the Mälaren valley.

Surprisingly, the increased use of Baltic ware and the diversification in the central places of the Mälaren valley did not affect the pattern of consumption in the countryside. The source material becomes more meagre as the farm and village cemeteries declined in importance. Judging by the few secular assemblages, people continued the household manufacture of pottery and evidently had no need to develop specialized production. The find of a rim of East Slavic character from the farm of Tuna in Sollentuna therefore stands out as unusual. To this observation we can also add the two grave vessels of Baltic ware type from the same parish, which follow the normal tradition in Sigtuna. In the future the place should be incorporated in a broader discussion of social hierarchies in rural Uppland in the Early Middle Ages.

The watershed—the second half of the twelfth century

The later in time we come, the more difficult it is to describe the character of the rural material. On the other hand, we have more information about Baltic ware because of the growing number of central places and urban centres that developed clear settlement structures in the second half of the twelfth century. During this fifty-year period there were radical changes in cultural contacts, trade relations, and craft specialization. Above all during the last quarter of the century, the German influence increased quickly and radically through the agreement on trade established in 1161 between Henry the Lion, Scandinavian stakeholders, and Novgorod. The admixture of new German-speaking guests in these settings is primarily noticeable in the pots of *Kugeltopf* (*harte Grauware, variant A*) type and other personal objects. But the old connections with East and West Slavs were still important and were maintained through marriages and commercial treaties.

Parallel to the aspiration of the towns to escape the feudal order, people there strengthened their positions. Craft was therefore characterized by a certain degree of freedom for the individual and an increased division of labour. Being tied to a particular lord, as an urban tenant, was nevertheless a distinctive feature of the craftsman's status throughout the Early and Late Middle Ages. At the same time, we can discern an opposing tendency in an increasingly open market where the commodities no longer only ended up in the hands of the person

with power over the craftsman. Goods found new routes to people who had personally shaken hands with the producer.

After the middle of the century, Baltic ware in Lund began to fall dormant as an ideal. The vessels resembled those which potters had favoured in the first half of the twelfth century. It was still pots with inverted rims that stood on the hearths, together with medium-length short vertical or long everted rims with rounded edges and slightly convex insides. Only two new forms appeared for the first time, while as many as thirteen were abandoned. For this reason the innovation figure was highly negative (-13), which reflects a dying tradition. If we consider the very low number of units from the subsequent period in the first half of the thirteenth century, it is likely that the older tradition of Baltic ware disappeared before the turn of the century. We can only speculate about the reasons why households abandoned the tradition, but a crucial factor was the increased German influence among the inhabitants of Lund. In the set of pots from these decades the number of *Kugeltöpfe* rose sharply while people in the town switched to a new type of later Baltic ware.

The greatest change in Lund was that potters in the middle of the century began to make vessels with a completely new clay recipe; the fabric became thinner and the potters introduced partly new forms. The new tradition is called Late Baltic ware. The division into an early and a late type of Baltic ware persisted during the second half of the twelfth century and must have meant that specialization and increased division of labour entered homes in Lund. Is the new set of pots from around 1150 the work of the first potters who were geared to exchange or sale? A factor that speaks against this is the weak quantitative position that Late Baltic ware occupied among other types. At the same time, the rounded vessel outlines and long, everted rims show the influence of the German *Kugeltöpfe* (*variant A*) that were being used more at this time. It is clear, however, that Late Baltic ware was primarily an innovation with its origin in the earlier economy and range of forms.

Contacts between the potters in Lund and those working in the villages of Önnerup, Gårdstånga, Kyrkheddinge, and Bjäresjö were still strong. Because of weaknesses in the stratigraphy it is difficult to state which pots were used during the second half of the twelfth century. Among the forms there are several from the earliest tradition which correspond to those in Lund from this time. Finds of late Baltic ware in rural Skåne show, however, that people here had a pattern of consumption similar to that in Lund. The forms show a diversity that

gives the set of pottery in each village its own character. The heterogeneity suggests that there was no regular market-oriented production. Specialization usually means that the number of forms decreases as the manufacture is rationalized to fewer forms and a larger number of vessels to sell on the market.

In Halland and Blekinge, local variants of Baltic ware continued to be part of the household's normal service throughout the twelfth century. A noticeable difference *vis-à-vis* Skåne was that late Baltic ware did not exist as an innovation. The similarity to the introduction of the first Baltic ware in the first half of the eleventh century is striking. Potters in the province assimilated influences but they developed their own forms and technical solutions, which were simpler than those from the central settlement area in south-west Skåne. In the cultural practice followed by people in the province in the second half of the twelfth century there was no need for rapid changes.

On the large island in the Baltic Sea, Visby underwent major changes in the second half of the twelfth century. Native Gotlanders and people from Novgorod strengthened their relationship when the latter were permitted to erect their own trading station and a church. The Slavic presence acquired a clearer topographical location in the town. The cooking pots were still of the same type as those in Rus', but without the diversity in size that characterized ceramics there. The large storage vessels and small bowls that were probably oil lamps are not found in Visby. Surprisingly, the contacts with Rus' do not seem to have affected local pottery manufacture to any great extent; the number of units of Baltic ware is small. The distinct Scandinavian assimilation of Slavic forms that can be traced in Sigtuna did not occur in Visby. Hybrids are conspicuous by their absence, and the imitations are coarsely fashioned.

The difference between the Mälaren valley and Gotland is also evident when we look at the countryside. In Västergarn we find Baltic ware and Rus' pottery which can possibly be dated to the second half of the twelfth century. My hesitation concerns the identifiable Late Slavic rim forms which also decorated vessels at the start of the following century. Regardless of this, the composition of the pottery shows that the rural Gotlanders continued to keep the door open for guests from Rus', despite the powerful attraction exerted by Visby.

In Småland and Öland, two sites which stand out at this time are the town of Kalmar and the fort designated Eketorp III. The town possibly came slightly later since the earliest criteria for urbanization tell us that

it was established around or just after 1200. The pots from Kalmar are very interesting because they were probably imported from West Slavic territory. Seven Teterow and Vipperow vessels, or Type G and Type J in Polish terminology, ended up at the bottom of Slottsjärden some time around the turn of the century. Bearing in mind the flat-based German *Standbodengefässe* that were also found in the assemblage, an origin in Szczecin or some other town in Pomorze/Pomerania is highly likely.

Eketorp III functioned for a limited time, being occupied from the 1170s to the 1240s. Activities were most intensive there during the last decade of the twelfth century and the first two decades of the following century. The function of the site has long been unclear, but a thorough analysis of the artefacts has generated a hypothesis which seems very reasonable. In its early medieval phase Eketorp served as a garrison for someone belonging to the Sverker dynasty with his power base in Östergötland. The forms are undoubtedly linked to that province, as are those in Köpingsvik.

In Skara there was a slight change when the ubiquitous inverted rims encountered competition from everted rims. The injection of new forms was nevertheless so insignificant that it had no effect, and the potters displayed no innovations. Special forms ceased to be manufactured, which further hints at a reduction in the importance of this type of ware. Whether the reason for this was that a German pattern of culture was beginning to emerge is still uncertain. One factor that argues against it is that *Kugeltöpfe* (variant A) are weakly represented in deposits.

On the Göta Älv, an important communication channel, Lödöse certainly did acquire a strong German connection between 1150 and 1200. From having dominated pottery, Baltic ware now gave way to *Kugeltöpfe* (variant A), both native and imported. The rims on vessels in the earlier tradition were still everted, but unaccentuated, and as in Skara no innovations took place during the decades before 1200. In the inland areas, as in the town, the households continued to make pots of their own with Late Viking Age roots.

In the central places of Östergötland, the tradition of Baltic ware lived on. Throughout the twelfth century, however, the local Baltic ware was the normal kitchen pottery in Skänninge, Linköping and Söderköping. We should not rule out the possibility that a small number of vessels from Rus' could have arrived, even with Scandinavians.

The close relations between Rus' and Sigtuna continued during the second half of the twelfth century, despite reports of political

antagonisms, with the burning of the town as a consequence in 1187. We can follow the affinity in several ways. Simple Baltic ware decreased in quantity, while the normal forms increased. Moreover, everted rims became more common among the simple pots, the length of rims increased on normal Baltic ware, and the forms showed a strong similarity to those in Rus'. Finally, the guests from there had brought with them pots which now accounted for over 20% of the total number of units of early black earthenware.

Despite the affinity, there were radical changes among the potters who made Baltic ware during the second half of the twelfth century. The contrast with the entire preceding period (the preceding century and the first half of the twelfth century) was particularly clear in the last quarter of the century. There was a fall in the number of forms in use, only two new forms appeared, and as many as 21 disappeared from the repertoire. The same trend was shown by the Rus' pottery, which for the first time displayed a negative figure in the ratio of new and discarded forms. The result was a stagnation in the innovation process, reflecting new patterns of consumption. Since the mid-twelfth century the relative proportions of early black earthenware had been constant, but in this period the first German visitors in large numbers came to Sigtuna with a new set of pottery on board.

In the other central places in the Mälaren valley, the source material from the second half of the twelfth century varies considerably. Since the datings are rather uncertain, I assume that Baltic ware was still in use in Södertälje and Strängnäs. Better grounds for dating exist at Nyköping, Västerås, and Uppsala. In Nyköping it was in this period that Baltic ware, along with occasional Rus' vessels, entered the households. For Västerås it has been shown that people manufactured Baltic ware, but there is no imported Rus' pottery among the sherds. The very limited material from Uppsala attests to the use of both types of ware there. A completely new place with finds of Baltic ware is the Old Town of Stockholm. The character of settlement there in the second half of the twelfth century is extremely uncertain. Because Baltic ware in the Mälaren valley was associated with central places, I have placed the finds from the site in an urban context. It is likely that the lock at the inlet to Mälaren already had some form of central-place function at this time.

In the rural Mälaren valley the situation is highly uncertain. While it could be assumed that the form of burial in cemeteries with mounds

survived to some extent in the preceding fifty-year period, it must have ceased totally by the middle of the century.

The beginning of the end—the thirteenth century

During the first half of the thirteenth century, Scandinavia was on the eve of its second urban expansion. Several of the old central places acquired a stable settlement structure, and activities became more numerous and varied. We see the high medieval town with its entire social repertoire of ecclesiastical institutions, merchants, and craftsmen. During this and the subsequent century, Western European interests dominated trade and cultural exchange. Through their economic and political power, merchants from Flanders, the Netherlands, and Germany acquired a great influence over the internal life of Scandinavian towns. Personal presence as individual merchants or as burghers on the town council meant a great deal for relations. This presence cut into the private sphere where the pattern of consumption became more advanced. The townspeople increasingly turned to the market even for their simpler everyday pottery. It is likely that ceramic production throughout Scandinavia underwent professionalization at the end of the twelfth century and above all in the first half of the thirteenth century. This is particularly evident in Denmark. It is chiefly noticeable in the manufacture of lead-glazed jugs and in pots of late black earthenware, *harte Grauware* (variant B). The older household-based traditions persisted until the middle of the century but subsequently faded away.

When potters stopped making early Baltic ware in Lund just before the end of the preceding century, only late Baltic ware was left. The amount was small in proportion to the preceding century. Instead of late Baltic ware, other forms and types of ware took over on tables and in stores. Among the last vestiges of the 250-year tradition there were pots with round bodies and long everted rims. One can clearly see the influence of the German *Kugeltöpfe* in the design.

From rural Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge there is no sure evidence that both early and late Baltic ware were still in use. Since people in agrarian settings in the preceding two centuries had had a pattern of consumption similar to that in Lund, it is likely that a similar situation also existed in the early thirteenth century.

Vessels from Rus' were still circulating in Visby. Since the datings from the plots studied in the dissertation are uncertain, it has to be the rim shapes that set the limits for the period of use. If we consider

them it is possible to accept a terminus for extensive Rus' presence just after 1300. According to the written sources, they monitored their interests there until the middle of the fifteenth century, but either the archaeological material from the time has disappeared or there were so few merchants that their vessels disappear in the mass of sherds. It is thus impossible to arrive at any more exact closing date for Baltic ware in Visby.

In rural Småland and Gotland it is difficult to grasp the situation at this time. The Baltic ware at Eketorp III, however, gives us an opportunity to study the final phase of this type of ware in Öland. The fort was in use until about 1240 and with it also Baltic ware, which may be a reasonable terminus.

Skara shows a similar terminus in the mid-thirteenth century. A different situation prevailed in Lödöse. An interesting observation is that the Late Viking Age tradition and Baltic ware seem to have survived longer here than anywhere else. They continued to be manufactured until around 1300. Another feature that distinguishes Skara from Lödöse is that German influence in the form of *Kugeltöpfe* is not found at all in the inland town.

Among the towns of Skänninge, Linköping, and Söderköping in Östergötland, it is only the latter that has any sure evidence of the further fate of Baltic ware. There the negative figure for the ratio of new and discarded forms indicates that potters were abandoning it. It probably vanished by the middle of the century, although a small number of units are found in deposits dated as late as 1300. It is impossible to say at present whether the sherds were redeposited or if we have a situation in Söderköping similar to that in Lödöse, where Baltic ware was in use until the end of the century.

In Sigtuna we have better knowledge of conditions for the time up to about 1250. The proportions of simple and normal vessels of Baltic ware remained the same after the heavy decrease of simple forms in the mid-twelfth century. Even if the diversity of forms and the number of vessels decreased, the tradition of making Baltic ware and using vessels from Rus' was still the primary feature in the town's pattern of culture. During this half-century, moreover, the element of Rus' pottery increased in relation to the other forms of early black earthenware. The German round-based pots, however, did not increase in number.

There is an abrupt end to the deposits in the mid-thirteenth century, which obscures the closing phase of early black earthenware in Sigtuna. In all the material to which I have had access, fourteenth- and

fifteenth-century forms from Rus' are noticeably absent. They are found only in Visby. Of the other towns in the Mälaren valley, only Västerås provides an important contribution to the question of the terminus. There household production of pottery stopped in the mid-thirteenth century. For the countryside, however, the history still remains to be written.

Shades of black-regional consumption patterns

During the twentieth century the perception was that early black earthenware was very homogeneous and did not yield so much information. I have shown that the relative proportions and the geographical distribution of Late Slavic pottery, Baltic ware, and Late Viking Age pottery evidently differed in what is today's Sweden (fig. 177). My reassessment of Baltic ware shows a development towards increased division of labour, specialization, and changed patterns of consumption between 1000 and 1300.

Craft in the Early Middle Ages was not primarily dependent on urban centres for specialization. Advanced techniques and skills were handed down along with purely agrarian knowledge even in the Iron Age.⁷ The archaeological vestiges of this are the waste left by metal casting and work with bone and antler at rural settlements and centres for commodity exchange. From the first half of the eighth century there was a qualitative transformation of the work when mobile craftsmen covered large areas and met at a growing number of market places. The balance between supraregional and local production changed constantly, so that one can discern in the ninth and tenth centuries the mass production of bronze ornaments and combs. The restructuring of the whole of north-west Europe at the end of the tenth century also affected craft work, which became less specialized when the large supraregional centres like Birka were abandoned. A renewal of activities came about in the towns that represented the king's territorial control, which became palpable just before the turn of the millennium. In towns like Lund and Sigtuna, new craftsmen set up their businesses under feudal protection.⁸

This quick retrospect on the conditions for craft work is intended to show how varied the situation was in Scandinavia. If we look at pottery,

⁷ Callmer 1995b.

⁸ Christophersen 1980; Andrén 1985.

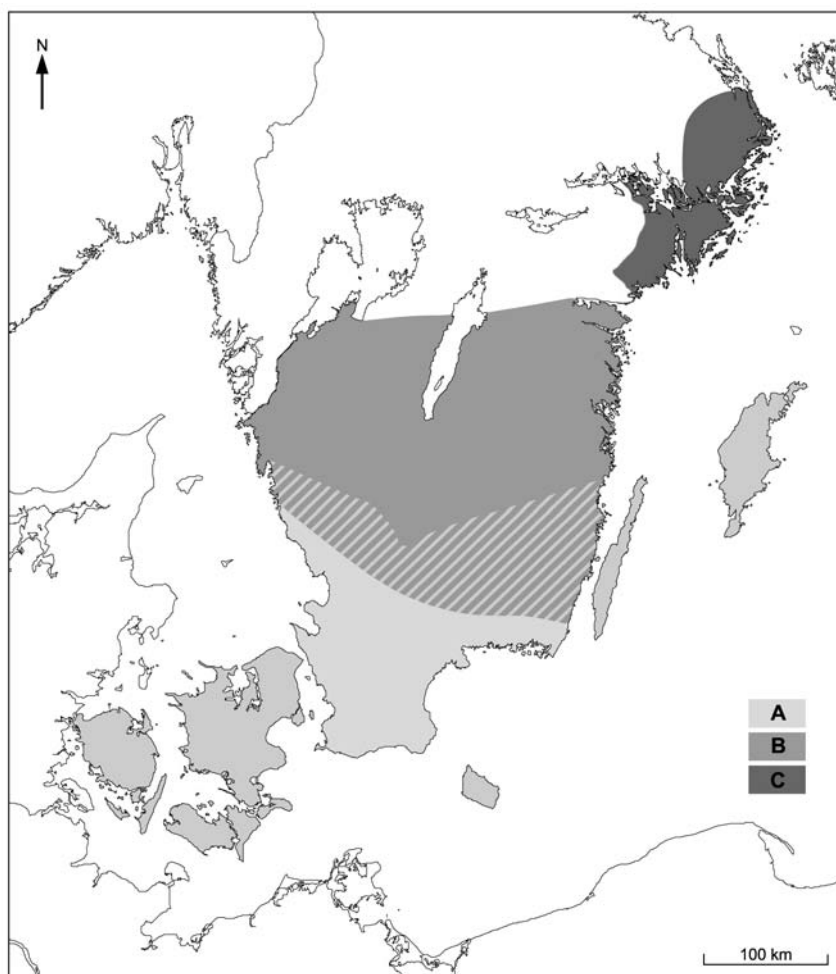


Fig. 177. Distribution of Baltic ware in Scandinavia. Occasional vessels have been found in other parts of the Nordic countries but were of little significance for pottery consumption. Regional variation suggests different relations of production. (A) In eastern Denmark and Gotland the production of indigenous Late Viking Age pots ceased in the first half of the eleventh century when people switched to Baltic ware. (B) In northern Halland, Småland, Västergötland, and Östergötland the older tradition was continued parallel to the new Baltic ware. (C) In the eastern part of the Mälaren valley Baltic ware was present in central places while a significant proportion of Late Viking Age vessels continued to be manufactured there. Only a few vessels of simple Baltic ware were used in the countryside, which retained the older tradition. Between Götaland and eastern Denmark was a zone with a varied pattern of consumption which is indistinct because of the lack of source material. The manufacture of Baltic ware stopped around 1200 in eastern Denmark and in the mid-thirteenth century in the other areas. Map drawn by Henrik Pihl.

however, we see clearly that the picture was very homogeneous and monotonous. For a very long time, from the Vendel Period onwards, local cooking and storage pots were undeveloped and simple. This sphere of material culture evidently was not part of the social dialogue. The changes undergone by other crafts did not affect pottery. The work was probably done by women within the household when the need arose. It was therefore remarkable when the Late Slavic pottery arrived in the early medieval society of Scandinavia. The contrasts between the old and the new tradition give a hint of regionality in Scandinavian consumption habits.

After the first half of the eleventh century, the indigenous Late Viking Age tradition disappeared from Skåneland and Gotland. Baltic ware which developed out of forms from Rügen and Vorpommern was adopted completely in Lund and on the manors of eastern Denmark. It relatively quickly became all-prevailing in southern Halland and Blekinge as well. In Gotland the transfer took place as a result of other incentives. Trade links between individual farms and Rus' created the conditions for personal presence even before guests were received at Visby. Local Gotlandic potters developed inferior imitations of pots from Rus', but in Skåne it was only specialized potters who sat at the turntables. A qualitative assessment of the pots from Halland and Blekinge shows that they came from the hands of local Scandinavians. It is possible that only Baltic ware was made in Småland and Öland too at this time. The lack of source material means that we must leave this possibility open.

The difference between this southern area and the rest of Sweden was that, to the north, in northern Halland, Västergötland and Östergötland, Södermanland, and Uppland, the two traditions were mixed throughout the time from 1000 to the mid-thirteenth century. Within the region there was a further discrepancy between the provinces of Götaland, where both traditions occur in urban and agrarian settings alike, and the Mälaren valley, where Baltic ware is linked to central places and towns. A fraction of it is found in graves and on settlement sites in the north, and then only as a coarse local variant. Outside Sigtuna, all Baltic ware was an inferior imitation of the pots circulating there. In towns and at trading sites in the eastern Mälaren valley, Östergötland, and Gotland we find an element of pottery from Rus', probably brought to these places by guests from there. Extremely rich finds come from Sigtuna and also a large quantity from Visby.

What does this distribution tell us? If we look first at Skåne, specialization and far-reaching division of labour in both town and country

were the reasons why a ceramic monoculture set in after the arrival of the West Slavs. This is not to say that Lund immediately acquired professional workshops producing pottery for sale. Simple cooking vessels were probably produced on a seasonal basis, allowing exchange or distribution within the system of large estates if the family had several farms. We see a pattern like this in Gotland, where the distribution of pots with the same distinctive base marks reached beyond the parish boundary to other farms close to the place of manufacture.

In the mixed area of Götaland there is no hint of professionalization. Pottery had a strictly local foundation, as shown in particular by the great difference between the nearby towns of Skara and Lödöse. In the towns of Östergötland, forms were likewise heterogeneous. Exchange between town and country meant that agrarian potters came into contact with the forms of Baltic ware and started to copy them, albeit following their own inclinations.

In Sigtuna there was the indigenous Late Viking Age pottery, the Scandinavians' Baltic ware, the vessels of locally settled Slavs, and professionally made containers imported from Rus'. In the countryside, on the other hand, households were content to use the Late Viking Age pottery and were surprisingly conservative in their attitude to the Slavic tradition. A few pots serve as a weak basis for the interpretation of how the transfer came about. Virtually all the forms we find are of very simple local type; some of the vessels in Uppland are large and coarse. The only normal Baltic ware ended up in Sollentuna, just before the water route up to Sigtuna. This is also where we find the only Russian sherd in a rural context.

The composition of pottery in the countryside and in the town raises questions about the character of links with the Slavs in the Mälaren valley, the division of labour, and the population structure. During the ninth and tenth centuries people who produced and consumed Feldberg and Fresendorf vessels at Birka did not move beyond the island. On the other hand we find occasional Finnish vessels even in agrarian settings, which must mean that people of this cultural identity were integrated in the households.⁹ The relation between coast and inland was for a long time full of contrasts, since people in towns further in from the coast continued to show no interest in imported vessels in the

⁹ Selling 1955, pp. 140ff.

High Middle Ages.¹⁰ Contacts with Slavic guests were maintained in the central places, where they stayed under protection. The few vessels of Baltic ware type found in the countryside reflect a Scandinavian reception. The division of labour that developed in the central places did not affect pottery manufacture. The fondness for Late Viking Age pottery was really the result of a socio-economic situation which did not stimulate any specialization. People did not give the guests from Rus' the role of innovators within a large geographical area as happened with the West Slavic potters in Skåne. They occupied a different place in the social hierarchy.

PEOPLE AND BALTIC WARE—THE POTTER'S TALE

As an archaeologist one must sometimes rise above the details to examine the broader structure as a way to grasp causality and arrive at hypothetical explanations for the evidence. But the narrative of the sherds is not the same as the narrative of the potter. People in this period did not have the same possibility for a bird's eye view; during their lifetime they experienced the gradual changes at a rhythm that was sometimes slow, sometimes fast. To understand the birth, development, and abandonment of Baltic ware it is necessary to move at a human level. The question we must ask is *what* or *who* is confronted in a cultural encounter. In concrete terms, this means looking at the potter as a biological and cultural being. Perhaps it is not possible to rescue individuals from the ocean of sherds, but there were boundaries surrounding both groups and individuals. Longevity, status and gender affected the individual's role and hence, of course, the transfer too. Cultural and ethnic identity shaped ideas of what was the right form and technique for pottery manufacture. People acted on the basis of the mutual relations they had as Slavic guests or as hosts in a Scandinavian household. It is therefore time to find hypothetical explanations for this process. I am aware that my own perspective limits my field of vision, but elsewhere in this book I have tried to make my stance clear and the argumentation as detailed as possible. The credibility should lie in a strong link between the context in time and place and an understanding of the actors' scope for choice within the contemporary

¹⁰ Broberg & Hasselmo 1981, pp. 146f.

structural framework. The focus will now be on human beings, although it is the group rather than the individual that can be studied in this archaeological source material. Out of the empirical evidence I shall try to formulate the significance of the pottery.

The memory of hands, the receptivity of humans

The interpretation of the spatial and chronological dynamic in the section ‘Contacts and Baltic ware—what the potsherds tell us’ can now be juxtaposed with the social categories of cultural transfer and ethnic identity. When limited to a ceramic tradition, cultural transfer contains several important aspects. Let us return to the basic points formulated by Davis in order to clarify the process and develop them more specifically for the purpose of this study: to understand the link between Baltic ware and Slavic identity. According to Davis, there are some basic conditions which affect the outcome of a cultural encounter. What do they mean for Baltic ware?

- What is transferred

I have argued that kitchen equipment, at its low social level, is evidence of personal presence. The vessels should be regarded as both physical objects and mental models. Slavic potters brought with them both pots and knowledge when they arrived in Scandinavia. The style was a part of the individual’s *habitus*, an early-learned cultural code which also comprised technique. The style could be reconstructed by Scandinavian potters, but it is clear that we are dealing with hybrid forms, since people could not wholly free themselves from their own *habitus*.

- The relationship between sender and receiver

The transfer can be seen in the light of the social pattern for transformation of style or cultural behaviour, as suggested by Boyd, Richerson, and Wiessner: *guided variation, direct bias, indirect bias, and social identification by comparison*. The receivers’ tendency to accept the alien Baltic ware varied depending on the evaluation of the maker or the group who used it. If Scandinavian potters aspired to imitate Late Slavic style, the Slavs must have been socially accepted on other levels, viewed as pioneers or socially desirable. This evaluation may have been due to other innovations which arrived earlier from the same source and were accepted, preparing the ground for other parts of the guests’ pattern of culture. The intensity of the connections

influenced the transfer, such as repeated visits, cohabitation, and shared ideological/political interests. In addition, we must look at the situation among the receivers, as the Baltic ware must have been part of the social practice. The transfer to and between Scandinavians may have been stimulated by the fact that Baltic ware arose in social environments which served as models. Early towns, royal estates, church estates, and manors were probably primary places to which the Slavs came.

- The type of media in which the transfer takes place
In this case the transfer takes place through plastically mouldable clay transformed into ceramics with no real value. The vessels may, on the other hand, have had a nominal value, based on an evaluation by the user. This was the case when the inhabitants of Scandinavian towns at the end of the twelfth century began to use glazed jugs and other parts of the service. They thus switched to a new pattern of culture, introduced by the visiting merchants they wished to emulate.
- The social context in which the transfer takes place
This point refers back to the first one, where I stressed that the vessels occurred at a simple household level. I am critical of hypotheses that the encounter, and thus the transfer, took place at an open market or were initiated by itinerant craftsmen.

Who was the Slavic potter? From both West and East Slavic tradition it is possible to conclude that he or she was to some extent specialized but not employed full-time. Since the simple local Menkendorf ware continued to be manufactured in the southern Baltic area, and since simple hand-made pots continued to be used in Rus', it seems that the more developed Late Slavic forms belong to contexts with a greater need for division of labour. These contexts existed at households in forts and at exchange places in West Slavic areas. In Rus' the potter was also probably specialized within the framework of the household.

What socio-economic situation met the guests in Scandinavia? The encounter of the Slavic and the Scandinavian potter was a meeting of two different patterns of culture and production. In tenth-century Scandinavia the manufacture of pottery fits the picture of *household production* very well.¹¹ The women on the farm made simple cooking

¹¹ van der Leeuw 1980; Peacock 1982.

pots on a seasonal basis when needed. The style was determined by the function and a low work effort. As a counter to this, the Late Slavic pottery was the result of a long development towards regional forms associated with feudally governed centres of production. The social framework of the manufacture can best be compared with *household industry*. The character of the mode of production in the present and in the historical context of the time is not entirely compatible, however. The model derives its inspiration from a processual theory where the flow system for the manufacture comes from ethno-archaeological studies in present-day societies. If proper household industry is to apply, the products should be sold or exchanged within a market system governed by supply and demand. The manufacture is often necessary to cope with a difficult economic situation. The majority of the time is spent in other activities intended to yield an income or food. The vessels were offered on a market where the actors need not have had any social bonds. The model cannot wholly be transferred to the Slavs in the Early Middle Ages nor to potters in Scandinavia. In view of the socio-economic context, the Late Slavic pottery may have been made for buyers outside the nuclear family, but we should envisage a fixed relationship within some kind of feudal order.

It seems as if the Slavs' way of organizing production had to give way to the tradition in the new environment, where the level of specialization was lower and much of the manufacture took place within the farm and the *familia*. The technique and the ranges of forms and decoration arrived, but not the social context. The Slavs acquired a special position in Skåne and Gotland, where they had a more or less dominant influence over the manufacture, while the pattern of production and consumption was different in the rest of present-day Sweden. The breadth of the pottery composition in Sigtuna speaks a different language. There was no need there for any specialization since the local Late Viking Age pots continued for a long time to be in the majority and were constantly found in the households. The potters in the town developed hybrid forms as East Slavic specialists worked alongside them, following their own tradition. Baltic ware in the other parts of Sweden was made in the household, without direct influence of specialized potters from Slavic areas or their pupils.

How and why was Late Slavic pottery transferred to Scandinavia and the potters there? The relationship can be understood through the hypotheses of Boyd and Richerson and of Wiessner concerning the social patterns of *guided variation*, *direct bias*, *indirect bias*, and *social identi-*

fication by comparison. The significance of control by 'cultural parents' is very important for an understanding. It need not mean that they are biological parents; they may very well be people who are close to the individual in an everyday situation. *Bias* can be caused by the good properties of the model and the frequency with which it occurs, or by the positive valuation of other models from the same source. If a new pattern of culture acquires a foothold in a group, *social identification by comparison* steers the individual's attempts to become accepted. With these social patterns in mind, a hypothetical explanation can be found for the transfer.

It is important to point out the difference between genetic heritage and cultural heritage. Unlike the biologically transferred heritage, the latter must gain a foothold on a conscious level. The reshaping of a material culture requires action on the part of people.¹² They could be socially influenced, acting on the basis of several palpable patterns. Being actors does not mean that individuals were constantly aware of their actions. Instead of a functionalist and goal-directed person, we should envisage a negotiator, immersed in the group's cultural pattern, but still a participant who shaped new rules. The expression of change or stagnation can be found in everyday practice, which also includes the production of pottery.

The introduction of Baltic ware to Skåne took place very quickly. An older tradition of household-based pottery ceased at the same time as the new techniques and designs were established through West Slavic potters working in the south-west part of the province. The relationship between them and the old inhabitants was not based on any of the social patterns mentioned above, since they presuppose a positive view of the innovators. Instead it was the lack of interest in their own indigenous pottery, which was not used as a medium for communicating cultural identity, and the low degree of division of labour within the household that paved the way for the Late Slavic potters. Pottery simply was not important for the people of eastern Denmark. The West Slavs from Rügen, Vorpommern, and the Oder estuary and its hinterland fulfilled their household task. Some of them had special competence and merely adapted their production somewhat when the people in the new household asked for hanging vessels for the hearth and lamps on feet.

¹² Dobres & Robb 2000.

If the style had arrived with Obodrite potters who were politically close to the kingdom of Denmark, the transfer would have looked different. Hypothetically, we could then have seen a more gentle transfer, as in Sigtuna. But no hybrid forms can be detected, and the transition to the new tradition happened so quickly that it is obscured by the archaeological periodization. We are working with short intervals of 20–25 years, less than a generation. Those who lived in eastern Denmark during this time of upheaval must have noticed how the kitchen equipment was changed and slaves speaking in a Slavic tongue increased in number.

Already by the mid-eleventh century, the involuntary Slavic immigrants no longer had any contact with their kinsmen. What had happened? As new people failed to arrive, or at least did not arrive to the same extent as during the initial phase, the morphological changes that took place south of the Baltic Sea could not be transferred through a close relationship at the turntable. The consequence was that the older forms were conserved and Skåne became a relict area in the ethnological sense, that is, one where innovation based on external influences had ceased. The changes in the composition of pottery in the second half of the eleventh century and the start of the twelfth century were based on endogenous development. The transition to late Baltic ware was a combined effect of conservatism, the acceptance of new German forms, and incipient specialization in the manufacture.

If we consider the course of events from a human perspective, the primary knowledge of pottery manufacture could have been carried on by a woman who came to Denmark around 1000. If she was aged about fifteen and fully trained in the craft, she could make pots for a further thirty years, based on an average life expectancy of just over forty years. Direct knowledge passed on by her mother or a close female relative in Vorpommern and Rügen would probably have disappeared with her around 1040. Her daughters would have been influenced by *guided variation* in the second stage of Baltic ware, when she passed on her knowledge while still alive, but the style would have changed slightly in this second stage. If pottery manufacture was a female craft and no large number of women came from Wendland to Denmark after the initial phase, then the directly transferred knowledge was halved after just one generation. When we reach the time around 1050, then, the craft was being performed by second-generation potters who lacked the day-to-day interaction with development outside Skåne. How their ethnic affiliation should be perceived is an open question. They were

far away from the group that reproduced their cultural identity through everyday interaction.

Sigtuna may serve as an example of a different form of cultural transfer in which social relationships were more varied than in Skåne. There we can observe all the patterns for transfer: *guided variation*, *direct bias*, *indirect bias*, and *social identification by comparison*. The influx of people in the time before 1000 was not large, but there were evidently guests from Rus' among them. When settlement and political power were stabilized, the royal protection provided the seedbed for a more secure existence on foreign soil. The presence of people from Rus', of which there was already a hint at Birka, was now manifested in imported vessels and those made by Slavs in Sigtuna. We can only speculate about their social situation, but the clear link at a personal level with powerful people in Rus' probably led to cohabitation. Perhaps even the merger of families from the two areas was possible, with the effect that Slavs on several different levels in society lived under the same peat roof as the people of Sigtuna.

The archaeological evidence shows clearly that social variation among the East Slavic visitors was great. As I pointed out above, the mobile material culture in Sigtuna was very like what existed in Rus'. Personal possessions connected with dignitaries were mixed with everyday pottery made by the humbler people in the townyards. Among the highly esteemed artefacts, a group of miniature axes of bronze is particularly interesting.¹³ As insignia for people in power, boyars or men from the *družina* of the prince of Novgorod, they were worn visibly. It is more likely that they belonged to men from Rus' than that Scandinavians wore them on their belts. The dating of the five bronze axes found at Trädgårdsmästaren 9 and 10 ranges from the last quarter of the eleventh century to the end of the twelfth century. The age of mercenaries in Rus' was over by then, and several sources testify to an expansion of trade with a Novgorodian presence in the Mälaren valley and Östergötland. With this interpretation, Vikings have to give way to merchants from Novgorod. The social span among the guests is also evident in the fact that the church of St Nicholas was probably the town's Orthodox church. Slaves would not have been able to pay for a *fabrica* to look after the maintenance; they would not even have been

¹³ Roslund 1995a.

permitted to practise their faith. The people who visited the icons in the church were higher up in the social community.

Another category of guests were the simple people in the townyards. On its direct arrival the Russian pottery was in the hands of visiting merchants, people who came with furs, the soft gold of the forests. One can therefore conclude that *indirect bias* functioned as the incentive when the people of Sigtuna adopted Slavic style for their own pots. Relations were good and had existed for a long time, so intimate that there could have been a family community between people in the Mälaren valley and Rus'. Attempts to imitate the Slavic vessels may have increased integration, as a way to display positive action, implicitly or explicitly, in the communication. The simple vessels of Baltic ware filled this function in the cultural dialogue. But even the normal forms demonstrate close interaction at the household level since they were probably made by both Slavs and Scandinavians. The wide range of production in Sigtuna is a sign of how well integrated the guests from Rus' were in the townyards where they lived, either as wintering merchants, as slaves, or as simple members of the *familia*.

One can also detect traces of *direct bias* in the transfer process, since the proportion of Baltic ware increases at the expense of Late Viking Age pottery. The pattern favours 'successful' social behaviour, in this case the acceptance of a style similar to that of the guests with whom the natives had a positive relationship. Increased integration with the growing number of visitors also stimulated this attitude since people within a group tend to want to select the most frequent characteristic.

Parallel to direct and indirect bias there came *guided variation*. Among the people who took over Slavic style, techniques and forms were handed down to new generations of potters, with changes in form as a consequence. The agreement over time in style between vessels from Rus' and in Sigtuna shows that new Slavs came from the homeland, which reinforced the direct and indirect bias. The tradition therefore lived on dynamically right up to the last quarter of the twelfth century, before the course of innovation ceased. With the growing influx of German guests, the people of Sigtuna reassessed their material culture.

In Gotland the social dimension of the transfer is less distinct. It is obvious that people very quickly abandoned their own Late Viking Age tradition. From a Gotlandic perspective, this was very strange since costume on the island showed such cultural conservatism. In line with this, one would envisage instead that the local pottery was highlighted and renewed internally in pace with increased interaction, instead of

giving way to the Slavic style. Evidently, as in Skåne, pottery was not important for the internal cultural identity. The potters did not assert their own idiom in the dialogue with guests from outside; they tried to learn a new grammar from them.

Judging by the analysis of clay mineralogy, Novgorod potters made their own vessels on the island. Yet a hint at assimilation can be suspected. In Visby we saw how Baltic ware was inspired by imported pots, albeit with only a vague similarity. The social pattern that steered the transfer was *indirect bias*; the relationship at the transfer was based on an already existing positive assessment of the guests. The extremely small amount of Baltic ware in proportion to Rus' pottery in the study is very surprising and difficult to explain. With the increased presence the people of Visby perhaps had access to locally manufactured Late Slavic vessels, suggesting a clear division of labour in the town. A partly similar situation can be found in rural Gotland. Many of the vessels, according to the clay-mineralogical samples, were made on the island, both those in local style and those which came from the hands of Slavic craftsmen. The extent of the contacts with the guests will remain uninvestigated until there has been a greater effort to study pottery in Visby and rural Gotland.

The most important step for Baltic ware to gain a firm foothold in Scandinavia was the transfer from indigenous potters and second-generation Slavs in the three core areas to other Scandinavians. Among the Scandinavians who adopted the style, local influences within the regions in present-day Sweden were evidently more important than direct Slavic contacts. People's movements within *folklands*, jurisdictional areas, and dioceses were reflected in the households. As free or unfree, they lived and delivered pots according to a locally learned pattern beyond interregional exchange systems. In Skåne, Baltic ware spread in the first half of the eleventh century from the core area in the south-west on to north-east Skåne and southern Halland. In the future it will be important to look for the contrasts between places at different hierarchical levels. Royal and ecclesiastical estates can differ in their pattern of consumption from small villages. People's mobility between the countryside and places like Skänninge, Linköping, Söderköping, Köpingsvik, and possibly Berga in Småland, is mirrored in the forms of Baltic ware. Certain vessels in Gotland and Öland make up a group which suggests a community (figs. 117 g and 121). All these places were part of the diocese of Linköping, a superior organization which seems to have affected the pattern of movement. In the Mälaren valley,

where Baltic ware had a weak impact on the countryside, occasional local forms recurred along communication routes into the interior of Södermanland and Uppland, particularly represented by simple Baltic ware with inverted rims (Figs. 149, top, extreme right, 162 h, 165 a, b, c and 168 b). A sphere of contact extended from Roslagen down to Mälaren, as seen in a group of large vessels which come close to the Late Viking Age style (figs. 166 a, b, e, 168 d, 169 a, h, i, 170 a, b, 171 a and 172 a).

An unanswered question is who made Late Viking Age pottery and Baltic ware in parallel in these provinces of Götaland. The situation may arise from a division of labour, or from the fact that individuals with only a local foundation had different contacts from those who moved between the countryside and innovative central places. A contrast like this was extremely clear in the Mälaren valley. The Baltic ware that we find may have been brought here by craftsmen from urban centres. The spread took place between equals who had a social foothold in both settings. We have here, thus, an internal Scandinavian *indirect bias*.

The difference in the relationship between the West Slavs in Skåne and the people of Novgorod in Sigtuna was that people in the south were alienated from the slaves who made the pots, while in the north they had a community in the material culture at many levels. Scandinavians in Sigtuna adopted techniques and designs through *indirect bias* and *social identification by comparison*. The stigmatization in Skåne of the people from Rügen and Vorpommern had no counterpart in the north. If this were the case, we would not find a diversity of ceramic types in Sigtuna. In a similar way, close cohabitation on equal terms in Skåne would have resulted in hybrid forms between Late Slavic and Late Viking Age pottery like those in Sigtuna. The contrast instead reveals the character of the relations.

The memory of hands and the receptivity of people are dual explanations of how the transfer of Baltic ware occurred. The *habitus* of the Slavic potter guaranteed the similarity to the forms of the homeland only as long as the contacts were maintained. If they were broken off, the style quickly found new paths of its own through the transfer of tacit knowledge to the next generation. In this way, the change was regulated by steered variation within Scandinavia. People's receptivity, on the other hand, was affected by *direct* and *indirect bias*, norms of valuation which were above all noticeable in Sigtuna and Gotland in relation to visiting Slavs. The same source of change led to the transfer from Scandinavian potters to secondary areas in the peripheral parts

of Skåne and the other Danish provinces, Västergötland, Östergötland, Småland, Öland, and the Mälaren valley.

The guests who arrived—Slavic contacts

In this section I try to provide a historical and social interpretation of the personal presence of Slavs in the Early Middle Ages in present-day Sweden, based on the findings of the last two sections. Archaeologically observable data and the actions of potters in different social settings form the backdrop for a holistic interpretation. As the observant reader will have realized, the use of Baltic ware underwent a development in four stages. Primarily, West Slavic pottery came from eastern Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and the Oder estuary to south-west Skåne, Rus' pottery to Gotland, Birka, and soon after that to Sigtuna, at different points in time and for different reasons. Scandinavian potters then adopted the tradition, devised their own forms and spread these in large quantities over much of eastern Denmark, Götaland, and a small amount in the Mälaren valley. The third was associated with two completely separate tendencies, one based on continuous contact with the Slavs in eastern Sweden and the other with a distinct break and no subsequent stylistic influence in the former Danish provinces. The fourth and last stage was the disappearance of Baltic and Late Slavic ware from the cultural repertoire of pottery. Events in this phase, with a new external influence from German potters, tell as much about the general reasons for the acceptance as about why people stopped using Baltic ware.

Slaves and guests

In Skåne a variety of factors favoured the establishment and very rapid spread of the Late Slavic tradition. It had its base in both external and internal changes around the year 1000 and subsequent decades. Internally, the power aspirations of the Jelling dynasty functioned as a catalyst for a dynamic change in south-west Skåne. A new territorial dominion seems to have become effective there during the period 980–1050, which affected an older power structure and had a centralizing effect.¹⁴ Several scholars have pointed out south-west Skåne as the core area of the transformation. In the archaeological source material this is reflected in the distribution of runic stones and hoards. In the

¹⁴ Andrén 1985, pp. 73ff.

countryside, land holdings were transformed into large estates in certain villages, with a type of agrarian production that required many people and also allowed increased division of labour.¹⁵ Large estates led to physical imprints on the landscape, as manors had subject tenants who ploughed virgin soil during the Middle Ages, a job that called for many hands. What these manors looked like and how the expansion of arable soils was organized is problematic. Through retrospective studies based on ownership during the High and Late Middle Ages and archaeological settlement patterns it is possible to draw tentative conclusions.¹⁶ Colonization was an important part of this process.¹⁷

Externally, the constant unrest in the politically unstable area south of the Baltic Sea was significant. The Danish royal family had been allied with the Obodrite royal house at least since the end of the tenth century. The Danish dynasty was thereby in a hostile relationship to other Slavic tribes who were combating Obodrite dominance. Among the more important ones we find the Wilzians and the Ranians. After the uprising of the Luticians and Wilzians in 983 there was constant strife between an older politico-religious system and the Christian kingdom of the Obodrites (fig. 178).

There is considerable agreement between the Late Slavic forms on Rügen and in the immediate vicinity of the island on the mainland and the forms which reached south-west Skåne in the late tenth and early eleventh century. Based on this historical-archaeological situation I would advocate as a hypothetical explanation for the establishment of Baltic ware that it was a part of the transfer of prisoners or slaves from this limited area south of the Baltic Sea to Skåne. In the new order there was a need for manpower. Large-scale farming allowed specialization, and the West Slavic potters performed the seasonal chores they had done in their homeland. If the Late Slavic vessels had instead come to Skåne with Obodrite potters, the everted rims of the Vipperow group would have been in the majority. The transition from the use of indigenous Late Viking Age pottery to Late Slavic forms and techniques went very quickly. By the mid-eleventh century the older tradition had already disappeared from both urban and agrarian

¹⁵ Anglert 1995, pp. 144ff.

¹⁶ Ulsig 1968; Callmer 1992b; Anglert 1995.

¹⁷ Callmer 1986, p. 175.

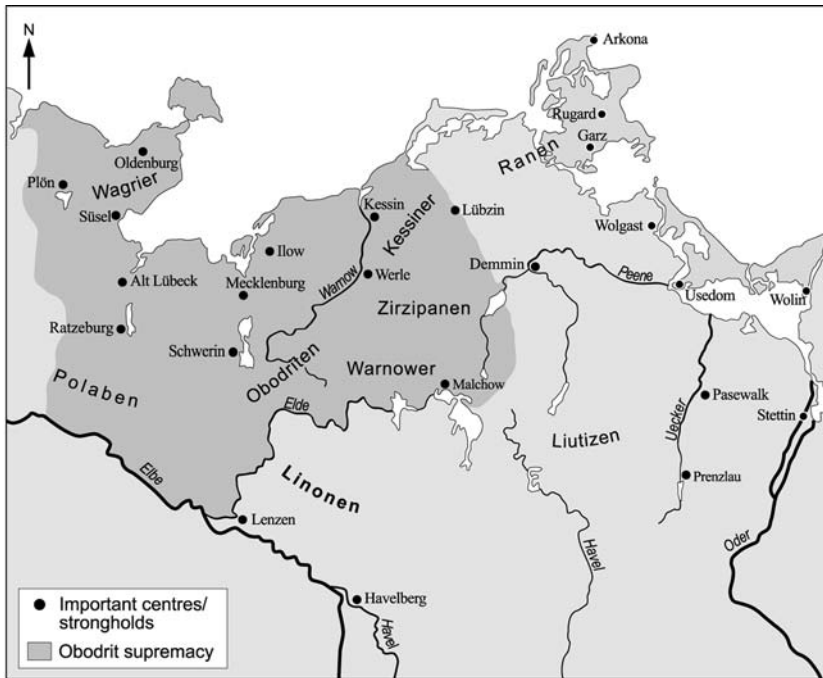


Fig. 178. Obodrite rule at its widest extent at the end of the eleventh century. The zone of expansion to the east contrasts with the central area of the Friesland tradition and Late Slavic inverted forms with analogues in Skåne. Map drawn by Henrik Pihl.

settings. Underlying causes were the socio-economic changes towards greater specialization and division of labour.

A similar course can be followed in Slavic contexts in Central Europe from the seventh century onwards. Slavic groups under Avar lordship developed stringent forms and techniques. The association between craft specialization, increased division of labour, and the territorialization of power can be seen as a chronological sequence from Central Europe towards the north. We can study this change archaeologically from the ninth century in Bohemia and Moravia to the first half of the tenth century in Rus'. At the end of the century the qualitative change reached the coasts of the Baltic Sea among West Slavic groups.

That we are dealing with specialized manufacture from the area next to the Baltic Sea coast is also suggested by the absence of the Menkendorf group in Skåne. Occasional fragments are found in the countryside and in the town of Lund, but the relative proportions of

the new Late Slavic tradition and the technically simpler Middle Slavic vessels are to the advantage of the former group. With its main distribution area in the inland south of the Baltic Sea and datings indicating manufacture until the mid-eleventh century, a spatial and chronological link with a Slavic population should also have made its mark in Skåne. This is not the case.

How to view the development from Late Slavic pottery to Baltic ware requires reflection. In principle, the techniques and forms had direct links to the other side of the Baltic Sea. Logically, then, they should be called Late Slavic. Distinct local forms developed soon, however, in particular hanging vessels and lamps which did not occur in the homelands. This took place as early as the second third of the eleventh century. Lund and its hinterland also had a ceramic family with large biconical storage pots which may be a local variant developed out of the Menkendorf or Weisdin group. Should we then regard the vessels as Baltic ware when second-generation potters have taken over? To resolve the problem of definition I choose to view it as Baltic ware right from the beginning, since it was made from local clays in Skåne, even though the potters were brought from south of the Baltic Sea. At the same time, it is also easier to put into a Late Slavic group the pots which are revealed by clay mineralogy to have been imported. Of course, we should also envisage the possibility that the indigenous potters adopted the Late Slavic style and techniques. The development in north-east Skåne and southern Halland indicates this. However, in the core area in the south-west of the province the transfer seems to have been governed by guided variation from parent to child.

But why did the set of pottery not change in pace with what happened on the other side of the Baltic Sea? Contacts evidently continued, with both trade and war embracing large areas. Parallel to the acts of war there was also exchange of commodities. The contours of the interface can be seen in the composition of hoards and ethnically identifiable artefacts from the late tenth century to the twelfth century. Several of the hoards in Germany, Denmark, and Skåne contain West Slavic jewellery.¹⁸ Particularly between 970 and 1040 they were very frequent, in whole or fragmented state. The degree of fragmentation was similar, which means that economic contacts between the West

¹⁸ Hårdh 1976b, p. 98.

Slavic area and eastern Denmark were intensive.¹⁹ On the other side of the water the sources likewise show that exchange was intensified at this time. In Poland the number of Scandinavian imports rose between 970 and 1043, which has been viewed as a sign of the thrusts of the Piasts towards the Baltic Sea.²⁰ Dynastic and economic contacts sustained the transactions. After mid-century the influx from the north decreased significantly.

In Roskilde the place-name *Vindeboder* is testimony that West Slavic guests lived in the town. The word *bod* or 'booth' is generally accepted as meaning that craft and trade were pursued on the site. Wends also arrived as slaves in Denmark, just as Danes ended up among Obodrites and other West Slavic tribes. The slave trade was extensive throughout the Early Middle Ages, as several written sources attest.²¹ Trade with people and hostage taking were part of the economy up to the mid-thirteenth century in Scandinavia. After the war against the Zirzipans in 1057 the Danes brought people with them as part of their war booty; 700 Danes were sold as slaves in 1168 during one market day in Veligrad/Mecklenburg.²² Many ended up far away from home. During the attack by King Ratibor of Pomerania against Kungahälla, several of the inhabitants ended up as slaves on the south coast of the Baltic Sea or were sold on.

Many of the people who had been led captive from Konungahella remained in thralldom in Wendland for a long time. But those who were ransomed and returned to Norway to their estates, all prospered less than before

Snorri Sturluson tells us laconically.²³ The slave trade in the Early Middle Ages resulted in an ethnically mixed population. Even if Scandinavia did not have the same large-scale use of slaves as the Roman Empire, foreigners must have been a noticeable element on farms even during the twelfth century.

In the late eleventh century and throughout the twelfth century the archaeological material from towns on the Baltic Sea gives clear signals that trade and craft were growing steadily under feudal protection.

¹⁹ Hårdh 1996.

²⁰ Zak 1989, p. 689.

²¹ Karras 1988.

²² Helmold 1990, p. 377.

²³ Sturluson 1993, p. 730.

Slaves from the areas around the Baltic Sea were sold and mixed with each other. There was thus every opportunity for the exchange of pottery, but evidently this did not happen. If all the newly arrived slaves had introduced new forms to the range of pottery in Skåne during the time from the late eleventh century and throughout the twelfth century, this would have been reflected in the source material, but they did not leave any traces. Consequently, cultural transfer should not be regarded as a natural trickle of new styles but as conscious choices in special contexts and at specific points in time.

For Skåne it was the socio-economic upheavals around 1000, with internal and external causes, that created the conditions for the rapid spread of Baltic ware in the province. People from Rügen and Vorpommern must have arrived in large numbers, were dispersed as a result of the restructuring of power to manors and other large estates, and because of their skills, their creations took the place of the earlier pottery. We may also envisage that West Slavs could be found at other levels in the hierarchy. The alliance with the Obodrites, which took a concrete form in marriage and children, must have had the result that guests and people in power also came from there. Loyal warriors originating from somewhere other than Skåne could make it easier to assume power in the area. This kind of solution in the struggle for power over land and people can be found in Rus' and among the Piasts in Poland. The Obodrite *knez* Gottskalk was an exile in Denmark for many years, taking part in Knut's conquest of England and Normandy.²⁴ His son Henrik certainly did not come alone to Denmark with his mother Sigrid after Gottskalk had been killed a decade or so earlier. Like many other close allies, they may have had fiefs in the country.

Another, less likely explanation for the large amounts of Baltic ware in Skåne is that potters there adopted Late Slavic techniques and forms. In criticism of this I would claim that the view of this receptivity is connected to an evolutionist idea of a constant desire for improvement which irresistibly breaks through any cultural behaviour. The potter acts like a *Homo economicus* with the aim of optimizing commodity production. If the Scandinavians who worked with low-technology manufacture within the household quickly switched to making Baltic ware, it would mean a radical change which is extremely uncommon in early medieval society. Instead of continuing to create wholly handmade

²⁴ Helmold 1990, p. 99.

pots they suddenly started to use a turntable and made exact copies of Late Slavic forms from eastern Mecklenburg within a few years. The examples from Lund, Sandomierz, and Přerov show how tied pottery manufacture was to a cultural pattern and a specific economy. If people in Skåne imitated Late Slavic vessels we would be able to use a typological method to detect the hybrid forms. There are hints of these among the forms in the more peripheral parts of north-east Skåne and southern Halland. The fact that the Late Viking Age vessels are dominated by inverted rims is not sufficient evidence that Baltic ware was primarily made by eastern Danish hands.

Because of the inadequacy of the source material, the stylistic transfer to Gotland is harder to explain. Before the distinct presence of people from Rus' in Visby in the second half of the eleventh century, the picture is rather blurred. Gotlandic society was paradoxically both decentralized and homogeneous, open to contacts, but closed to new cultural influences. No king succeeded in imposing his dominion on the island, and the sense of community was clearly expressed in the stubborn maintenance of the range of jewellery. Pottery does not seem to have been comprised by this. Contacts with the east make themselves felt in the hoard with a pot of East Slavic type which was buried after 956. At the same time, people up to the mid-eleventh century used their own indigenous Late Viking Age pottery. A hint at dynamism is given by vessels from graves with a broad dating to that century. The forms are wholly dominated by everted rims with an obvious origin in Rus'.

The explanation for the transfer must be extremely hypothetical. Earlier contacts with the east were intensified around the turn of the millennium, and people from Rus' came to Gotland, albeit in small numbers. Since non-agrarian production seems to have functioned within the framework of the household, the potters must have worked seasonally with their chore. We see no distinct traces in the style of the specialized potters from Rus'; the vessels are simple in character. It was possibly people from the east, but not connected to the specialization of central places, who came to Gotland in the eleventh century, an agrarian population who brought their forms with them but did not need or were not affected by technical development. Perhaps they could even be individuals from other population groups in Rus' who are reflected in the Gotlandic pottery from the end of the tenth century to the mid-eleventh century. People from different language groups with their roots among Finno-Ugrians, Scandinavians, and Slavs made up

the ethnic content of the political community that was called Rus'. In contact with this super-territorial organization, potters in adjacent areas in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania developed similar vessel forms.

The assimilation of the Russian tradition in Sigtuna followed a completely different development from what we can note for the contacts between Wendland and eastern Denmark or Rus' and Gotland. In Sigtuna the transfer was slow, profound, and continuous. The relationship between Late Viking Age pottery, Baltic ware and Rus' pottery also reveals differences in production conditions and division of labour. Throughout the first half of the eleventh century the households in Sigtuna filled their kitchens with functional vessels of Late Viking Age type. An assimilation of Slavic forms is evident from the group of Baltic ware in the shape of the simple vessels which are technically and morphologically related to the local Late Viking Age tradition. Yet there is also within the group of Baltic ware some normal Baltic ware which Slavs may have manufactured using local clays. They are technically better made than the simpler variant, closely following the forms and decorations used in Rus'. Moreover, Late Slavic vessels came directly from Rus', with their roots in the specialization and more far-reaching division of labour there. This small but important group of pottery is the key to the question of how the cultural transfer took place. Through continuous exchange of goods and shared political interests expressed in intermarriage between royal dynasties, as well as support in conflicts, there was a constantly open channel of communication going back a couple of centuries. The good mutual relationship between Rus' and Swedes is a well-known fact of the Viking Age. Scandinavian settlements in the east and direct participation in the building of the kingdom there were parts of a social exchange. These connections, however, did not have any consequence for migration from Rus' to the Mälaren valley. It is therefore interesting to note the increasing East Slavic presence in the closing phase of Birka, and the fact that these guests are the first to arrive in the newly founded town of Sigtuna. We have here a qualitative change in the relations, which was directly caused by an interest among people in Rus' in sailing west over the Gulf of Finland. The connections were long established among those in power in the respective areas, but now the expansion in trade during the eleventh century in Rus' was to be an incentive to enjoy the protection in Sigtuna. The reciprocal visits which now achieved a better balance were facilitated by the fact that a cultural and political community had been developed among the Swedes who lived in Rus', both king's daughters

like Ingegärd Olofsdotter and men in the service of Rus' princes, and the population there. The flow of people became two-way during the eleventh century, so that Sigtuna also received a larger number of guests from the other side of the Baltic Sea. Among them were some who became integrated in the households and stayed on.

The contrast between the range of pottery in Sigtuna and the surrounding countryside seems hard to understand if we assume that the same persons moved between the two settings. Translating this to the human level, one can say that the actors who made Late Viking Age pottery moved between town and country, and very few Scandinavians who had adopted Late Slavic forms went beyond the bounds of the town. On the other hand, no Slavic guests at all were found among the potters on rural farms. The contrast is interesting if we view the plots in Sigtuna as having been owned by important individuals with their roots in farming families of Uppland. A hypothesis about how the plots in the town were distributed claims that the magnates in the surrounding country were assigned land in the central place.²⁵ Proximity to the king and commodity production was attractive, and the plots were paid for with pledges of support. This picture of the king's distribution of plots may very well be correct, but we still face a problem. If the households were the same in both the town and the country, then the same people ought to have moved back and forth between the two. The indisputable answer provided by the pottery is that this was not the case. Either it was only those who produced Late Viking Age pottery who were included in the escort of people moving between the farms, or a special group of people were kept in the town. The head of the household would thus have had two complete households within his *familia*. The distinctiveness of Sigtuna is further underlined by the large quantities of Volhynian spindle whorls with which women spun in the town, but which were never used by their rural sisters. The situation is similar with other artefacts. Sigtuna seems to have suffered from a kind of 'cultural constipation'. The local people developed a special urban lifestyle alongside that of rural Uppland, with which it was nevertheless integrated. Already in the eleventh century Sigtuna must have been perceived as a community based on other cultural codes than the peasant community. They simply lived like townspeople in

²⁵ Tesch 1990, p. 36; Zachrisson 1998, pp. 126ff.

agrarian surroundings. The nearest town was very far away, in a thin network of royal *emporía*.

The difficulty of understanding the population composition still does not diminish the fact that cultural identity in Sigtuna had a very special character. The contrast between town and country seems to be a general feature of the area north of Mälaren throughout the Middle Ages. Birka seems as closed in its ceramic consumption as all towns later in the Middle Ages. The pattern of life does not reflect any supply and demand; it shows how weakly integrated the guests were. Skåne and Gotland seem much more open, but this does not say that their attitude was friendlier. On the contrary. My interpretation of the contrasting picture is that pottery manufacture at household level was carried out by slaves or people of low social status. The need for slaves for manor farming in Skåne and the farms' individual contacts with guests from Rus' in Gotland are therefore more likely to be evidence of different economic strategies. Uppland's socio-economic closure to strangers says more about the autonomous character of farms in relation to the central places. Slaves were part of households, according to the laws of both Gotland and Uppland.²⁶ The identity they had in Uppland, however, was other than being Slavs. They could be free farmers who had lost their status, been born in slavery, or taken prisoner somewhere else.

Evidently people in Sigtuna were not as geared to division of labour as they were in eastern Denmark and Gotland. I view both the Late Viking Age pottery and Baltic ware as production anchored in a household economy. What speaks in favour of that is the diversity of rim forms that the potters developed in Sigtuna compared to Lund at the same time. There is considerable variation, reflecting a large number of craftsmen.

Idiosyncratic assimilation

After Baltic ware had become accepted in the local cultural pattern, the conditions existed for it to be spread outside the primary areas. The tradition had acquired a cultural meaning for people who were in direct contact with it. I shall not touch on the reasons for the spread here, but the physical expression can be found both in central places and in the countryside during the eleventh century.

²⁶ Karras 1988.

Specialized West Slavic potters worked for a couple of generations in eastern Denmark, without adopting the indigenous tradition. On the other hand, they did adopt the functional and culturally conditioned need for hanging vessels, which did not exist south of the Baltic Sea. The rapid and thoroughgoing breakthrough in south-west Skåne was soon followed by local modifications. Technically inferior quality and less assured forms can be seen in southern Halland and north-east Skåne during the eleventh century, possibly signs of a Scandinavian adoption of the style. Blekinge was influenced by eastern Swedish traditions. An older regional cultural contact lived on in people's actions in the households there. The style was purely Scandinavian, with no Slavic direct origin.

The Rus' contacts with Visby became evident from around 1050. Only then had the Gotlanders established an urban structure with parcels of land and houses with separate functions within the plots. This initial urban phase also saw the construction of the first church close to the old burial ground in the southern part of the settlement. Late Slavic vessels or copies of them dominated the pottery in the town. The simplified Gotlandic imitations differed in form and decoration from the imported Slavic vessels. One may suppose that the foundation of the Gotlandic church of Saint Olof and the trading station in Novgorod from the second half of the eleventh century was intended to meet the same shared needs. The personal presence of Rus' in Visby in the second half of the century may have been the first step towards more established trading contacts from the Rus' side as well. With the Rus' merchants more interested in maintaining a seasonal presence in Gotland, there was also a greater incentive to found a place with special laws and protection for the guests. As the only central place, Visby could offer the legal protection of the community at the thing at Roma for guests coming to the island. Knowledge of how Baltic ware developed as a tradition in Gotland from the mid-eleventh century improves with the source material from Visby. Baltic ware had been found in graves before this, but now appeared as two distinct types of ware, one associated with the presence of people from Rus' and one local type of inferior quality which shows that the otherwise so closed Gotlanders had assimilated the tradition.

In other parts of Götaland there are no signs that Baltic ware was brought by the intermediacy of Slavic potters. Deep in the interior of Småland and on Öland we find Baltic ware of local character during the eleventh century, as we do in both rural and urban Västergötland

and Östergötland. Skara received influences from Skåne, but pottery in Lödöse was wholly based on local tradition and forms influenced by round pots from Germany. In all these areas the potters adopted and spread Baltic ware in both agrarian and urban settings.

This was not the case in the Mälaren valley. A fascinating contrast emerged, primarily between Sigtuna and its hinterland, and then during the second half of the eleventh century between Sigtuna together with the new central places and the surrounding countryside. Sigtuna acquired a greater inflow of Rus' guests, who also passed Södertälje, and at the start of the twelfth century Strängnäs as well. On the other hand, the rural farms and villages were totally without permanent guests from Rus'.

The spread of Baltic ware in its second phase gives the impression that it had taken on a different cultural meaning since the first phase. How the reception functioned depended on the relationship between the newly arrived Slavs and the Scandinavians. The attitude of the Scandinavians, on the other hand, depended on the local socio-economic situation, not just on trade. Conditions varied considerably within present-day Sweden, and characteristic regions crystallized. As a part of Denmark, Skåne was unique in that a real movement of people took place and the Slavic potters as specialists were able to continue to exercise their skills on a seasonal basis. This shows how insignificant was the interest in the old local tradition. In Sigtuna there was cultural integration of great complexity. During the eleventh century, then, it is not just in Skåne, Sigtuna, and Gotland that we find evidence of the continued personal presence of Slavic guests. Other source material shows distinctive local features. In Halland, Blekinge, Västergötland, Östergötland, Småland, and Öland, and in the rural Mälaren valley, no Slavic potters were seen in the houses. The transfer there was achieved by Scandinavians who, through contacts with central places and areas where Late Slavic pottery arrived primarily, adopted the style and developed their own forms. Instead of a Slavic presence, Baltic ware in the secondary areas reflects a Scandinavian reception.

Broken ties, firm handshakes

The continued development of Baltic ware and of the contacts displayed both continuity and discontinuity. The three core areas also began to follow separate paths.

A couple of observations which strengthen my hypothesis of a rapid cultural transfer from Rügen and its hinterland to Skåne around and just

after 1000 is the absence of West Slavic forms from the late eleventh and the twelfth century in Lund. The observations are also methodologically interesting since they are in contrast to the written source material. One of the contradictions lies in the fact that the Obodrite royal family and its retinue fled to Denmark after a pagan uprising in 1066. We may assume that unfree slaves accompanied them, since the status of the refugees required them to have servants to look after them and perform everyday chores. Pottery manufacture does not seem to have changed with new elements from the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. Unlike the first wave of Wends, they found themselves in a completely different cultural and political context. The other observation concerns the twelfth century. Despite the intensive and continuous aggression from the Danes in the form of punitive expeditions and crusades, this did not leave any traces in the ceramic source material. If the victors placed a large group of slaves on their estates during the second half of the twelfth century, the forms should have changed in the same direction as in the Slavic homeland. We may expect that the prisoners of war still ended up in slavery, but the potters of Skåne already had a fixed tradition which functioned within the framework of a division of labour.

We should not envisage the area in the southern Baltic Sea as a constant war zone. The intensive trade that characterized the twelfth century evidently continued despite the annual attacks from the Danish, Slavic, and German sides. In the trading connections between West Slavs and Scandinavians, however, it is clear that the exchange of pottery did not play great part. If the Late Slavic vessels had been trading commodities, we should find the well-defined forms from the late eleventh century up to 1200 in the deposits in the towns. The few sherds that differ from the normal ones in Lund may be remains of imported vessels or made by newly arrived Slavs in the town. Instead the potters in Lund transformed the manufacture in the mid-twelfth century into a new technique and new forms. With late Baltic ware we meet potters who were impressed by the German ceramic tradition and who continued with forms from the old range and simultaneously started a series of new vessel silhouettes. They nevertheless had a local foundation.

Visby acquired an important role for contacts with Novgorod. It is not until the twelfth century that a personal presence is reflected by the cooking vessels, but then the new forms became popular. In quantitative terms, the Gotlandic potters did not adopt the tradition, since a very

small proportion of the sherds are Baltic ware. Perhaps the clearly Slavic vessels made in Gotland hint that a division of labour had come about, which gave the people of twelfth-century Visby access to high-quality pottery through exchange or purchase. In the absence of a detailed study of several Visby excavations with a more distinct chronological distribution, the situation is still obscure.

The presence of Novgorodians is not surprising since the written sources speak the same language. Ships from Novgorod are recorded in Denmark, Gotland, and Sweden in the years 1130, 1134, 1142, 1157, and 1188.²⁷ It is evident that the East Slavic guests had access to protection in Gotland before the German trade expansion in the Baltic Sea. Opinions have differed on this issue since the duration of the trading contacts is not visible in chronicles or treaties. Instead we must turn to the archaeological source material with its explicit evidence that the Gotlanders' eastern journeys had their counterpart in the distinct presence of Novgorod merchants in Gotland from the second half of the eleventh century and above all during the twelfth century.

It is interesting that the pottery attests to East Slavic presence before the real boom in trade in Visby, that is, from the end of the twelfth century and above all in the thirteenth century. Even before the Saxon duke Henry the Lion and merchants from Flanders, the Netherlands, and Germany turned their interest towards the island, the Russian ships were there. The archaeological deposits yield East Slavic vessels from the middle of the eleventh century, and this tradition was all-prevailing up to the second half of the twelfth century. Novgorod's commercial policy had guaranteed protection in foreign lands by means of treaties. Russian merchants were guests in the town, and at the end of the twelfth century they acquired a trading centre that made their stay easier. It must have been at the same time that 'the Russian church' was built, which then stood until the end of the fourteenth century.

We can detect increased presence from Rus' in Sigtuna from the last quarter of the eleventh century. The time from 1100 to 1175, before the real competition from German merchants restructured the population composition in the town, were the golden years. The Novgorodians become more distinct in the archaeological source material thanks to a large amount of artefacts with their counterparts in the towns of the homeland. What was the reason for this quantitative and qualitative

²⁷ Martin 1986, p. 50.

leap? I have argued elsewhere that the presence of both occasional luxury artefacts and the Russian pottery found *en masse* in Sigtuna was closely associated with the expanding trade in Kievan Rus'.²⁸ The conditions were created there when Vladimir Sviatoslavich around 1000 managed to combat the constant threat from the Pechenegs in the area between Kiev and the Black Sea and thereby secured interregional trade.²⁹ From having been focused on the Byzantine and Bulgar states, northern Rus' shifted its interest towards Western Europe during the eleventh century. As trade and craft expanded in Novgorod, the inhabitants there took more active part in the trading journeys. Instead of being dependent on Scandinavian ships, they seem to have organized western trade themselves, judging by the pottery in Sigtuna and Visby at the end of the eleventh century. The demand for furs remained large during the next century, and the guests from Novgorod were well protected by the vanity of the rulers in the west.

Late Slavic pottery came from the northern part of Kievan Rus' to Sigtuna throughout the eleventh century, with a smaller share going to Gotland. In the subsequent century, Russian pots spread to other towns in eastern Sweden, as kitchen utensils used by Novgorodians or Scandinavians. Trade with Rus' expanded, and Sigtuna served as the hub for other central places taking part in the increased flow of goods. In addition to the archaeological source material there is written information which corroborates Novgorod's interest in smaller places outside the king's town of Sigtuna. The Danish historian John Lind has drawn attention to a record in the First Novgorod Chronicle which tells of the consequences of the burning of Sigtuna in 1187 by the Karelians at the instigation of Novgorod. Translated from Danish, his version reads: "In the same year the Varangians imprisoned Novgorodians in Gotland and the Swedes [imprisoned Novgorodians] in Khorzhék and in Novotorzhék".³⁰ These events reflect the growing crisis between Swedes and Novgorodians over natural resources in the Finnish hunting lands (*erä*). At the moment we shall concentrate on the two places mentioned in the text. Lind argues convincingly that Khorzhék should be identified as Torshälla and Novotorzhék with Nyköping. I have already demonstrated a Novgorodian presence in

²⁸ Roslund 1997a.

²⁹ Martin 1995, p. 19.

³⁰ Lind 1981, p. 148.

the latter town, with its function as an interregional trading site. Torshälla, however, is harder to understand as a landing place for distant guests. Lind believes that it was copper from the hinterland of Lake Hjälmaren that attracted people to the place, since Novgorod suffered from a shortage of that metal.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the occurrence of East Slavic pottery in Sigtuna and Gotland around 1000 is that it contrasts with other source material. Hoards show a decrease in eastern imports of Arabian silver and an influx of German and English coins. The western silver may have come via intermediate stations before being deposited in the soil. There are contradictions between the accounts in the written sources, where the conflicts at the end of the twelfth century mark the end of the peaceful coexistence. The attack on Sigtuna in 1187 does not seem to have affected the personal presence other than temporarily. That this was the case can in fact be read between the lines in the treaty signed by Novgorod in 1191–95/1198–99.

The encounter between Scandinavians and East Slavs thus preceded the Hanseatic trade expansion in the Baltic Sea. It is important to stress this since the international historical literature contains generalizations and anachronistic interpretations of the trading connections, heavily based on hindsight. Janet Martin, who is otherwise thoroughly familiar with Russian trade during the Middle Ages, writes: “As in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, fur was one of the most important commodities in the Novgorod–Hansa exchange”.³¹ At least for eleventh century and the twelfth century, the view that German interests governed trade is seriously overestimated and the Hansa tends to spread its effective commerce a little too far back in time because of the character of the source material. The large quantity of German coins has played a decisive role in the analysis of the expansion in trade. An active Russian commercial policy during the twelfth century agrees well with how John Lind perceives the period.

The participation of Russian merchants in trade relations in the Baltic, before the German dominance began in earnest in the fourteenth century, is surely underestimated. They were in Sigtuna, on Gotland, in Schleswig, and we have now also been able to verify their presence in Torshälla and Nyköping.³²

³¹ Martin 1986, p. 64.

³² Lind 1981, p. 163.

In the Mälaren valley, merchants from Novgorod could moreover have visited Södertälje, Strängnäs, Uppsala, and what would later be Stockholm. A strange rural find is a rim from Tuna in Sollentuna. Further south we have evidence, albeit uncertain, of presence in Skänninge, Linköping and Söderköping. In Köpingsvik and Gotska Sandön true Rus' vessels are present. In Gotland we have visitors in Visby from the late 11th century and in Västergarn at the close of the twelfth century or slightly later (fig. 179).

In connection with the new observation of vessels from Rus' recorded in this study, it is interesting to point out the occasional fragments of Byzantine amphorae found in Schleswig and Visby.³³ The quantity is small compared with that in Sigtuna, but it tells us of wine and oil which came along with furs on ships from Novgorod. In the future it will be fascinating to see whether Russian cooking vessels appear in Schleswig, Lübeck, Szczecin, and other places involved in the transactions across the sea.

The pottery that the visiting merchants brought with them from Rus' also informs us about the scope and character of the visits. In both Sigtuna and Visby the set of Russian vessels is very homogeneous in size and function. Medium-sized cooking vessels arrived with the ships, suitable for cooking both at sea and in the town after arrival. In Novgorod there is much greater variation in both size and function. A functional group of large storage vessels is totally absent in the Scandinavian towns. The visitors had a set of travel ceramics with them, which then ended up on the rubbish heap of the host family.

Farewell and welcome

In the same way as with the arrival around 1000, the disappearance of Baltic ware followed a heterogeneous course. Potters in Skåne stopped using the old methods already before 1200, and only the new technology that comprised the late Baltic ware lived on until the mid-thirteenth century. One cannot speak of a strong Slavic presence during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the Danish metropolis of Lund evidently exerted too strong an attraction on merchants from many countries. We may assume that both West Slavs and East Slavs came here as guests, but without making any noticeable influence on local pottery consumption. Occasional groups of artefacts lead our gaze

³³ Meyer 1996, pp. 75f.; Roslund 2001b, p. 249.

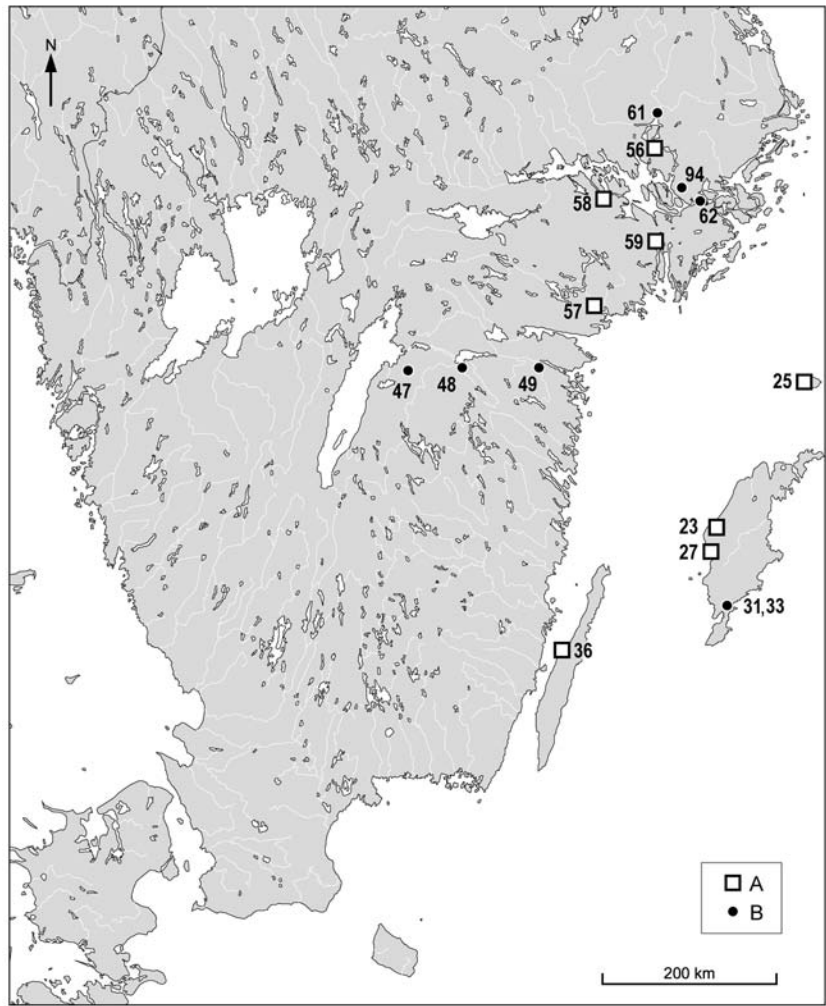


Fig. 179. Rus' pottery from c. 1000 to 1300 found in present-day Sweden: (A) certain cases, (B) uncertain cases. Numbers according to place-names in fig. 69 b. Map drawn by Henrik Pihl.

towards Slavic lands. In the deposits from the twelfth century there are Byzantine amphorae, Byzantine sgraffito-decorated dishes and glassware, and Volhynian spindle whorls which probably came via Rus'.³⁴ From West Slavic areas came temple rings, biconical spindle whorls, and knife scabbard mounts.

In the Trädgårdsmästaren block in Sigtuna one can follow the sequence of deposits up to around 1250, when the proportion of Baltic ware and Russian pottery was still large. The surest terminus comes from Västerås, where the tradition disappeared around 1250. The end of the Slavic tradition thus seems to have been similar for almost the whole area encompassed by this study, but some places differ from the pattern. In Visby, where the Novgorodians had a trading station and a church, we find forms belonging to the fourteenth century. A similar terminus is obtained in Lödöse, but there the tradition was local and very weakly represented.

The reason for the widespread change has to do with new constellations of power in the Baltic area. Before the Saxon princes had reached the Baltic coast, Frisian merchants had been sailing for several hundred years to Hedeby, Gotland, and Birka. After the Treaty of Artlenburg in 1161, the western influence took on completely new forms. The growth in commodity production and trade went hand in hand with increased freedom for the productive groups at the time. The transition from slave to tenant peasant also comprised people in non-agrarian work and was an incentive to production over and above what was needed by the individual lord. The synergistic effects of less tightly controlled production and a broader base of purchasers encouraged the spread of the wares. Access to jewellery and combs, of basic goods such as grain, wood, salt, and wax and luxuries like wine, furs, and spices tempted increasingly large groups of merchants to set out to sea, either on their own initiative or as *negotiatores* for their lords. Having dominated Baltic trade, the Gotlanders, together with Danes, West Slavs, Swedes, and Novgorodians now had a powerful competitor.

The presence of Westphalian and Saxon merchants made itself felt in pottery consumption. Occasional round-based pots already existed at Birka and later in Lund and Sigtuna. From the last quarter of the twelfth century, a small but varied range of lead-glazed jugs, cooking vessels and jugs from the Rhineland and the Meuse, and simple, round-based

³⁴ Roslund 1997a.

pots became more common elements in households. The grey pots in particular provide information about the habits of the new guests. It is important to point out, however, that *Kugeltöpfe* did not *replace* the older pottery in the form of Late Slavic, Late Viking Age, and Baltic ware. The transformation of kitchen culture took place during a transitional period from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century and was linked to a thoroughgoing specialization of pottery manufacture. A Scandinavian reception similar to that for Baltic ware can be found in Lödöse, Söderköping, and Nyköping, where local potters in the households built up crude copies of round-based *Kugeltöpfe*.

The shift in trade on Gotland is an excellent example of why the element of Russian guests diminished in the Baltic Sea. Interest in Visby as a permanent place of residence, or at least for wintering, decreased after 1371, the year when the Novgorodian trading station in the town is mentioned for the last time in the written sources.³⁵ In the second half of the fourteenth century the interest was moved from Visby to Riga, Reval, Pärnu, and Dorpat, which took over the central role of negotiator for Russian goods.³⁶ In 1398 Russian commercial policy in the Baltic Sea encountered resistance through the formation of a cartel by the towns of Prussia and Livonia, with the intention of stopping the commercial traffic of the eastern guests in their respective waters. Yet another decline in interest is revealed in a document from 1461 where Novgorod says that it no longer needs its churches on Gotland. It is therefore interesting to note that, among the remains of vessels in the material from the Priorn and Munken blocks in Visby there are Russian rim types which can be dated up to around 1400. On the other hand, there are no examples of the broad, squat pots with short, sharply everted rims from the time after this. This could mean that the personal presence ceased in the Late Middle Ages.

Among the Slavs, potters continued to produce their kitchen services with a few technical and morphological changes. In the Baltic Sea as far as the River Parsęta the Slavic tradition gradually disappeared, replaced by a German one. After 1350 it vanished from the western towns of Pomerania and in Gdańsk towards the end of the century. In contrast, the simple manufacture continued in the countryside in the rest of Poland. In the north-eastern part of Kievan Rus' the appearance

³⁵ Yrwing 1986, pp. 45ff.

³⁶ Yrwing 1986, p. 160.



Fig. 180. Stockholm, Norrmalm, Svalan block. Russian vessel from the late fifteenth or the sixteenth century. The vessel was made on a turntable. The lines on the vessel body under the shoulder are traces of the bands from which the pot was built up. In the fabric one can see microscopic red grains which may be grog tempering. Stockholm City Museum, find no. 4083.

of the vessels changed, to give squat forms with short, heavily everted rims. Slavic forms were not abandoned here either. A final representative of Russian presence comes from Stockholm, where a pot like this has been found in a context from the late sixteenth century (fig. 180). The tradition lived on in European Russia, Belarus, and Poland into modern times.

The potters continued with their techniques in Russia and Poland, but the political structure had changed. Personal presence from the Slavic countries was no longer discernible in Scandinavia. After the mid-fourteenth century the Hansa dominated trade relations, and the organization's merchants offered a different lifestyle which people found attractive to follow. In homes in the High Middle Ages it was important to use stoneware, and in richer families also metal vessels from the west.

Baltic ware and Slavic identity

One of the opinions about Baltic ware in Scandinavia is that it indicates Slavic presence. Wherever the ware was in use there lived foreigners of Slavic origin. It should be clear from my text that a correlation like this, in the spirit of culture-historical archaeology, is erroneous. Instead the source material testifies to a much more varied form of cultural and ethnic identity. How did Baltic ware function in the dialogue between the culture groups?

For people in Scandinavia, the vessels in their own kitchens must surely have played a subordinate part for cultural communication, both internally and externally. The lack of interest in pottery is reflected in

the simple and functional design of the Late Viking Age tradition. It is admittedly conceivable that, precisely because it was so simple, the style contrasted with the more elaborately worked vessels of the Slavs. By stubbornly sticking to a centuries-old tradition, the Scandinavian potter was free from external influence. But a conclusion like this feels far-fetched. The recipients may have perceived the local tradition as a part of their cultural identity, but it was not displayed to guests as an element in ethnic communication. The hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that the local Viking Age style is extremely homogeneous throughout present-day Sweden. Regional differences would stand out if the pottery had been culturally distinct.

Regardless of which of the three primary areas the Slavs arrived in, their ceramic tradition stood out as special as regards both technology and morphology. The technique involved several stages in the manufacturing process which differed from the indigenous method. To begin with, they both shared the practice of tempering with crushed granite, but the Slavs also mixed grog and later also sand in the clay. The manufacture included the slide-band technique on a quickly rotating turntable, which also affected the appearance of the decoration. The Slavs may have fired their vessels in pits instead of an open bonfire. All this must have been noticed by the Scandinavian potter, since craftsmen are often interested in other solutions for their own tasks. Although pottery was a concern within the household on a low social level, the individuals who did the work must have noticed the differences to a greater or lesser extent. Curiosity about something alien should not be confused with direct adoption. For this to take place required other incentives which I have outlined earlier in the text.

The Slavs themselves must have been observant about these differences regardless of whether they were slaves from Rügen and Vorpommern or merchants from Novgorod. In the foreign environment the pottery may therefore have served as an instrument for cultural identity, a wordless dialogue within the group of Slavs. In eastern Denmark they maintained it by stubbornly retaining a range of forms as a relict, preserved by means of silent transfer to younger generations. Since they were not in a high position on the farms, it is difficult to view the products of the first Slavic potters to arrive as an ethnic idiom. Moreover, the meaning changes through time as memories and cultural patterns from the homelands are passed on to daughters and sons.

In Sigtuna, and later in other towns of eastern Sweden, imported vessels from Rus' may have signalled ethnic affiliation when the guests

lived together with their hosts. If there were any antagonisms between them, the pottery decorated with wavy bands would have retained its distinct ethnic origin. Instead the potters in the town adopted it, thereby unconsciously transforming the style into a hybrid, which was moreover accepted by other people in the household. Only a positive relationship can lead to such a development. The transfer of style was constantly reproduced since the flow of pots and people from Rus' influenced the course of innovation up to the mid-13th century. A similar relation must have shaped the interaction between the Gotlanders and people from Rus'.

The mass of Baltic ware probably did not arouse any associations at all with Slavs. Outside the three core areas, Scandinavian potters spread the ware to townspeople and rural inhabitants of the Mälaren valley, Östergötland, Västergötland, Småland, Öland, Blekinge, and northern Halland. There the identity connected to the vessels may have been part of a dialogue between urban innovation centres and agrarian settings. It is possible that Baltic ware was primarily associated with an urban identity, as in the Mälaren valley.

The power of the present over the past

Archaeology is a form of memory. For professional archaeologists who use analogies in their research, with memories of what they have seen or read determining their knowledge, this is a truism. But laypeople with an interest in history also use archaeology as memory. Memory places the past in the present. What we remember is extremely selective. The focus shifts in pace with current interests, and—in the worst cases—with what we are forced to remember or what it is politically correct to think about. With this study I have sought to add new memories from the history of Scandinavia which can say something about why foreigners arrived and how they were treated. For particular reasons I have chosen to study Slavic guests during the time from 900 to 1300. A text which deals with relations between people with different languages, value systems, and material culture tends to make a mark upon the present. In our life we relate to ourselves and our own times when we try to understand our situation in a multicultural society. The Vikings still occupy Scandinavia, in logotypes and museum exhibitions.

The question of what Baltic ware has to do with Slavs can be answered in the words: everything and nothing. Without the important and differentiated contacts, Baltic ware could not have arisen, but at

the same time, Baltic ware is generally no proof of Slavic personal presence. Awareness of this compels me to issue instructions for the use of the findings presented in the text. Knowledge of the past cannot be directly applied to today's immigration, since the economic, political, and cultural contexts were so different from today's. The only comparison I would make is that the protection of foreigners was essential for their potential to settle in unknown places, and that power relations between ethnic groups influenced the situation of the actors. The Slavs as a linguistic group were not generally subject to stigmatization during the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Values were governed by pragmatism. Antagonisms can be explained in terms of political decisions and cultural differences. During the seventeenth century Russians were portrayed as 'barbarians', and with nationalism in the nineteenth century came a radical change in the view of Slavs as a 'people'. It is this historically short-term heritage that we are left with today.

We may hope that the myth of races has been relegated to history's cabinet of horrors. Evaluations of other cultures, however, are hidden under the surface, popping up in everyday judgements uttered over cups of coffee. Yet even at shiny laboratory benches, ideas about origin and identity are hatched. The 1990s saw the growth of a greater acceptance for biological explanations, for better or worse. I feel hesitant about the search for cultural identities based on biological criteria. Even if it is possible to link DNA to certain populations, it is not necessarily the case that there was a cultural community or that the living people even perceived any affinity.

We cannot forget the view of Slavs in our own time if the circle is to be fully closed. Is there any difference between the disparaging seventeenth-century view of the Russian nobles' "smokehouses and kvass" and the treatment of modern Polish guest workers doing seasonal agricultural labour in Sweden? The post-war economic difficulties in the Eastern Bloc, with their Soviet connection, were largely regarded as a 'Slavic' phenomenon. The strategies for survival developed by people in the countries of the Warsaw Pact were probably viewed as results of deficiencies in the plan economy. The real effect was that the already deep-rooted negative opinion of Slavs appeared in a new guise where cause and effect were mixed. Was it really the economic system that made people passive and incapable of efficiency, or was it the inherent Slavic mentality which meant that the system did not work? The findings of my study can also be used in different ways. How will fellow Slavic archaeologists regard the conclusions of my book? Perhaps

the transfer of the classical Late Slavic pottery from an ethnically pure Slavic tradition to a more multifaceted and in many cases purely Scandinavian manufacture may be seen as Germanic revanchism and an attempt at dominance?

I shall not insinuate any more of these things which do not really concern the main issue in an archaeological text. Or do they? My choice of topic was due to the fact that I experienced foreignness, or rather the circumstances of foreigners in Sweden. In the industrial community of Bromölla I learned the Greek alphabet and how to eat salted pumpkin seeds from Greece in the right way from Georgios and Christos. During my teens, my uncle by marriage from Slovenia created an image of a distant homeland. The summer evenings in my home village were warm, and with his tasty home-made wine, concocted from figs and discarded grapes from the free port in Helsingborg, I washed down the first *čevapčiči* in my life long before the Coop started making their own tamer variants. Or the Polish professor who did seasonal labour, sleeping with his family in the starch factory in very simple conditions, picking strawberries and cucumbers, doing painting and weeding jobs to earn a year's income in a few summer months. Was it there I began to write the text?

Much later I was captivated by the changes in a Europe that was considered unchangeable until people broke away pieces of the Berlin Wall with their bare hands. Although people have been warmly advocating integration on a political level, the limping economies are still a threat to peaceful coexistence in the newly created European family. But integration is also impeded by deeper-lying mental structures. As Slavenka Drakulić writes when looking at people from the former Eastern Bloc at a border crossing:

And as I look at them for a moment, I, know, they know and the police officers know that the barriers do exist and that citizens from Eastern Europe are going to be second-class citizens still for a long time to come, regardless of the downfall of communism or the latest political proclamations. Between us and them there is an invisible wall. Europe is a divided continent, and only those who could not travel to see it for themselves believed that Easterners and Westerners could become equal.³⁷

There is still a risk that we exclude Russia, Poland, and Central Europe in the history we write. Europe's history is too often equated

³⁷ Drakulić 1996, p. 21.

with “Western European Christian civilization”. This has serious consequences. The fact that much of Europe has been under Byzantine, Arab, and Ottoman rule and cultural influence is often omitted in histories. Without a knowledge of these important cultures it is impossible to understand the history of Spain, Portugal, the Balkans, Turkey, and southern Italy.

We will never finish writing the story of Slavs and Scandinavians. The question is whether we can create new images of each other in which coming together in everyday situations, not just on the political level in official documents, takes place on an equal basis. I am naïve enough to nourish such hopes for the future.

LITERATURE

- Adam of Bremen. 1959: History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Transl. Francis J. Tschan. New York.
- Ambrosiani, B. 1957: Birka-Sigtuna-Stockholm. Ett diskussionsinlägg. Tor, vol 3. Uppsala.
- Ambrosiani, B. & Arrhenius, B. 1973: Keramik. In: Ambrosiani, B., Arrhenius, B., Danielsson, K., Kyhlberg, O. & Werner, G. Birka: svarta jordens hamnområde: arkeologisk undersökning 1970–1971. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Rapport C1. Stockholm.
- Andersen, M. 1982: De dansk-vendiske forbindelser ca. 950–1225. En karakteristik af arten og omfanget, især med henblik på disse forbindelsers betydning for Danmark. Hovedfagsspeciale i Middelalderarkæologi, Århus universitet. Århus.
- Andersson, C. & Hållans, A.-M. 1997: No trespassing. Physical and mental boundaries in agrarian settlements. In: Andersson, H., Carelli, P. och Ersgård, Lars (eds.) Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 19/Riksantikvarieämbetet Antikvariska undersökningar Skrifter nr 24. Stockholm.
- Andersson, G. 1997 a: Valsta gravfält. Arkeologisk undersökning RAÄ 59, Norrsunda sn, Up. UV-Stockholm, rapport 1997:9/1+2. Stockholm.
- . 1997 b: A struggle for control. Reflections on the change of religion in a rural context in the eastern Mälaren valley. In: Andersson, H., Carelli, P. & Ersgård, Lars (eds.) Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 19/Riksantikvarieämbetet Antikvariska undersökningar Skrifter nr 24. Stockholm.
- Andersson, H. 1988: Medeltidsarkeologi-funderingar kring identitet och förhållningssätt. Meta 1–2. Lund.
- . 1990: Sjuttiosex medeltidsstäder-aspekter på stadsarkeologi och medeltida urbaniseringsprocess i Sverige och Finland. RAÄ & SHM Rapport, Medeltidsstaden 73. Stockholm.
- Andersson, K. 1971: Den vendiska keramiken från Dalby. Lund.
- Andrén, A. 1980: Lund. RAÄ & SHM Rapport. Medeltidsstaden 26. Stockholm.
- . 1983a: Arkeologi som kulturvetenskap. Meta 1. Lund.
- . 1983b. Städer och kungamakt- en studie i Danmarks politiska ekonomi före 1230. Scandia Bd 49:1.
- . 1985: Den urbana scenen. Städer och samhälle i det medeltida Danmark. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 8°. Nr 13. Bonn/Malmö.
- . 1988: Ting och text- skisser till en historisk arkeologi. Meta 1–2. Lund.
- . 1998: Between artifacts and texts: historical archaeology in global perspective. New York.
- Andrén, A & Carelli, P. 1998: De anglosaxiska spåren. Kulturen 1998. Lund.
- Anglert, M. 1995: Kyrkor och herravälde. Från kristnande till ockenbildning i Skåne. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 16. Stockholm.
- Annuswer, B., Bergquist, U., Forenius, S. & Syse, B. 1990: Västerås. 1000 år i centrum. Västerås kulturnämnds skriftserie nr 23. Stockholm.
- Arbman, H. 1964: Lundaarkeologer i Blekinge. Blekingeboken. Karlskrona.
- Arne, T.J. 1914: La Suède et l'Orient. Études archéologiques sur les relations de la Suède et de l'Orient pendant l'âge des vikings. Archives d'études orientales 8. Uppsala.
- Arnold. 1885: Arnold av Lübeck. Arnold af Lybeks slaverkrönike i översättning av theol. kand. P. Kierkegaard. Kjöbenhavn.
- Arnold, D.E. 1985: Ceramic theory and cultural process. Cambridge.

- Arrhenius, B. 1960: Båtgraven från Augerum. Tor 1960. Uppsala.
- Banks, M. 1996: Ethnicity: anthropological constructions. London/New York.
- Baranov, I.A. 1990: Die Keramik der Saltovo-Majaki-Kultur in der Krim. In: Bálint, C. (ed.) Die Keramik der Saltovo-Majaki-Kultur und ihrer Varianten. *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* III. Budapest.
- Barford, P. 2001: The early Slavs: culture and society in early medieval Eastern Europe. London.
- Barth, F. 1969: Introduction. In: Barth, F. (ed.) *Ethnic groups and Boundaries*. Oslo.
- . 1996: Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethnicity. In: Vermeulen, H. & Govers, C. (eds.) *The anthropology of ethnicity. Beyond "Ethnic groups and Boundaries"*. Amsterdam.
- Bartlett, R. 1993: The making of Europe. Conquest, colonization and cultural change 950–1350. London.
- Baudou, E. 1988: Samer och germaner i det förhistoriska Norrland. En kritisk översikt över tio års forskning. *Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift* 14. Umeå.
- Beletsky, S.V. 1979: Keramik Pskovskoj zemli vtoroj polovine I-nachala II tysjacheletija n. è. kak istochnik (kul'turnaja stratigrafija regiona). Avtoref. kand. diss. Moscow.
- . 1983: Pskovskoe gorodishche (keramika i kulturnyj sloj). In: Sedov, V.V. (ed.) *Archeologicheskoe izuchenie Pskova*. Moscow.
- . 1996: Nachalo Pskova. Saint Petersburg.
- Beletsky, S.V. & Lesman, J.M. 1982: O stilisticheskich osoennostjach ornamentiki drevnerusskoj keramiki (po materialam pskova). In: *Estestvennye nauki i archeologija v izuchenii drevnich proizvodstv*. Moscow.
- Beltz, R. 1893: Wendische Altertümer. Jahrbuch des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, Band 58. Schwerin.
- Berglund, A. 1996: Kvarteret Rådhuset 30. Arkeologisk undersökning 1990. Skaraborgs länsmuseum, Rapport 1996: 13. Skara.
- Bergquist, U. 1996: Ett medeltida skomakeri vid Skomakargatan. Arkeologisk undersökning. Kvarteret Linnea, Västerås, Västmanland. UV-Uppsala Rapport 1996:56. Uppsala.
- Białecka, F. 1961: Ceramika ze stanowiska wykopaliskowego 4 w Wolinie. *Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie*, tom VII. Szczecin.
- Biermann, F. 1997: Slawische Besiedlung zwischen Elbe, Lubsza und Neiße. Archäologische Untersuchungen zu Siedlungsstrukturen und Wirtschaft in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit (Unpublished Ph d). Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.
- Biuw, A. 1992: Norra Spånga. Bebyggelse och samhälle under järnåldern. Stockholmsmonografier vol 76. Stockholm.
- Blomkvist, N. 1979a: Medieval Eketorp and contemporary turn-over places on Öland. In: Näsman, U. & Wegraeus, E. (eds.) *Eketorp-Fortification and settlement on Öland/Sweden. The setting*. Stockholm.
- . 1979b: Kalmars uppkomst och äldsta tid. In: Hammarström, I. (ed.) *Kalmar stads historia I. Kalmarområdets forntid och stadens äldsta utveckling. Tiden intill 1300-talets mitt*. Kalmar.
- Blomqvist, R. 1948: Early Medieval Black Earthenware in Lund. *Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum*. Lund.
- . 1951: Lunds historia I. Medeltiden. Lund.
- Borg, K. 1998: Eketorp-III. In: Borg, K. (ed.) *Eketorp-III. Den medeltida befästningen på Öland. Artefakterna*. Stockholm.
- Borna-Ahlkvist, H., Lindgren-Hertz, L. & Stålbom, U. 1998: Pryssgården. Från stenålder till medeltid. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Avdelningen för arkeologiska undersökningar, Rapport UV Linköping 1998:13. Linköping.
- Borst, A. 1973: Lebensformen im Mittelalter. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin.

- Bourdieu, P. 1977: *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge.
- Bowlus, C.R. 1995: Ethnogenesis models and the age of migrations: a critique. *Austrian History Yearbook XXVI*. Houston.
- Boyd, R. & Richerson, J. 1985: *Culture and the evolutionary process*. Chicago.
- Brachmann, H.-J. 1994: Zur Entwicklung der slawischen Keramik im Elbe-Saale-Gebiet. In: Staňa, Č. (ed.). *Slawische Keramik in Mitteleuropa vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice. Forschungsprobleme des frühen Mittelalters, 1. Brno.
- Brather, S. 1993: *Altslawische Keramik in Mecklenburg und Vorpommern. Probleme der Typenverbreitung*. Zeitschrift für Archäologie 27. Berlin.
- . 1996: *Feldberger Keramik und frühe Slawen. Studien zur nordwestslawischen Keramik der Karolingerzeit*. Bonn.
- . 2000: Früh- und Hochmittelalterliche Keramik bei den Westslawen. In: Wicczorek, A. & Hinz, H.-M. (eds.) *Europas Mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*. Band 1. Stuttgart.
- Bringéus, N.-A. 1976: *Människan som kulturvarelse. En introduktion till etnologin*. Lund.
- Broberg, A. 1991: Religionsskifte och sockenbildning i Norduppland. In: Ferm, O. (ed.) *Kyrka och socken i medeltidens Sverige. Studier till det medeltida Sverige 5*. Stockholm.
- . 1992: Archaeology and east Swedish agrarian society 700–1700 A.D. In: Ersgård, L., Holmström, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) *Rescue and research. Reflections of society in Sweden 700–1700 A.D.* Riksantikvarieämbetet, Arkeologiska undersökningar, Skrifter no 2. Stockholm.
- Broberg, B. 1979: *Södertälje. RAÄ & SHM. Rapport, Medeltidsstaden 15*. Stockholm.
- Broberg, B. & Hasselmo, M. 1978: *Söderköping. RAÄ & SHM. Rapport, Medeltidsstaden 5*. Stockholm.
- . 1981: *Keramik, kammar och skor från 7 medeltida städer. Fyndstudie. RAÄ & SHM. Rapport, Medeltidsstaden 30*. Stockholm.
- Brorsson, T. 1998 a: In the workshop of the Viking Age goldsmith. Gold- and silverwork at Borgeby in Scania, southern Sweden. *Fornvännen* 93. Stockholm.
- . 1998 b: *Keramiken från Kyrkheddinge*. I Schmidt Sabo, K. (ed.) *Kyrkheddinge bytomt. Arkeologisk undersökning 1995. UV-Syd Rapport 5*. Lund.
- Bubeník, J. & Meduna, P. 1994: Zur frühmittelalterlichen Keramik in Nord-West-Böhmen. In: Staňa, Č. (ed.) *Slawische Keramik in Mitteleuropa vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice. Forschungsprobleme des frühen Mittelalters, 1. Brno.
- Bulkin, V.A., Klejn, L.S. & Lebedev, G.S. 1982: Attainments and problems of Soviet archaeology. *World Archaeology*, vol 13, no 3.
- Buko, A. 1981: *Wczesnośredniowieczna ceramika sandomierska*. Wrocław.
- . 1990: *Ceramika wczesnopolska. Wprowadzenie do badań*. Wrocław.
- . 1992: *Ceramics and medieval pottery research in Poland*. *Archeologia Polona* vol. 30. Warszawa.
- Bursche, A. & Taylor, T. 1991: A panorama of Polish archaeology. *Antiquity* 65.
- Burström, M. 1991: *Arkeologisk samhällsavsgränsning. En studie av vikingatidens samhälls territorier i Smålands inland*. Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 9. Stockholm.
- Bågenholm, G. 1996: *Etnicitet som problem i arkeologisk forskning. GOTARC Serie C, Arkeologiska Skrifter 11*. Göteborg.
- Bååth, A.U. 1902: *Kung Valdemar och bisp Absalon i fejd mot venderne. Efter Saxos Historia danica*. Lund.
- Bäck, M. 1995: Importkeramiken i Birka. *Meta* 95:1. Lund.

- . 1996: Noteringar rörande registreringen av äldre svartgods i kv Silen. In: Gustin, I., Kjellén, U. & Lundin, C. Södertälje 1982–1989. UV-Stockholm, Rapport 1996:100. Stockholm.
- Callmer, J. 1981: The archaeology of Kiev ca A.D. 500–1000. A survey. I Zeitler, R. (ed.) *Les pays de Nord et Byzance. Acte du colloque nordique et international de byzantinologie tenu á Upsal 20–22 avril 1979*. Stockholm.
- . 1986: To stay or to move? Some aspects of the settlement dynamics in Southern Scandinavia in the seventh to the twelfth century A.D. with special reference to the province of Scania, Southern Sweden. *Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum 1985–1986*. Lund.
- . 1989: Slawisch-Skandinavische Kontakte am Beispiel der slawischen Keramik in Skandinavien während des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts. In: Oldenburg-Wolin-Staraja Ladoga-Novgorod-Kiev. Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Band 69. Mainz.
- . 1991: Territory and dominion in the Later Iron Age in southern Scandinavia. In: Jennbert, K., Larsson, L., Petré, R. & Wyszomirska-Werbart, B. (eds.) *Regions and reflections. In honour of Märta Strömberg. Acta Archeologica Lundensia, series in 8o No. 20*. Lund.
- . 1992a: Interaction between ethnical groups in the Baltic region in the Late Iron Age. In: Hårdh, B. & Wyszomirska-Werbart, B. (eds.) *Contacts across the Baltic Sea during the Late Iron Age (5th–12th centuries)*. University of Lund, Institute of Archeology, Report series No 43. Lund.
- . 1992b: A contribution to the prehistory and early history of the south Scandinavian manor. The Bjäresjö investigations. In: Larsson, L., Callmer, J. & Stjernquist, B. (eds.) *The archaeology of the cultural landscape. Field work and research in a south Swedish rural region. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 4o. No. 19*. Stockholm.
- . 1995a: Arkeologins grundläggande perspektiv. Arkeologi idag och imorgon. *Fornvännen 90*. Stockholm.
- . 1995b: Hantverksproduktion, samhällsförändringar och bebyggelse. Iakttagelser från östra Sydskandinavien ca. 600–1100 e.Kr. I Resi, H.G. (ed.) *Produksjon og samfunn. Beretning fra 2. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Granavold 7–10 mai 1992. Varia 30, Universitetets Oldsaksamling. Oslo*.
- . 2000: The archaeology of the early Rus' c. A.D. 500–900. *Mediaeval Scandinavia 13*. Odense.
- Carelli, P. 1998: Varubytet i medeltidens Lund. Uttryck för handel eller konsumtion? *Meta 1998:3*. Lund.
- Carelli, P. & Lenntorp, K.-M. 1994: Kv S:t Mårten nr 25–26, Lund. Arkeologisk undersökning 1993. Arkeologiska rapporter från Lund, nr 8. Lund.
- Carlsson, A. 1983: Djurhuvudformiga spännen och gotländsk vikingatid. Text och katalog. Stockholm.
- Carlsson, D. 1983: Bygd och gård på Gotland under vikingatiden. In: Jansson, I. (ed.) *Gutar och vikingar*. Stockholm.
- Carlsson, K. 1982: Importkeramiken i Gamla Lödöse. Lödöse-Västsvensk medeltidsstad, III:2. Stockholm.
- . 1998: Tre kvarter i Gamla Lödöse-kronologi och funktion. GOTARC Serie C, Arkeologiska skrifter No 19. Göteborg.
- Carlsson, K. & Ekre, R. 1980: Gamla Lödöse. RAÄ & SHM. Rapport, Medeltidsstaden 21. Stockholm.
- Cavalli-Sforza, L.L. & Feldman, M.W. 1981: Cultural transmission and evolution: a quantitative approach. Princeton.

- Christensen, T., Larsen, A.-C., Larsson, S. & Vince, A. 1994: Early glazed ware from medieval Denmark. *Medieval Ceramics* vol 18. London.
- Christiansen, E. 1980: The northern crusades. The Baltic frontier 1100–1525. London.
- Christophersen, A. 1980: Håndverket i forandring. Studier i horn- og beinhåndverkets udvikling i Lund ca. 1000–1350. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia*, Series in 4°, n° 13. Bonn/Lund.
- Chropovský, B. 1959: Slovanské hrnčiarске pece v Nitre. *Slawische Töpferöfen in Nitra*, (Slowakei). *Archeologické rozhodly* 11. Prag.
- Cinthio, E. 1984: Vad betyder medeltiden för arkeologin? In: Brusila, H. (ed.) *Den historiska tidens arkeologi i Finland. Åbo Landskapsmuseums Rapporter* 6. Åbo.
- Cnotliwy, E. 1986: Chronologia ceramiki i nawarstwien wczesnośredniowiecznego Białogardu. In: *Problemy chronologii ceramiki wczesnośredniowiecznej na pomorzu zachodnim*. *Studia i Materiały*. Warszawa.
- Cnotliwy, E., Leciejewicz, L. & Łosiński, W. (eds.). 1983: Szczecin we wczesnym średniowieczu. *Wzgórze zamkowe. Polskie Badania Archeologiczne*, Tom 23. Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk/Łódź.
- Conkey, M.W. & Hastorf, H.A. (eds.). 1990: The uses of style in archaeology. *New Directions in Archaeology*. Cambridge.
- . 1990: Introduction. In: Conkey, M.W. & Hastorf, H.A. (eds.) *The uses of style in archaeology*. *New Directions in Archaeology*. Cambridge.
- Connellid, P. & Rosén, C. 1997: Agrarian settlement and landscape change in medieval Halland, south-west Sweden. In: Andersson, H., Carelli, P. & Ersgård, L. (eds.) *Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*. *Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology* 19/Riksantikvarieämbetet Antikvariska undersökningar Skrifter nr 24. Stockholm.
- Corpus archäologischer Quellen zur Frühgeschichte auf dem Gebiet der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (7. bis 12. Jahrhundert). Teil 1–4. Berlin. Herrmann, J. & Donat, P. (eds.). Berlin.
- . 1973: 1. Bezirke Rostock (Westteil), Schwerin und Magdeburg.
- . 1979a: 2. Bezirke Rostock (Ostteil), Neubrandenburg.
- . 1979b: 3. Bezirke Frankfurt, Potsdam, Berlin.
- Curta, F. 2001: The making of the slavs : history and archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, ca. 500–700. Cambridge.
- Daim, F. 1994: Zur nachgedrehten Keramik aus dem awarischen Gräberfeld von Mödling-An der Goldenen Steige. In: Staňa, Č. (ed.) *Slawische Keramik in Mitteleuropa vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*. *Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice*. *Forschungsprobleme des frühen Mittelalters*, 1. Brno.
- Damgaard-Sørensen, T. 1991: Danes and Wends: a study of the Danish attitude towards the Wends. In: Wood, I. & Lund, N. (eds.) *People and places in Northern Europe 500–1600*. *Essays in honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*. Woodbridge.
- Davis, D.D. 1983: Investigating the diffusion of stylistic innovations. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 6. New York.
- Davis, W. 1990: Style and history in art history. In: Conkey, M.W. & Hastorf, H.A. (eds.) *The uses of style in archaeology*. *New Directions in Archaeology*. Cambridge.
- Davies, W. & Vierck, H. 1974: The contexts of Tribal Hidage: social aggregates and settlement patterns. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8.
- Deetz, J. 1967: *Invitation to Archaeology*. New York.
- Dobres, M.-A. & Robb, J.E. (eds.). 2000: *Agency in archaeology*. London/New York.
- Dolukhanov, P.M. 1995: *Archaeology in Russia and its impact on archaeological theory*. In: Ucko, P. (ed.) *Theory in archaeology*. London/New York.

- Donat, P. 1984: Die Mecklenburg- eine Hauptburg der Obodriten. Schriften zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 37. Berlin.
- . 1989: Archäologisch-kulturelle Gebiete und materielle Kultur in den slawischen Stammesgebieten vom 8.-13. Jh. I Herrmann, J. (ed.) Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1. Leipzig/Jena/Berlin.
- Draculiç, S. 1996: *Café Europa. Life after Communism*. London.
- Duczko, W. 1983: Slaviskt och gotländskt smide i ädla metaller. In: Jansson, I. (ed.) *Gutar och vikingar*. Stockholm.
- . 1985: The filigree and granulation work of the Viking period. An analysis of the material from Björkö. Birka V. Stockholm.
- . 1995: Kungar, thegnar, Tegnebyar, juveler och silverskatter. Om danskt inflytande i Sverige under senvikingatiden. Tor 27. Uppsala.
- Dvornik, F. 1962: The Slavs in European history and civilization. New Brunswick/New Jersey.
- Dymaczewska, U. 1972: Frühmittelalterliche Keramik aus Santok, Kreis Gorzów Wielkopolski. *Archaeologia Polona* XIII. Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk.
- Dzieduszycki, W. 1982: Wczesnomiejska ceramika kruszwicka w okresie od 2 połowy X w. do połowy XIV w. Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk/Łódź.
- . 1983: Ökonomisch-Gesellschaftliche Bedingtheiten bei Wandlungen des frühpolnischen Töpferhandwerks (X–XIV Jh.). *Archaeologia Polona* XXI–XXII. Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk.
- Dzieduszycka, B. & Dzieduszycki, W. 1994: Transformation of the Polish early urban centres in the period from the second half of the 11th to the beginning of the 13th century. *Archeologia Polona* 32. Warszawa.
- Edring, A. (ed.). 1997: Ett gårdskomplex från vikingatid/tidig medeltid, Fjälkinge 48:15, Skåne. Rapport 9. Kristianstad.
- Eggert, M.K.H. 1998: Prozessuale Tradition kontra postmoderne Relativierung: zur Reaktion auf die Post-Prozessuale Archäologie. In: Eggert, M.K.H. & Veit, U. (eds.) *Theorie in der Archäologie: Zur englischsprachigen Diskussion*. Münster/New York/München/Berlin.
- Ehalt, H. Ch. 1984: Geschichte von Unten. In: Ehalt, H. Ch. (ed.) *Geschichte von Unten. Fragestellungen, Methoden und Projekte einer Geschichte des Alltags*. Wien/Köln/Graz.
- Elfwendahl, M. 1995: Medieval pottery in Uppsala. New perspectives on its chronology and distribution. In: Ersgård, L. (ed.) *Thirteen essays on medieval artifacts. Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum 1993–1994. New Series* vol. 10. Lund.
- . 1999: Från skärva till kärl. Ett bidrag till vardagslivets historia i Uppsala. *Lund studies in medieval archaeology* 22. Stockholm.
- Elfwendahl, M. & Gaimster, D. 1996: I Dagmar Sellings fotspår-en ny granskning av keramiken från Slottsfjärden i Kalmar. Kalmar Län 1995. Årsbok för kulturhistoria och hembygdsvård, årgång 80. Kalmar.
- Engelstad, E. 1991: Images of power and contradiction: feminist theory and post-processual archaeology. *Antiquity* 65.
- Erikskrönikan. 1992: Redigering, inledning och kommentar av Sven-Bertil Jonsson. Stockholm.
- Erixon, S. 1945: Svenska kulturgränser och kulturprovinser. Kungliga Gustav Adolfs Akademiens småskrifter 1. Stockholm.
- Fabech, C. 1993: Skåne-et kulturelt og geografisk grænseland i yngre jernalder og i nutid. Tor 25. Uppsala.
- Fabech, C. & Ringtved, J. 1991: Forord. In: Fabech, C. & Ringtved, J. (eds.) *Samfund-organisation og regional variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiska jernaldersymposium på Sandbjerg Slot 11–15 april 1989. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII. Århus*.

- Feldt, A.-C. & Tagesson, G. 1997: Två gårdar i biskopens stad. Om den arkeologiska undersökningen i kvarteret Brevduvan, Linköping 1987 och 1989. Östergötland Fakta 3. Linköping.
- Felgenhauer-Schmiedt, S. 1993: Die Sachkultur des Mittelalters im Lichte der archäologischen Funde. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 38, Archäologie, Vol 42. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/New York/Paris/Wien.
- Fichtenau, H. 1992: Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts. Studien über Denkart und Existenz im einstigen Karolingerreich. München.
- Filipowiak, W. 1989: Handel und Handelsplätze an der Ostseeküste Westpommerns. In: Oldenburg-Wolin-Staraja Ladoga-Novgorod-Kiev. Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Band 69. Mainz.
- . 1998: Ceramika słowiańska i "bałtycka" - uwagi do produkcji i handlu morskiego (Slawische und "baltische" Keramik -Bemerkung zur Produktion und zum Seehandel). Acta Archaeologica Pomoranica I. Szczecin.
- Fine, J.V.A. 1983: The Early Medieval Balkans. A critical survey from the sixth to the late twelfth century. Ann Arbor.
- Flodérus, E. 1941: Sigtuna. Sveriges äldsta medeltidsstad. Stockholm.
- Forsström, M. 1976: Keramik från Visby. En modell för databehandling av arkeologiskt fyndmaterial från medeltiden. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 8o Minore No 5. Bonn/Lund.
- Franklin, S. & Shepard, J. 1996: The emergence of Rus 750–1200. London/New York.
- Friesinger, H. & Daim, F. (eds.). 1990: Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern II. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 13. Wien.
- Fritze, W.H. 1984: Der slawische Aufstand von 983-eine Schicksalswende in der Geschichte Mitteleuropas. In: Henning, E. & Vogel, W. (eds.) Festschrift der Landesgeschichtlichen Vereinigung für die Mark Brandenburg zu ihrem hundertjährigen Bestehen. Berlin.
- Gaimster, D.R.M. 1996: The pottery and the stove tiles. In: Carelli, P. (ed.) På Kulturens bakgård. Arkeologisk undersökning inför Vita husets tillbyggnad. Kv. Tegnér nr 1, Lund. Arkeologiska rapporter från Lund, nr 18. Lund.
- . 1997: German stoneware 1200–1900. Archeology and cultural history. London.
- . 1998: Den keramiska vittnesbörden. In: Metropolis Daniae. Ett stycke Europa. Kulturen 1998. Lund.
- . 1999: The Baltic ceramic market c. 1200–1600: an archaeology of the Hanse. Fennoscandia archaeologica XVI. Helsinki.
- Gallén, J. & Lind, J. 1991: Nöteborgsfreden och Finlands medeltida östgräns 2. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, nr 427:2. Helsingfors.
- Galuška, L. 1994: The development of slavonic pottery in the Staré Město region from the end of the 8th up to the middle of the 10th centuries. In: Staňa, Č. (ed.) Slawische Keramik in Mitteleuropa vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice. Forschungsprobleme des frühen Mittelalters, 1. Brno.
- Geary, P. 1983: Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the Early Middle Ages. Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien 113. Wien.
- Gebers, W. 1980: Ostseekeramik auf den dänischen Inseln. In: Hinz, H. (ed.) Kiel Papers '80 from Fuglsang/Lolland. Siedlungsforschungen auf den dänischen Inseln und im westlichen Ostseeraum. Kiel.
- . 1981: Bosau. Untersuchungen einer Siedlungskammern in Ostholstein V. Der slawische Burgwall auf dem Bischofswarder, 1. Katalog und Beilagen. Offa-Bücher 45. Neumünster.
- . Bosau. 1986: Untersuchungen einer Siedlungskammern in Ostholstein V. Der slawische Burgwall auf dem Bischofswarder, 2. Auswertung der Funde und Befunde. Offa-Bücher 57. Neumünster.

- Giddens, A. 1984: *The Constitution of Society: outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge.
- Gillingstam, H. 1981: Utmnordiskt och nordiskt i de äldsta svenska dynastiska förbindelserna. *Personhistorisk Tidskrift*, årgång 77, häfte 1. Stockholm.
- Gläser, M. 1982: Das Restslawentum im Kolonisationsgebiet. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Hansestadt Lübeck und ihrer Umgebung. *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte*, Bd 6. Bonn.
- . 1989: Archäologische und Baugeschichtliche untersuchungen im St: Johannis-kloster zu Lübeck. Auswertung der Befunde und Funde. *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte* 16. Bonn.
- Göhrke, C. 1992: Frühzeit des Ostslaventums. *Erträge der Forschung*, Band 277. Darmstadt.
- Goffart, W. 1995: Two notes on germanic antiquity today. *Traditio* 50. New York.
- Gorjunova, V. M. 1982: O rannekrugovoj keramike na severo-zapade Rusi. In: Stoljar, A. D. (ed.) *Severnaja Rus' i ee sosedi v epochu ranнего srednevekov'ja*. Leningrad.
- . 1997: Razvitie rannegontjarnogo kompleksa i dendrochronologija Rjurikovo Gorodishcha (The development of wheel-turned pottery and dendrochronology of the Rjurik Gorodishche). In: Kirpichnikov, A.H. & Nosov E.N. (eds.) *Drevnosti povolchovija*. Saint Petersburg.
- Grinder-Hansen, P. 1983: Venderne i Danmark. En diskussion af forskning og kilder om venderne i Danmark indtil c. 1200. København.
- Gustin, I. 2004. The coins and weights from the Excavation 1990–1995. Introduction and presentation of the material. In: Ambrosiani, B. (ed.) *Eastern connections: excavations in the black earth 1990–1995*. P. 2, Numismatics and metrology. Birka studies 6. Stockholm.
- Götze, A. 1901: Die Schwedenschanze auf der Klink bei Riewend, Kreis Westhaveland. *Nachrichten über deutsche Alterthumsfunde*, 12. Berlin.
- Hachmann, R., Kossack, G. & Kuhn, H. 1962: Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten. *Schriftquellen, Bodenfunde und Namengut zur Geschichte des nördlichen Westdeutschlands um Christi Geburt*. Neumünster.
- Hagberg, U.-E. 1985: Ports and trading places on Öland and in the Kalmarsund area. In: Lindquist, S.-O. & Radhe, B. (eds.) *Society and trade in the Baltic during the Viking Age*. *Acta Visbyensia* VII. Visby.
- Hansen, L.I. 1996: Interaction between Northern European sub-arctic societies during the Middle Ages: indigenous people, peasants and state builders. In: Rindal, M. (ed.) *Two studies on the Middle Ages*. KULT skriftserie 66. Oslo.
- Hansson, M. 1998: Graves, grave-fields and burial customs-Variation as theme. A discussion of Late Iron Age grave-fields in the inland of Småland. *Lund Archaeological Review* 4. Lund 1998.
- Harrison, D. 1993: The early state and the towns: Forms of integration in Lombard Italy A.D. 568–774. Lund/Bromley.
- . 1994: Etnicitet i historisk forskning: även ett tidigmedeltida problem. *Meta* 3–4. Lund.
- Hasselmo, M. 1983: Skänninge. RAÄ & SHM, Rapport. Medeltidsstaden 40. Stockholm 1983.
- . 1992: From early-medieval central-places to high-medieval towns-urbanization in Sweden from the end of the 10th century to c. 1200. In: Ersgård, L., Holmström, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) *Rescue and research. Reflections of society in Sweden 700–1700 A.D.* Riksantikvarieämbetet, Arkeologiska undersökningar, Skrifter 2. Stockholm.
- Hasselmo, M. & Tesch, S. 1987: Söderköping. In: Andrae, T., Hasselmo, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) *7000 år på 20 år. Arkeologiska undersökningar i Mellansverige*. Stockholm.
- Heather, P. 1998: Disappearing and reappearing tribes. In: Pohl, W. & Reimitz, H. (eds.) *Strategies of distinction: the construct of ethnic communities, 300–800. The Transformation of the Roman world*, vol. 2. Leiden/New York/Köln.

- Hedeager, L. 1997: Skuggor ur en annan verklighet. Fornnordiska myter. Stockholm.
- Heege, A. 1992: Rheinische Keramik des Mittelalters. Stand der Forschung unter Berücksichtigung der Funde von Hambach 500. Göttingen.
- Helgesson, B. 1997: Fjälkinge-regionalt centrum i NV Skåne. In: Callmer, J. & Rosengren, E. (eds.) "... gick Grendel att söka det höga huset-". Arkeologiska källor till aristokratiska miljöer i Skandinavien under yngre järnålder. Slöinge projektet 1. Hallands Läns museers Skriftserie No 9/GOTARC C Arkeologiska Skrifter No 17. Halmstad.
- Helmold von Bosau. 1990: Slawenchronik (*Chronica slavorum*). Transl. Stoob, H. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Bd 19. Darmstadt.
- Hensel, W. 1950: Studia i materiały do osadnictwa Wielkopolski wczesnohistorycznej. (Studien und Materialien über die Besiedlung des frühgeschichtlichen Großpolen). Poznań.
- . 1956: Z badań nad polską ceramiką wczesnośredniowieczną. Sprawozdania Archeologiczne 2. Wrocław.
- Herrmann, J. (ed.). 1985 (1970): Die Slawen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neiße vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Berlin.
- . (ed.). 1982: Wikinger und Slawen. Zur Frühgeschichte der Ostseevölker. Berlin.
- . (ed.). 1986: Welt der Slawen. Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Kultur. Leipzig/Jena/Berlin.
- Hilczek-Kurnatowska Z. & Kara M. 1994: Die Keramik vom 9. bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts in Grosspolen. In: Staňa, Č. (ed.). Slawische Keramik in Mitteleuropa vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice. Forschungsprobleme des frühen Mittelalters, 1. Brno.
- Hill, T. 1995: Von der Konfrontation zur Assimilation. Das Ende der Slawen in Ostholstein, Lauenburg und Lübeck vom 12. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert. In: Müller-Wille, M. (ed.) Slawen und Deutsche im südlichen Ostseeraum vom 11. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert : archäologische, historische und sprachwissenschaftliche Beispiele aus Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg und Pommern. Neumünster.
- Hjermind, J. 1987: Keramik fra udgravningerne ved Viborg Sønder 1981-1985. Der ønskes en redegørelse for typologi, datering og herkomst. Speciale i Middelalderarkæologi, Århus universitet. Højbjerg.
- Hodder, I. 1982: Symbols in action. Ethnoarchaeological studies of material culture. Cambridge.
- . 1986: Reading the past. Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology. Cambridge.
- Hübener, W. 1953: Die stratigraphischen Grundlagen der Keramik von Alt-Lübeck auf Grund der Ausgrabung 1949. Offa 12. Neumünster.
- . 1959: Die Keramik von Haithabu. Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu 2. Neumünster.
- Hufen, C. 1998: Gotenforschung und Denkmalpflege. Herbert Jankuhn und die Kommandounternehmen des "Ahnenerbe" der SS. In: Eichwede, W. & Hartung, U. (eds.) "Betr.: Sicherstellung". NS-Kunstraub in der Sowjetunion. Bremen.
- Hulthén, B. 1984: Keramik. In: Arwidsson, G (ed.) Birka II:1. Systematisk analys av Gräberfunde. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Stockholm.
- . 1991: Investigation of bottom-marked ceramic vessels from southern Gotland. In: Trotzig, G. Craftmanship and function. A study of metal vessels found in Viking Age tombs on the island of Gotland, Sweden. The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, Monographs 1. Stockholm.
- . Investigation of medieval pottery from Apotekaren 4, Lund. Appendix in Vandrup Martens, V. Dendrochronologically dated pottery. On the typological and chronological variation of early medieval black earthenware from the S-E-banken

- excavation in Lund. In: Ersgård, L. (ed.) *Thirteen essays on medieval artefacts. Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum 1993–1994. New Series* vol. 10. Lund.
- . 2001: *Keramiktillverkning i det tidigmedeltida Sigtuna. En ceramologisk studie.* In: Roslund, M., Gäster i huset. Kulturell överföring mellan slaver och skandinaver 900 till 1300. Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund 92. Lund.
- Hyenstrand, Å. 1984: *Fasta fornlämningar och arkeologiska regioner. Riksantikvarieämbetet 1984: 7. Rapport.* Stockholm.
- Håkansson, H. 2001. *Undersökning av diatoméförekomst i keramik från Sigtuna, Sverige och Novgorod samt Gorodische i Ryssland.* In: Roslund, M., Gäster i huset. Kulturell överföring mellan slaver och skandinaver 900 till 1300. Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund 92. Lund.
- Håland, R. 1977: *Archaeological classification and ethnic groups.* Norwegian Archaeological Review 10. Oslo.
- . 1976a: *Wikingerzeitliche Depotfunde aus Südschweden. Katalog und Tafeln.* Lund.
- . 1976b: *Wikingerzeitliche Depotfunde aus Südschweden. Probleme und Analysen.* Lund.
- . 1996: *Silver in the Viking Age. A regional-economic study.* Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, series in 8o, No 25. Stockholm.
- Härke, H. 1991: *All quiet on the Western Front? Paradigms, methods and approaches in West German archaeology.* In: Hodder, I. (ed.) *Archaeological theory in Europe. The last three decades.* London/New York.
- Janin, V.L. 1992: *The archaeological study of Novgorod: an historical perspective.* In: Brisbane, M.A. (ed.) *The archaeology of Novgorod, Russia. Recent results from the town and its hinterland.* The Society for Medieval Archaeology, Monograph series, 13. Lincoln.
- Jankuhn, H. *Einführung in die Siedlungsarchäologie.* Berlin, New York 1977.
- Jansson, I. 1987 a: *Communications between Scandinavia and Eastern Europe in the Viking Age. The archaeological evidence.* In: *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa 4. Abhandl. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. F., 156.* Göttingen.
- . 1987 b: *Kontakty mezhdur Rus'ju i Skandinaviej v epochu vikingov.* In: *Trudy pjatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa slavjanskoj archeologii, Kiev 1985, III, Teil 1b.* Moskva.
- . 1989: *Wikingerzeitlicher orientalischer Import in Skandinavien.* In: *Oldenburg-Wolin-Staraja Ladoga-Novgorod-Kiev. Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Band 69.* Mainz.
- Johnson, M. & Schulze, H. 1990: *Köpingsvik. RAÄ och SHM. Rapport, Medeltidsstaden nr 77.* Stockholm.
- Jomsvikingerne Saga. 1978: Harald Blåtand, Svend Tveskæg og vikingerne i Jomsborg. Oversættelse, indledning og noter ved Helle Degnbol og Helle Jensen. København.
- Jones, S. 1997: *The archeology of ethnicity. Constructing identities in the past and present.* London/New York.
- Kameneckaja, E.V. 1991: *Zaol'shanskaja kurgannaja gruppa Gnezdova.* In: Avdusin, D.A. (ed.) *Smolensk i Gnesdovo (k istorii drevnerusskogo goroda).* Moskva.
- Karlin, G. 1923: *Medeltida keramik i Norden.* In: Hallström, G (ed.) *Nordiska arkeologmötet i Stockholm 1922.* Stockholm.
- Karras, R.M. 1988: *Slavery and society in medieval Scandinavia.* Yale.
- Kelm, R. 1994: *Mölleholmen. Eine Inselsiedlung des 11. Jahrhunderts im südlichen Schonen, Schweden. Fundmaterial, Topographie, Interpretation. 1. Text. 2. Katalog und Abbildungen.* Diplomarbeit, Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel. Kiel.

- . 2000: Mölleholmen. Eine slawische Inselsiedlung des 11. Jahrhunderts in Schonen, Südschweden. University of Lund, Institute of Archaeology, Report Series No. 74. Lund.
- Kempke, T. 1981: Die Keramik von Warder, Kreis Segeberg, und ihre Stellung in Ostholstein. Offa 38. Neumünster.
- . 1984: Starigard/Oldenburger Hauptburg der Slawen in Wagrien II. Die Keramik des 8.-12. Jahrhunderts. Offa-Bücher 53. Neumünster.
- Kirpichnikov, A.N., & Nazarenko, V.A. 1997: Derevjannye sooruzhenija Staroj Ladogi po raskopkam 1984–1991g. (Wooden dwellings of Staraja Ladoga: based on the materials from excavations 1984–1991). In: Kirpichnikov, A.H. & Nosov E.N. (eds.) Drevnosti povolchovija. Saint Petersburg.
- Klackenberg, H. 1986: Feodalism i Finnveden: biskop Henrik och Berga. In: Medeltiden och arkeologin. Festschrift till Erik Cinthio. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 1. Lund.
- Klejn, L.S. 1994: Overcoming national romanticism in archaeology. Fennoscandia Archaeologica XI. Helsinki.
- Kleppe, E.J. 1977: Archaeological material and ethnic identification. A study of Lappish material from Varanger. Norwegian Archaeological Review 10. Oslo.
- Knytlinge saga. 1977: Knud den Store, Knud den Hellige deres mænd, deres slægt. Transl. by Jens Peter Ægidius, introduction and foot-notes by Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Ole Widding. København.
- Kobyliński, Z. 1989: An ethnic change or a socio-economic one? The 5th and 6th centuries A.D. in the Polish lands. In: Shennan, S. (ed.) Archaeological approaches to cultural identity. One World Archaeology 10. London.
- . 1994: Early slavs-are they archaeologically visible? Meta 3–4. Lund.
- Kossinna, G. 1911: Die Herkunft der Germanen. Zur Methode der Siedlungsarchäologie. Mannus-Bibliothek 6. Würzburg.
- Kurnatowska, Z. 1973 a: Studien über die Organisation des Töpferhandwerks zu Beginn des frühen Mittelalters. Berichte über den II. Internationalen Kongreß für Slawische Archäologie, Band III. Berlin.
- . 1973 b: On the development of the early medieval ceramics in Poland. Chateau Gaillard VI. Actes du colloque international tenu a Venlo (Pays-Bas) 4–9 Septembre 1972. Caen.
- Lampe, W. 1983: Interessante slawische Siedlungsgruben und die Bodenzeichen der Insel Rügen. Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg 30. Berlin.
- Larsson, S. 2000: Från Lincolnshire till Östdanmark. En krukmakare i Knut den stores tid. In: Högberg, A (ed.) Artefakter-arkeologiska ting. En bok om föremål ur ett arkeologiskt perspektiv. University of Lund, Institute of archaeology, Report series 71. Lund.
- Lebedev, G. 1994: Slavs and Finns in northwest Russia revisited. Fennoscandia Archaeologica XI. Helsinki.
- Lech, J. 1999: Between captivity and freedom: Polish archaeology in the 20th century. Archaeologia Polona, vol 35–36. Warszawa.
- Lepówna, B. 1968: Garncarstwo Gdańskie w X–XIII wieku. Gdańsk Wczesnośredniowieczny, Tom VII. Gdańsk.
- Lesman, J.M. 1989: K postanovke metodicheskikh voprosov rekonstrukcii étnogeneticheskikh processov (Zur metodischen Fragestellung der Rekonstruktion ethnogenetischer Prozesse). In: Gerda, A.S. & Lebedev, G.S. (eds.) Slavjane. Étnogenez i étnicheskaja istorija. Leningrad.
- Leeuw, S.E. van der. 1980: Keramikproduktion und Keramikhandel. Methodische probleme ihrer Erforschung. Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte 4. Bonn.
- Liebgott, N.-K. 1979a: Spätslawische Keramik in Dänemark. Rapports du III^e Congrès International d'Archéologie Slave, Bratislava 1975, Tome 1. Bratislava.

- . 1979b: Keramikfundene fra voldstedet Pedersborg ved Sorø. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 1977. København.
- . 1982: Die Keramik-ein Zeugnis für Verbindungen zur Küste der Slawen. In: Herrmann, J. (ed.) Wikinger und Slawen. Zur frühgeschichte der Ostseevölker. Neumünster.
- Ligi, P. 1993: National romanticism in archaeology: the paradigm of slavonic colonization in north-west Russia. *Fennoscandia Archaeologica* X. Helsinki.
- . 1994: "Active slavs" and "passive Finns": A reply. *Fennoscandia Archaeologica* XI. Helsinki.
- Lind, J. 1981: Varæger, nemcer og novgoroder år 1188. Hvor var Chorzek og Novotorzcek? *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 1981: 2. Helsingfors.
- . 1992: De russiske ægteskaber. Dynasti- og alliancepolitik i 1130'ernes danske borgerkrig. *Historisk tidsskrift* 2. København.
- Lindeblad, K. & Nielsen, A.-L. 1997: Kungens gods i Borg. Om utgrävningarna vid Borgs säteri i Östergötland. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Avdelningen för arkeologiska undersökningar, Rapport UV Linköping 1997:12. Linköping.
- Lisch, F. 1847: Die Graburnen der Wendenkirchhöfe. *Jahrbuch des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 12. Schwerin.
- Łosiński, W. & Rogosz, R. 1984: Die Periodisierung der frühmittelalterlichen Keramik aus Szczecin. *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, vol. 32. Wrocław.
- . 1986: Proba periodyzacji ceramiki wczesnośredniowiecznych ze Szczecina. In: *Problemy chronologii ceramiki wczesnośredniowiecznej na pomorzu zachodnim*. *Studia i Materiały*. Warszawa.
- Lüdtke, H. 1985: Die mittelalterliche Keramik von Schlewig. Ausgrabung Schild 1971–1975. Ausgrabungen in Schleswig. *Berichte und Studien* 4. Neumünster.
- . 1991: Einführung in die Themenstellung des Kolloquiums. 7. Kolloquium zur mittelalterlichen Keramik. Schleswig.
- Madsen, H.-J. 1991: Vikingetidens keramik som historisk kilde. In: Mortensen, P. & Rasmussen, B.M. (eds.) *Høvedingesamfund og Kongemagt. Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark* 2. *Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter* XXII:2. Århus.
- Madsen, P.-K. 1991: Handelskeramik fra middelalderens Grønnegade. By, marsk og geest 2. Ribe.
- Magnus Erikssons Stadslag. 1966: I nusvensk tolkning av Holmbäck, Å. & Wessén, E. *Rättshistoriskt bibliotek*, Band 7. Stockholm.
- Maksimov, E.V. & Petrashenko, V.A. 1988: Slavjanskije pamjatniki u s. Monastyrek na Srednem Dnepre. Kiev.
- Malign, P.D. 1991: Tipologija i chronologija Novotorzhskoj keramiki XI–XIV vv (Typologie und Chronologie der Keramik des XI–XIV Jahrhunderts in Torshok). In: Janin, V.L., Nosov, E.N. & Gajdukova, P.G. (eds.) *Material'i po archeologii Novgorodskoj zemli* 1990.
- Mandahl, A. 1986: Variationer i tidigmedeltida lantbebyggelse. In: *Medeltiden och arkeologin*. *Festskrift till Erik Cinthio*. *Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology* 1. Lund.
- Mangelsdorf, G. 1994: Untersuchungen zur Formenkunde spätmittelalterlicher Keramik in westlichen Brandenburg. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/New York/Paris/Wien.
- . 1995: Slawisch-deutsche Beziehungen im Lichte mittelalterarchäologischer Forschung in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. In: Müller-Wille, M., Meier, D. & Unverhau, H. (eds.) *Slawen und Deutsche im südlichen Ostseeraum vom 11. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*. *Archäologische, historische und sprachwissenschaftliche Beispiele aus Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg und Pommern*, Band II. Neumünster.
- Martin, J. 1986: *Treasure of the land of darkness. The fur trade and its significance for medieval Russia*. Cambridge.
- . 1995: *Medieval Russia 980–1584*. Cambridge.

- McCarthy, M.R. & Brooks, C.M. 1988: Medieval pottery in Britain A.D. 900–1600. Leicester.
- Meier, D. 1994: Die wikingerzeitliche Siedlung von Kosel (Kosel-West), Kreis Rendsburg-Eckernförde. Offa-Bücher Band 76. Neumünster.
- . 1990: Scharstorf. Eine slawische Burg in Ostholstein und ihr Umland. Archäologische Funde. Offa-Bücher, Band 70. Neumünster.
- . 1993: Alt Lübeck. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung 1947–1950 (Teil 3) und 1956–1972 im nördlichen Burgbereich sowie erreichter Forschungsstand. Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte 23. Bonn.
- Meta. Medeltidarkeologisk tidskrift. 1–2/88. Lund 1988.
- . Medeltidarkeologisk tidskrift. 4/92. Lund 1992.
- Meyer, J. 1996: Die Keramik des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts aus der Hafensiedlung Schleswigs. Magister Artium arbeit, Christian-Albrechts Universität, Kiel. Kiel.
- Mogren, M. 2000: Faxeholm i maktens landskap. En historisk arkeologi. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 24. Stockholm.
- Moreland, J.F. 1991: Method and theory in medieval archaeology in the 1990's. *Archeologia Medievale* 18. Siena.
- Mühle, E. 1991: Die städtischen Handelszentren der nordwestlichen Rus'. Anfänge und frühe Entwicklung altrussischer Städte (bis gegen Ende des 10. bis zum Ende des 12. Jh. im Licht der archäologischen Forschungen). Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 32. Stuttgart.
- Müller-Boysen, C. 1990: Kaufmannsschutz und Handelsrecht im frühmittelalterlichen Nordeuropa. Neumünster.
- Mårtensson, A.W. (ed.). 1976: Uppgrävt förflutet för PKbanken i Lund. En investering i arkeologi. *Archaeologica Lundensia* VII. Lund.
- Nekuda, R. 1989: Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie und Typologie der frühmittelalterlichen Keramik in Mähren. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 14/15, 1986/87. Bonn.
- Nestorskrönikan. 1998: Translated by Gabriella Oxenstierna. Stockholm/ Stehag.
- Nordeman, K. Södertälje. In: Andrä, T., Hasselmo, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) 7000 år på 20 år. Arkeologiska undersökningar i Mellansverige. Stockholm.
- Nordeman, K. & Douglas, M. 1987: Nyköping. In: Andrä, T., Hasselmo, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) 7000 år på 20 år. Arkeologiska undersökningar i Mellansverige. Stockholm.
- Nosov, E.N. 1992: Ryurik Gorodishche and the settlements to the north of lake Ilmen. In: Brisbane, M.A. (ed.) The archaeology of Novgorod, Russia. Recent results from the town and its hinterland. The Society for Medieval Archaeology, monograph series, 13. Lincoln.
- Näsman, U. 1988: Analogislutningen i nordisk Jernalderarkæologi. Et bidrag til udviklingen af en nordisk historisk etnografi. In: Mortensen, P. & Rasmussen, B.M. (eds.) Fra stamme til stat i Danmark, 1 Jernalderens stammesamfund. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII. Århus.
- . 1991: Nogle bemærkninger om det nordiske symposium "Samfundsorganisation og Regional variation" på Sandbjerg Slot den 11.–15. april 1989. In: Fabeck, C. & Ringtved, J. (eds.) Samfundsorganisation og regional variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiska jernaldersymposium på Sandbjerg Slot 11–15 april 1989. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII. Århus.
- . 1993: Från region till rike-fra stamme til stat. Om danernas etnogenes och om den danska riksbildningen. Meta 3–4. Lund.
- Nørlund, P. 1936: Trelleborg ved Slagelse. Fra Nationalmuseets arbejdsmark. København.
- . Trelleborg. Nordiske Fortidsminder, IV:1. København.
- Odner, K. 1983: Finner og terfinner. Etniske processer i det nordlige Fenno-Scandinavia. Oslo Occasional Papers in Social Anthropology 9. Oslo.

- Olaus Magnus. 1998: Olaus Magnus. Description of the Northern Peoples, Vol. II. Transl. Fischer, P. & Higgins, H. London.
- Olbrechts, F. 1959: Les arts plastiques du Congo Belge. Brussel.
- Olsen, B. 1984: Stabilitet og endring. Produksjon og samfunn i Varanger 800 f. Kr.-1700 e. Kr. Universitetet i Tromsø. Tromsø.
- . 1985: Arkeologi og etnisitet: et teoretisk og empirisk bidrag. AmS-Varia 15. Stavanger.
- . 1997: Fra ting til tekst. Teoretiske perspektiv i arkeologisk forklaring. Oslo.
- Olsen, B. & Kobylinski, Z. 1991: Ethnicity in anthropological research: a Norwegian-Polish perspective. *Archaeologia Polona*, vol 29. Warszawa.
- Orton, C., Tyers, P. & Vince, A. 1993: Pottery in archaeology. Cambridge.
- Panchenko, A.A., Petrov, N. & Selin, A. 1994: "Language replacement" by Priit Ligi. *Fennoscandia Archaeologica* XI. Helsinki.
- Parczewski, M. 1993: Die Anfänge der frühslawischen Kultur in Polen. Wien.
- . 1998: Die Teilung die Ost- und Westslawentums als Ergebnis staatlicher und ideologischer Trennung im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. In: Müller-Wille, M. (ed.) Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Missions und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts. Band II. Stuttgart.
- Peacock, D.P.S. 1982: Pottery in the Roman world. An ethnoarchaeological approach. London.
- Pedersen, J.-A. 1989: Falsterundersøgelsen. Bind 2, Dokumentationsbind. Odense.
- Piotrowska, D. 1998: Biskupin 1933-1996: archaeology, politics and nationalism. *Archaeologia Polona* vols. 35-36. Warszawa.
- Pohl, W. 1988: Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567-822 n.Chr. München.
- . 1991: Conceptions of ethnicity in Early Medieval studies. *Archaeologia Polona* vol 29. Warszawa.
- . 1998: Telling the difference—Signs of ethnic identity. In: Pohl, W. & Reimitz, H. (eds.) Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800. The Transformation of the Roman World, vol. 2. Leiden/New York/Köln.
- Poleski, J. 1994: Die Keramik des 7.-11. Jahrhunderts in Kleinpoleen. In: Staňa, Č. (ed.) Slawische Keramik in Mitteleuropa vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice. Forschungsprobleme des frühen Mittelalters, 1. Brno.
- Poulik, J. 1948: Staroslovanská Morava. Monumenta Archaeologica, 1. Prag.
- Price, N. 1994: Acts of identity? Ethnicity and architecture in the Viking Age. Meta 3-4. Lund.
- . 1998: Ethnic attitudes, ethnic landscapes. Some thoughts on the Viking Age. In: Johnsen, B. & Welinder, S. (eds.) Etnicitet eller kultur. Östersund.
- Problemy ... 1986: Problemy chronologii ceramiki wczesnośredniowiecznej na pomorzu zachodnim. Studia i Materiały. Warszawa.
- Rączkowski, W. 1996: "Drang nach Westen"? Polish archaeology and national identity. In: Dias-Andreu, M. & Champion, T. (eds.) Nationalism and archaeology in Europe. London.
- Ramqvist, P. 1991: Perspektiv på regional variation och samhälle i Nordens folkvandringsstid. In: Fabeck, C. & Ringtved, J. (eds.) Samfundsorganisation og regional variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringsstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiska jernaldersymposium på Sandbjerg Slot 11-15 april 1989. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII. Århus.
- Rębkowski, M. 1995: Średniowieczna ceramika miasta lokacyjnego w Kołobrzegu. Kołobrzeg.
- von Richthofen, B. 1933: Zur Verbreitung und Volkszugehörigkeit der frühgeschichtlichen Tongefäße mit Bodenzeichen und Wellenlinien. Mannus, 25. Berlin.
- . 1936: Gibt es slawische Gefäße und Topfscherben unter den Funden von Haithabu? Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Museums vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer in Kiel. Neumünster.

- Ringtved, J. 1988: Regionalitet. Et jysk eksempel fra romertid og ældre germanertid. I Mortensen, P. & Rasmussen, B.M. (eds.) *Fra stamme til stat 1. Jernalderens stammesamfund*. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII. Århus.
- Roesdahl, E. 1980: Danmarks vikingetid. Köpenhamn.
- Roosens, E. 1996: The primordial nature of origins in migrant ethnicity. In: Vermeulen, H. & Govers, C. (eds.) *The anthropology of ethnicity. Beyond "Ethnic groups and boundaries"*. Amsterdam.
- Rosén, J. 1966: Krig och handelspolitik i öster. In: Carlsson, S. & Rosén, J. (eds.) *Den Svenska Historien, Band 5*. Stockholm.
- Roslund, M. 1987: Ett klockgjutningsfynd från det äldsta Lund. *Acta Campagnologica* 4. Aalborg.
- . 1990: Nittiolets medeltidsarkeologi och det döda barnet. *Fornvännen* 85. Stockholm.
- . 1992: Baltic ware- a black hole in the cultural history of Early Medieval Scandinavia. In: Hårdh, B. & Werbart, B. (eds.) *Contacts across the Baltic Sea during the Late Iron Age*. Archaeological report series 43, Institute of Archaeology, Lund. Lund.
- . 1995a: Tingens renässans; frågor, källor, metoder. In: Bondesson, W. (ed.) *Strategier för arkeologisk kunskapsuppbyggnad. RAA:s arkeologikonferens i Jönköping 11–12 november 1993. Rapport RAA och SHMM 1995:3*. Stockholm.
- . 1995b: Tools of trade-spatial interpretations of trade activities in early medieval Sigtuna. In: Ersgård, L. (ed.) *Thirteen essays on medieval artefacts. Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum 1993–1994. New Series vol 10*. Lund.
- . 1997a: Crumbs from the rich mans' table-Byzantine artefacts in Lund and Sigtuna ca. 980–1250. In: Andersson, H., Carelli, P. & Ersgård, L. (eds.) *Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 19/Riksantikvarieämbetet Antikvariska undersökningar Skrifter nr 24*. Stockholm.
- . 1997b: På drift i tid och rum? Om informationspotentialen i komposita dokumentationsmaterial. *Meta* 3. Lund.
- . 1999: Kommentarer kring keramikmaterialet från Västergarn, Snauvalds 1:5 m fl. In: Cassel, K., Jacobsson, A., Renck, A.-M. & Zachrisson, T. (eds.) *Västergarnstudier. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Projekt uppdragsarkeologi, Rapport 1:1999*. Stockholm.
- . 2001a: Gäster i huset. Kulturell överföring mellan slaver och skandinaver 900 till 1300. *Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps societeten i Lund* 92.
- . 2001b: Gutar, främlingar och den förblindande vikingatiden. Om staden Visbys tidigaste datering. In: Andrén, A., Ersgård, L. & Wienberg, J. (eds.) *Från stad till land. Festskrift till professor Hans Andersson*. Stockholm.
- . In print: Äldre svartgods från de arkeologiska undersökningarna i Skänninge 2002–2005. *Teknisk rapport*.
- Rusanova, I.P. 1976: *Slovyanskije drevnosti VI–VII vv. Moskva*.
- Sachsenspiegel. 1970: *Die Heidelberger Bilderhandschrift des Sachsenspiegels*. Koschorreck, W. (ed.). Frankfurt am Main.
- Sackett, J.R. 1977: The meaning of style in archaeology. *American Antiquity* 42. Austin.
- . 1990: Style and ethnicity in archaeology: the case for isochrestism. In: Conkey, M.W. & Hastorf, H.A. (eds.) *The uses of style in archaeology. New Directions in Archaeology*. Cambridge.
- Sawyer, B. 1995: Det medeltida Västergötland. In: Boqvist, A. (ed.) *Skara i medeltid. Staden, stiftet, landskapet. Skrifter från Skaraborgs länsmuseum, nr 22*. Skara.
- Sawyer, P. 1991: När Sverige blev Sverige. *Occasional Papers on Medieval Topics*, 5. Alingsås.
- Saxo Grammaticus. 1911: *Danernes krönike*. Transl. By Winkel Horn, F. Illustrations by Louis Moe. København.

- Saxo. 2000: Saxos Danmarks Historie, 2. Oversat af Peter Zeeberg. København.
- Schanche, A. & Olsen, B. 1985: Var de alle nordmen? En etnopolitisk kritikk av norsk arkeologi. *AmS-Varia* 15. Stavanger.
- Schuldt, E. 1956: Die slawische Keramik in Mecklenburg. Berlin.
- . 1964: Slawische Töpferei in Mecklenburg. Bildkatalog des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Schwerin, Band 7. Schwerin.
- . 1965: Behren-Lübchin. Eine spätslawische Burganlage in Mecklenburg. Berlin.
- . 1967: Die slawischen Burgen von Neu Nieköhr/Walkendorf, Kreis Teterow. Schwerin.
- Schäfer, H. 1991: Faststeinzeuge und Steinzeuge des 13. bis 16. Jh. aus der Hansestadt Rostock. Eine Studie zu Chronologie, Handel, Lebensweise und Terminologie. Diplomarbeit, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Berlin.
- Seidenspinner, W. 1989: Mittelalterarchäologie und Volkskunde. Ein Beitrag zur Öffnung und zur Theoribildung archäologischer Mittelalterforschung. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters*, Jahrgang 14/15, 1986/87. Köln.
- Selling, D. 1955: Wikingerzeitliche und frühmittelalterliche Keramik in Schweden. Stockholm.
- . 1979: Arkeologiska spår av det äldsta Kalmar. In: Hammarström, I. (ed.) *Kalmar stads historia I. Kalmarområdets forntid och stadens äldsta utveckling. Tiden intill 1300-talets mitt. Kalmar*.
- Shanks, M. & Hodder, I. 1995: Processual, postprocessual and interpretive archaeologies. In: Hodder, I., Shanks, M., Alexandri, A., Buchli, V., Carman, V., Last, J. & Lucas, G. (eds.). *Interpreting archaeology. Finding meaning in the past*. London, New York.
- Shennan, S.J. 1989 a: Introduction: archaeological approaches to cultural identity. In: Shennan, S.J. (ed.) *Archaeological approaches to cultural identity*. London.
- . 1989 b: Cultural transmission and cultural change. In: Leeuw, S.E. van der & Torrence, R. (eds.) *What's new? A closer look at the process of innovation*. *One World Archaeology* 14. London.
- . 1991 a: Some current issues in the archaeological identification of past peoples. *Archaeologia Polona* vol. 29. Warszawa.
- . 1991 b: Tradition, rationality and cultural transmission. In: Preucel, R.W. (ed.) *Processual and postprocessual archaeologies. Multiple ways of knowing the past*. Centre for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Occasional papers 10. Carbondale.
- Shnirelman, V. A. 1996: The faces of nationalist archaeology in Russia. In: Dias-Andreu, M. & Champion, T. (eds.) *Nationalism and archaeology in Europe*. London.
- Sigsjö, R. 1986: Skara. Stadsplan, arkeologi och historia. In: Sträng, S. (ed.) *Skara I. Före 1700. Staden i stiftet. Skara*.
- Simonsen, P. 1979: Veidemenn på Nordkalotten. Hefte 3: Yngre steinalder og overgang til metalltid. Stencilserie B, Historie, 17. Institutt for samfunnsvitenskap, Universitetet i Tromsø. Tromsø.
- Sjösvärd, L. 1987: Strängnäs. In: Andræ, T., Hasselmo, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) *7000 år på 20 år. Arkeologiska undersökningar i Mellansverige*. Stockholm.
- Sklenář, K. 1983: *Archaeology in central Europe: the first 500 years*. New York.
- Smirnova, G.P. 1956: Opyt klassifikacii keramiki drevnego Novgoroda. In: Archichovskij, A.V. & Kolchin, B.A. (eds.) *Trudy Novgorodskoj archeologiceskoj ekspedicii*, I. *Materialy i issledovanija po archeologii SSSR*, 55. Moskva.
- Solli, B. 1996: Narratives of Veøy. An investigation into the poetics and scientifics of archaeology. Universitetets Oldsaksamlinger Skrifter, Ny rekke, nr 19. Oslo.
- Spiridonov, A.M. 1985: Keramicheskij material iz ojatskich kurganov (po materialam raskopok A.M. Linevskogo). In: Kochkurkina, S.I. & Linevskij, A.M. (eds.) *Kurgany letopiskoj vesi X-nachala XIII veka*. Petroszavodsk.

- . 1989: Keramika priladozhskoj kurgannoj kul'tury. In: Kochkurkina, S.I. (ed.) *Pamjatniki jugo-vostochnogo priladozh'ja i prionezh'ja X–XIII vv.* Petrozavodsk.
- Sporrong, U. 1985: Målarbygd. Agrar bebyggelse och odling ur ett historiskt-geografiskt perspektiv. Kulturgeografiska institutionen vid Stockholms universitet. Meddelande serie B 61. Stockholm.
- Staecker, J. 1999: *Rex regum et dominus minorum. Die wikingerzeitliche Kreuz- und Kruzifixanhänger als Ausdruck der Mission in Altdänemark und Schweden.* Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 23. Stockholm.
- Staňa, Č. 1991: Ekspansja Polski na Morawy za panowania Bolesława Chrobrego i problematyka archeologiczna tego okresu (Expansion Polens in Mähren unter der Regierung Bolesław Chrobry und archäologische Problematik dieser Periode). *Studia Lednickie II. Lednica/Poznań.*
- . 1994: Die Entwicklung der Keramik vom 8. bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts in Mittelmähren. In: Staňa, Č. (ed.). *Slawische Keramik in Mitteleuropa vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert.* Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice. Forschungsprobleme des frühen Mittelalters, 1. Brno.
- . 1995: Die slawische Keramik zur Zeit der Entstehung slawischer Staaten. In: Poláček, L. (ed.) *Slawische Keramik in Mitteleuropa vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert. Terminologie und Beschreibung.* Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice, Band II. Brno.
- Stanisławski, B. 1999: *Ceramika wczesnośredniowieczna z osady południowej przy Wzgórzu Wisielców w Wolinie a analiza procesów osadniczych. Materiały Zachodniopomorskie, Tom XLIV.* Szczecin.
- Stenberger, M. 1947: *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit. 2, Fundbeschreibung und Tafeln.* Stockholm.
- . 1958: *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit. I, Text.* Stockholm.
- . 1964: *Det forntida Sverige.* Stockholm.
- . 1968: *Slawische Funde auf Öland.* In: Raddatz, K. (ed.) *Studien zur europäischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte.* Neumünster.
- Stenholm, L. 1986: *Ränderna går aldrig ur: en bebyggelsehistorisk studie av Blekinges dansktid.* Lund studies in medieval archaeology 2. Lund.
- Sternier, J. 1989: Who is signalling whom? Ceramic style, ethnicity and taphonomy among the Sirak Bulahay. *Antiquity* 63.
- Steuer, H. 1971: Zur "statistischen" Auswertung frühmittelalterlicher Keramik im Nordseeküstenbereich. *Nachrichten Niedersachsen Urgeschichte* 40. Hildesheim.
- . 1974: Die Südsiedlung von Haithabu. *Studien zur frühmittelalterlichen Keramik im Nordseeküstenbereich und in Schleswig-Holstein. Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu,* 6. Neumünster.
- Stig Sørensen, M.L. 1989: Ignoring innovation-denying change: the role of iron and the impact of external influences on the transformation of Scandinavian societies 800–500 B.C. In: Leeuw, S.E. van der & Torrence, R. (eds.) *What's new? A closer look at the process of innovation.* London.
- Stratos, A.N. 1968: *Byzantium in the seventh century* 1. Amsterdam.
- Sturluson, Snorri. 1999: *Heimskringla. A History of the Kings of Norway.* Transl. Hollander, L.M. Austin.
- Shtychov, G.V. 1992: *Polotskaja keramika Polotskoj zemli X–XI vv v sravnitel'nom izučenii.* In: Pletneva, S.A. (ed.) *Drevnerusskaja keramika.* Moskva.
- Svanberg, F. 1999: *I skuggan av vikingatiden. Om Skåne, Halland, Blekinge och Själand.* University of Lund, Institute of Archaeology, Report series No 66. Lund.
- Syse, B. 1987: Uppsala. In: Andræ, T., Hasselmo, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) *7000 år på 20 år. Arkeologiska undersökningar i Mellansverige.* Stockholm.
- Tarkiainen, K. 1973: De ryska "nationalegenskaperna" enligt svensk uppfattning i början av 1600-talet. *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 48. Helsingfors.

- . 1974: "Vår Gamble Arffiende Ryssen". Synen på Ryssland i Sverige 1595–1621 och andra studier kring den svenska Rysslandsbilden från tidigare stormaktstid. *Studia Historica Upsaliensia* 54. Uppsala.
- Tesch, S. 1987: Söderköping. In: Andræ, T., Hasselmo, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) 7000 år på 20 år. Arkeologiska undersökningar i Mellansverige. Stockholm.
- . 1990: Stad och stadsplan. In: Tesch, S. (ed.) Makt och människor i kungens Sigtuna. Sigtunautgrävningen 1988–90. Sigtuna.
- The Saga of the Jomsvikings. 1962: Transl. Blake, N.F. London.
- Tolochko, P.P. (ed.). 1981: *Novoe v archeologii Kiev*. Kiev.
- Torrence, R. & Leeuw, S.E. van der. 1989: Introduction: What's new about innovation? In: Leeuw, S.E. van der & Torrence, R. (eds.) What's new? A closer look at the process of innovation. *One World Archeology* 14. London.
- Trigger, B. 1989: A history of archaeological thought. Cambridge.
- Trotzig, G. 1991: Craftmanship and function. A study of metal vessels found in Viking Age tombs on the island of Gotland, Sweden. The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, Monographs 1. Stockholm.
- Ulsig, E. 1968: Danske adelsgodser i middelalderen. Skrifter udgivet af det Historiske Institut ved København Universitet- Bind II. København.
- Wahlöö, C. (ed.). 1976: Keramik 1000–1600 i svenska fynd. *Archaeologica Lundensia* VI. Lund.
- Wallerström, T. 1995: Norrbotten, Sverige och medeltiden. Problem kring makt och bosättning i en europeisk periferi. *Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology* 15:1. Stockholm.
- . 1997: On ethnicity as a methodological problem in historical archaeology. A northern Fennoscandian perspective. In: Andersson, H., Carelli, P. & Ersgård, L. (eds.) *Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*. *Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology* 19/Riksantikvarieämbetet Antikvariska undersökningar Skrifter nr 24. Stockholm.
- Vandkilde, H. 2000: Material culture and Scandinavian archaeology: a review of the concepts of form, function and context. In: Olausson, D. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.) *Form, function and context. Material culture studies in Scandinavian archaeology*. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia*, Series in 80, no 31. Stockholm.
- Vandrup Martens, V. 1992: Dendrodateret keramik. Et studium af typologisk og kronologisk variation af ældre sortgods fra udgravningen Apotekaren 4 i Lund. Paper at the Institute of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund university. Lund.
- Vansina, J. 1984: Art history in Afrika. An introduction to method. New York.
- Warnke, D. 1967: Eine mittelalterliche Töpferei von Daberkow, Kreis Demmin. *Boden-denkmalspflege in Mecklenburg*. Rostock.
- Wase, D. 1989: Befolkningsförhållanden och förbindelser-det dubbelsidiga samhället. In: Visby-staden och omlandet 72: II. RAÄ och SHM. Rapport, Medeltidsstaden 72. Stockholm.
- Weibull, L. 1947: S:t Knut i Österled. *Scandia*. Tidskrift för historisk forskning, band XVII. Lund.
- Veit, U. 1989: Ethnic concepts in German prehistory: a case study on the relationship between cultural identity and archaeological objectivity. In: Shennan, S.J. (ed.) *Archaeological approaches to cultural identity*. *One World Archaeology* 10. London.
- Weithmann, M.W. 1978: Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der Griechischen Halbinsel. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Ethnographie Südosteuropas. München.
- Wenskus, R. 1961: Stammesbildung und Verfassung. Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen gentes. Köln.
- Verhaeghe, F. 1998: Medieval and later social networks: the contribution of archaeology. In: Hundsichler, H. (ed.) *Die Vielfalt der Dinge. Neue Wege zur Analyse mittelalterlicher Sachkultur*. Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 4. bis

7. Oktober 1994. Forschungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, Diskussionen und Materialien nr3. Wien.
- Wernicke, H. 1997: Der Hansekaufmann als Gast in fremden Ländern. Aufnahme und Verhalten. In: Erfen, I. & Spiess, K.-H. (eds.) *Fremdheit und Reisen im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart.
- Westholm, Gun. 1989: Visby-bönders hamn och handels säte. In: *Visby-staden och omlandet II*. RAÄ & SHM. Rapport, Medeltidsstaden 72: II. Stockholm.
- Wiessner, P. 1983: Style and social information in Kalahari San projectile points. *American Antiquity* 49: 2.
- . 1989: Style and changing relations between the individual and society. In: Hodder, I. (ed.) *The meaning of things: material culture and symbolic expression*. London.
- Wilde, K.A. 1939: Die Bedeutung der Grabung Wollin 1934. *Methodische Grundlagen für die Erforschung der Wikinger- und Slawen-Siedlung Wollin*. Stettin.
- Vince, A. 1996: English pottery imports in medieval Denmark. *By, mark og geest* 8. Ribe.
- Wobst, H.M. 1977: Stylistic behaviour and information exchange. In: Cleland, C.E. (ed.) *For the Director: research essays in honour of James B. Griffin*. Museum of Anthropology Anthropological Papers 61. Ann Arbor.
- Vogel, V. 1972: Slawische Funde in Wagrien. *Offa-Bücher*, Band 29. Neumünster.
- Wolfram, H. 1979: Die Geschichte der Goten Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie. München.
- . 1985: Ethnogenese im frühmittelalterlichen Donau- und Ostalpenraum (6. bis 10. Jahrhundert). In: Beumann, H. & Schröder, W. (eds.) *Frühmittelalterliche Ethnogenese im Alpenraum*. Sigmaringen.
- . 1990: Einleitung oder Überlegungen zur *Origo Gentis*. In: Wolfram, H. & Pohl, W. (eds.) *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern II*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 12. Wien.
- Wolfram, H. & Pohl, W. (eds.) *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern II*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 12. Wien.
- Vretemark, M. 1997: Från ben till boskap. Kosthåll och djurhållning med utgångspunkt i medeltida benmaterial från Skara. Del I. *Skrifter från länsmuseet i Skara*, 25. Skara.
- Wright, R.P. 1991: Women's labor and pottery production in prehistory. In: Gero, J.M. & Conkey, M.W. (eds.) *Engendering archaeology. Women and prehistory*. Oxford.
- Wyszomirska-Werbart, B. 1992: Scandinavia and the Eastern Baltic during the Migration Period. The cultural interactions. In: Hårdh, B. & Wyszomirska-Werbart, B. (eds.) *Contacts across the Baltic Sea during the Late Iron Age (5th–12th centuries)*. University of Lund, Institute of Archeology, Report series No 43. Lund.
- Yrwing, H. 1986: Visby-Hansestad på Gotland. Stockholm.
- Zachrisson, I. 1973: Rapport över efterundersökning av lapska fynd från Mörtträsket, Lycksele sn, Lappland. Västerbotten Museum D nr 373/73. Umeå.
- . 1976: Lapps and Scandinavians. Archaeological finds from northern Sweden. *Early Norrland* 10. Stockholm.
- . 1984: De samiska metaldepåerna år 1000–1350 i ljuset av fyndet från Mörtträsket, Lappland. *Archaeology and Environment* 3. Umeå.
- . 1985: Saami or Nordic? A model for ethnic determination of northern Swedish archaeological material from the Viking Period and the Early Middle Ages. In honorem Evert Baudou. *Archaeology and Environment* 4. Umeå.
- . 1987: Östliga kontakter under nordsvensk vikingatid och tidig medeltid. Nordkalotten i en skiftande värld-kulturer utan gränser och stater över gränser. *Studia Historica Septentrionalia* 14:1. Rovaniemi.

- . 1988: Arkeologi och etnicitet. Samisk kultur i mellersta Sverige ca 1–1500 e Kr. Bebyggelsehistorisk Tidskrift 14. Stockholm.
- . 1993: A review of archaeological research on Saami prehistory in Sweden. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 1. Stockholm 1993.
- (ed.). 1997: Möten i gränsland. Samer och germaner i Mellanskandinavien. Statens Historiska Museum, Monographs 4. Stockholm.
- Zachrisson, T. 1998: Gård, gräns, gravfält. Sammanhang kring ädelmetalldepåer och runstenar från vikingatid och tidigmedeltid i Uppland och Gästrikland. *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology* 15. Stockholm.
- Žak, J. 1989: Das Problem der skandinavischen "Importe" im Oder-Weichsel-Raum während des 9.–11. Jahrhunderts. In: Oldenburg-Wolin-Staraja Ladoga-Novgorod-Kiev. Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Band 69. Mainz.
- Åqvist, C. 1992: Pollista and Sanda—two thousand-year-old settlements in the Mälaren region. In: Ersgård, L., Holmström, M. & Lamm, K. (eds.) *Rescue and research. Reflections of society in Sweden 700–1700 A.D.* Riksantikvarieämbetet, Arkeologiska undersökningar, Skrifter no 2. Stockholm.
- Ödman, A. 1987: Stockholms tre borgar. Från vikingatida spärrfäste till medeltida kastellborg. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad 80. Stockholm.
- Östergren, M. 1989: Mellan stengrund och stenhus. Gotlands vikingatida silverskatter som boplätsindikation. Thesis and papers in archaeology. New series 2. Institute of Archaeology. University of Stockholm. Stockholm.

INDEX

- Absalon, archbishop of Lund 61, 62, 225, 324
- Adam of Bremen, *scriptor* 16, 23, 225, 330, 364, 374, 435
- Anglo-Scandinavian ware 145–149, 282f., 285, 306, 320f.
- Alby 453
- Alexander Nevsky, Novg. grand prince 2, 38
- Alt-Lübeck-Liubice 204, 210–212, 221
- Alvastra, monastery in Östergötland 385
- Arnold of Lübeck, *scriptor* 16, 65, 82
- Assartorp 381f., 383f.
- Augerum 330–333
- Avars 56f., 71, 94, 160, 187, 195, 507
- Baltic ware
 definition of 279
 first mention 271f.
 late Baltic ware 284f., 287, 292, 294, 298, 305, 307, 313, 315f., 317, 320f., 323, 481, 485f., 489, 500, 517, 521
- Barshaldershed 345, 348
- Behren-Lübchin 201, 204, 214f., 221
- Berga 354, 358, 359, 361, 400, 478, 503
- Berghem 381–385
- Bialogard-Belgard 201, 223, 235f.
- Birka 63, 70, 166, 186, 266, 268 et *passim*, 335, 402–406, 409, 430f., 436, 452, 462f., 466, 472, 474, 491, 494, 501, 505, 512, 514, 523
- Bjäresjö 308–313, 316f., 319f., 322, 485
- Björke 452, 454
- Blacksta 453
- Blekinge 106, 108, 330 et *passim*, 472, 474, 477, 481f., 486, 489, 493, 515f., 527
- Blučina pottery 161, 163
- Bobzin pottery 201f., 204f., 207f., 210 et *passim*, 216, 218f., 221, 224, 227, 230 et *passim*, 239, 300, 380, 403
- Bolesław I Chrobry, Pol. ruler 58, 66f., 151
- Bolesław III Krzywousty, Pol. ruler 26, 28
- Borg 395, 396–398, 399, 479, 482
- Bromma 456
- Bräcka 326, 329
- Burisleiv Sverkersson, Sw. king 28
- Byzantium 2, 18, 19, 20, 45, 54, 57, 56f., 70, 79, 93, 94, 156, 160, 284, 157, 160, 174, 193, 254, 402, 519, 521, 523, 530
 amphorae from 174, 284, 402, 521, 523
- Coins 84, 222, 276, 279, 304, 306, 321, 347, 364, 375, 405, 407, 426, 434, 436, 444, 446, 450, 473, 475, 520
- Contextual archaeology 10–13, 14f., 72f., 101, 124
- Crusades
 against Finland 36, 60
 against Novgorod 38
 against Wends 29, 60, 61, 68, 274, 517
- Cultural history 8f., 14, 16, 73, 91, 119
- Culture-historical archaeology 3, 8, 47, 51, 86, 89, 104, 157, 525
- Cultural identity
 definition of 99
 in clothing 79–83
 in cultural-historical archaeology 86f.
 in history 93 et *passim*
 in anthropology 97 et *passim*
- Cultural transfer 7, 10, 60, 77f., 124, 128, 133–139, 152, 473, 496, 512, 516
- Danes 22 et *passim*, 26, 28f., 33f., 42, 61, 65, 74, 83, 214, 223, 336, 373, 509, 517, 523
- Danish tongue 83
- Danmarks Söderby 459, 460
- Danube pottery 160f., 173, 189f., 195
- Denmark 2, 4, 12, 22 et *passim*, 34f., 41, 61–66, 68, 70f., 74, 108, 140, 142, 147, 210, 222, 264, 268, 273, 274f., 277, 279, 284, 299, 301, 304f., 323, 326, 329f., 333, 372f., 381, 385, 407, 472, 477, 478, 481, 489, 492f., 499f., 505, 505–511, 512, 514 et *passim*, 526

- Direct bias 137, 496, 498 et *passim*.
 Division of labour 13, 71, 128, 140f.,
 156, 187, 192f., 195 et *passim*, 198f.,
 247, 397, 425, 471, 473, 484f., 491,
 493 et *passim*, 497, 499, 503f., 506f.,
 512, 514, 517f.
 Dnepr river 1, 19, 21, 157, 160, 174,
 176f., 178, 193
 Dolní Věstonice pottery 161, 163, 189

 Edeby 458, 461
 Ekensberg 453f., 467
 Eketorp 63, 353f., 358, 360–362, 486f.,
 490
 Elbe river 5, 20, 24, 29, 47, 54, 56, 69,
 74, 169, 174, 190, 222, 266, 270, 273,
 275, 299, 339, 378, 380, 405, 430
 Eldsberga 324, 326
 England 14, 23f., 106, 111, 144–149,
 269, 373, 390, 450, 510
 Erik Ejegod, Da. king 83
 Erik Emune, Da. king 85, 317
 Erik (the Holy) Jedvardsson, Sw.
 king 36
 Erik (Bogislaw) of Pomerania, Da., Nor.
 and Sw. king 27
 Erik Segersäll, Sw. king 27
 Ethnicity, definition of 99
 Ethnic identity 4, 19, 56, 77, 80f., 84,
 86, 95 et *passim*, 106f., 109 et *passim*,
 118 et *passim*, 130, 188, 470f., 495f.,
 525
 in historical sources 91 et *passim*

 Fardhem 349
 Feldberg-Kedrzyno pottery 63, 165 et
passim, 171, 186, 188 et *passim*, 194f.,
 203, 231, 299, 403, 405, 462, 466,
 472, 494
 Finland 36 et *passim*, 60, 103, 107, 113,
 265, 411, 512
 Finnestorp 381f.
 Finno-Ugrians 17, 21, 70, 85, 511
 Finno-Ugrian pottery 183, 186, 248,
 402, 407, 411
 Fjälkinge 308, 315, 317 et *passim*, 323,
 473
 Flytorp 460, 462
 Fotevik, Scania 85, 317
 France 87, 269, 390
 Fresendorf-Wolin pottery 63, 165,
 167f., 171, 186, 190, 197f., 201, 203,
 217, 219, 221, 224, 226f., 230f., 235,
 258, 268, 272, 275, 299 et *passim*, 306,
 323, 383, 403, 405, 462, 466, 472f.,
 494, 507
 Frisians 407, 523

 Garz pottery 202f., 205f., 214, 216,
 221, 224, 226, 231f., 380
 Gdańsk-Danzig 201, 223, 225, 232,
 236–240, 244, 258f., 300, 339, 524
 Gender 5, 124f., 128, 138, 156, 495
 and division of labour 128, 140f.
 Germans 22, 25f., 30, 32 et *passim*, 43f.,
 47f., 50, 62, 83, 85, 87f., 91, 94, 96,
 336, 433
 Germany 3, 9, 43f., 48f., 52, 54f., 58 et
passim, 68, 70, 79, 87, 156, 160, 171,
 189, 199, 201, 222, 258, 264f., 269,
 272, 299, 352, 356, 367, 376, 380,
 388 et *passim*, 425, 489, 508, 516,
 518
 Gnezdovo 70, 178 et *passim*, 196, 200
 Gniezno-Gnesen 58, 270
 Grimeton 326, 328
 Groß Raden pottery 171, 186
 Gotland 63, 71f., 113, 141, 264, 270,
 334f., 336 et *passim*, 344 et *passim*, 352
 et *passim*, 361, 394, 472, 474, 475 et
passim, 477f., 482, 486, 490, 492 et
passim, 498, 502 et *passim*, 505, 511f.,
 514 et *passim*, 523f.
 Gotlanders, *Gutar* 334, 336f., 351f.,
 477, 486, 515, 518, 523, 527
 Gotska Sandön 347, 353, 478, 521
 Gottskalk, Obodrit prince 24, 210, 214,
 510
 Greece 56f., 129, 529
 Guided variation 137, 153, 496, 498 et
passim, 508
 Guild of the Danes, *Knudsgilde* 336
 Guilds 31f., 80, 142, 144, 336, 407
 Gulf of Finland 37f., 265, 411, 512
 Gwiezdin pottery 171
 Gårdstånga 308 et *passim*, 316f., 485
 Gärestad 332f.
 Götaland 27, 333, 353, 355, 360,
 363, 373, 406, 492 et *passim*, 504f.,
 515

Habitus 122, 126, 154, 155, 496, 504
 Hedeby-Haithabu 89, 213, 225, 266,
 272, 335, 402, 523, 272
 Halland 67, 108, 323ff., 361, 373f.,
 472, 474, 477f., 481f., 486, 489, 492f.,
 503, 508, 511, 515f., 527
 Hallsten, Sw. king 375

- Hanging vessels 222, 284, 287, 291 et *passim*, 305, 311, 317, 323, 325, 346, 474, 499, 508, 515
 Hansa, Hanse 73, 143, 224, 244, 520, 525
 Harald Gilli, Nor. king 81, 84
 Harald (Bluetooh) Gormsson, Dan. king 1, 23, 26f., 66
 Harald Kesja, Dan. prince 85
 Helmold of Bosau, *scriptor* 16, 33, 65, 509f.
 Hemse 350
 Henrik Gottskalksson, Obodrit prince 24, 26, 28, 65, 210
 Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony 24, 26, 61, 484, 518
 Henrik (Skatelar), Dan. prince 81
 Holstein 66, 165, 167f., 189, 203, 204, 211, 213, 220f., 275, 300
 Husby, Trosa 453
 Husby, Vagnhärad 455
 Husby, Vendel 461
 Hörsås 324, 326

 Ilmen, lake 21, 183
 Indirect bias 137, 496, 498, 501 et *passim*
 Inge the Elder, Sw. king 35, 373

 Justinian, Byz. emperor 19

 Kalmar 268 et *passim*, 353f., 355–357, 360 et *passim*, 486f.
 Karelia, Karelians 38f., 103, 113, 519
 Kiev 21f., 36, 54, 159, 176, 183, 191, 193, 196, 247, 254, 257, 405, 427, 519
 Knut Eriksson, Sw. king 28, 374f.
 Knut the Great, king of Den. and Eng. 23f., 34, 147, 321, 373
 Knut the Holy, Dan. king 35, 142, 147, 373
 Knud Lavard, Dan. duke and *knez* of the Obodrites 24, 28, 35f., 81f., 109
 Kołobrzeg-Kolberg 223, 225, 230, 232, 235, 244–246, 260, 339
 Kosel 213
Kügeltopf pottery 210, 219, 222, 235, 244f., 260, 264, 276, 283, 287, 306, 317, 356, 376f., 387f., 390, 407, 430f., 433, 435, 476, 484f., 487, 489, 490, 524
 harte Grauware 222, 337, 365, 377, 389, 407, 411, 431, 431, 445, 484, 489
 weiche Grauware 286, 407, 411, 431, 476
 Konungahälla-Kungahälla 67, 509
 Kraków-Krakau 173, 224
 Kruszwica-Kruschwitz 201, 223, 242, 244, 259
 Kyrkheddinge 308 et *passim*, 313, 316f., 320f., 485
 Kärragård 324, 326
 Köpingsvik 333, 353, 354f., 360 et *passim*, 478, 482, 487, 503, 521

 Ladoga, lake 21, 37, 45, 70, 174, 251, 254
 Ladoga type pottery 184, 187, 403f., 430, 472
 Lake Mälaren valley 103, 141, 263f., 270, 373, 381, 400, 404, 406f., 430, 433f., 439, 442f., 445, 449, 452, 462f., 465 et *passim*, 472, 475 et *passim*, 479f., 483f., 486, 488, 491f., 492 et *passim*, 501f., 512, 516, 521, 527
 distribution of Baltic ware 463, 465
 Landeryd 396
 Late Viking Age pottery 12, 141, 325, 326, 337, 353, 385, 388f., 410, 431, 436 et *passim*, 440, 442, 445, 464f., 475, 477, 479, 481f., 484, 491, 494f., 502, 504, 506, 511 et *passim*
 Leipzig pottery 169, 190
 Libočany pottery 164
 Linga 453
 Linköping 336, 358, 363, 385ff., 391, 394f., 399f., 444, 482, 487, 490, 503, 521
 Lübeck-Bucu 30f., 77, 127, 144, 210, 222, 336, 339, 521
 Luka-Rajkoveckaja culture 176
 Lund 8f., 70, 84, 145–149, 151, 223, 263, 265 et *passim*, 274, 279–307, 317, 319f., 322f., 374, 409, 472 et *passim*, 476f., 480f., 485, 489, 491, 493f., 507f., 511, 514, 517, 521, 523
 Luticians 20, 25, 506
 Länna 455
 Lödöse 274f., 361, 364, 375–381, 383, 476, 478, 482, 487, 490, 494, 516, 523f.
 Lötä 453

 Magdeburg 230, 232, 245
 Magnus Barefoot, Nor. king 81
 Magnus Eriksson, Sw. king 38f., 143
 Magnus the Good, Dan. king 24, 225

- Magnus Nielsen, Dan. prince 26, 28, 35, 81
 Magnus of Orkney, duke 35
 March pottery 161, 163
 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 17, 25, 28, 30, 66, 157, 165 et *passim*, 171, 189, 201 et *passim*, 211, 213f., 219 et *passim*, 230f., 236f., 239, 258, 260, 266, 271 et *passim*, 275, 299 et *passim*, 306, 308, 322f., 339, 362, 378, 380, 396, 425f., 505, 511
 Mecklenburg-Veligrad, stronghold 23, 206–210, 220f., 509
 Menkendorf-Szczecin pottery 166–168, 171, 186, 189f., 194, 198, 201, 210, 224, 226f., 229 et *passim*, 235, 240f., 258f., 472, 497, 507f.
 Merchants 30, 31, 36, 40, 68, 70, 141–144, 230, 235, 245, 281, 336, 400, 477, 481, 489f., 497, 501f., 515, 518, 520f., 523, 525f.
 Mieszko, Pol. duke 26f., 196
 Migration 50–52, 71, 89, 92, 112, 190, 417, 512
 Mstislav Vladimirovich 35
 Mukran 216
 Mölleholmen 308, 315, 318f., 323
 Möre 330, 353, 477

 Nakon, Obodrit *knez* 23, 206
 Nakonids, Obodrit royal house 23f., 65, 207, 210
 Natzevitz 216
 Nedre Sävja 460
Nemtsi 36, 83,
 Niels, Danish king 24, 26, 85
 Nitra Lupka 193
 Nora 452, 454
 Norway 81, 107, 113f., 147, 509
 Novgorod 2, 21f., 35 et *passim*, 51, 54, 58, 60, 83, 103, 113, 143, 178, 183 et *passim*, 187, 191, 196, 201, 230, 247–254, 256, 271, 336, 339, 344, 347, 352, 395, 426–427, 433, 467, 477, 481 et *passim*, 486, 501, 503f., 515, 517 et *passim*, 524, 526
 Novgorodians 3, 37f., 74, 518f., 523
 Novotorzhsk 519
 Nyköping 38, 274, 401, 434f., 437ff., 448f., 455, 466f., 488, 519f., 524

 Obodrites 20, 22 et *passim*, 28, 65, 82, 190, 206f., 214, 506, 509f.
 Okome 326, 328

 Olaf the Gentle (Kyrri), Nor. king 80, 142
 Olaf the Holy, Nor. king 35, 477
 Olaf Tryggvasson, Nor. king 27
 Oldenburg-Stargard 30, 132, 168, 199, 204–206, 220f., 378
 Olof Skötkonung, Sw. king 34, 373
 Oppeby 455

 Pan-Slavism 42, 45, 74
 Pilgrims 83
Peterhof, German merchants' yard in Novgorod 143
 Piasts, Pol. noble house 3, 21f., 26f., 54, 66f., 145, 150f., 194, 197, 223, 242, 244, 300, 509f.
 Polabians 20
 Poland 2f., 5, 14, 17, 20 et *passim*, 25 et *passim*, 41, 43f., 48 et *passim*, 53f., 58, 65, 83f., 145, 150, 156, 160, 164, 166, 169, 171 et *passim*, 188, 192 et *passim*, 196f., 199, 201, 223f., 236, 240, 242, 244f., 258 et *passim*, 264, 267, 269, 299f., 425, 509f., 524f., 529
 Polotsk 36, 178, 180, 200
 Pomorze-Pomerania 5, 26 et *passim*, 65 et *passim*, 84, 112, 164 et *passim*, 171, 201, 219, 223 et *passim*, 225, 227, 230, 232, 235 et *passim*, 240, 242, 244f., 258 et *passim*, 266, 299 et *passim*, 304, 322f., 339, 362f., 380, 426, 487, 509, 524
 Pomeranians 20, 24, 26, 65
 Potters
 social status of 144f., 148, 154, 514
 household industry 140, 144, 498
 household production 140f., 195, 236, 258, 378, 380, 394, 462, 472, 482, 491, 497
 Pottery
 and division of labour 13, 140f., 156, 187, 192f., 195 et *passim*, 247, 397, 425, 471, 473, 484f., 491, 493 et *passim*, 497, 499, 503f., 506f., 512, 514, 517f.
 Prague-Korchak pottery 18, 50, 57, 159, 164, 173, 176, 188, 194f.
 Prysggården 395, 398f., 482
 Pskov 178, 180–183, 191, 196, 201, 247f., 251, 339, 344, 395, 433, 481, 483

- Ranians, Vendic tribe on Rügen 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 65, 190, 216, 506
- Ragnvald Knaphövde, Sw. king 373
- Ratibor, Rettibür, duke of Pomerania 67f., 509
- Regino of Prüm, *scriptor* 79, 85
- Rekinde 456
- Rethra 25f.
- Rikissa, Pol. princess and Sw. queen 26, 28, 35, 81
- Riga 336, 524
- Roma, Gotland 334f., 477, 515
- Romny-Borshevo culture 176
- Rondarve 347
- Roskilde 85, 272, 275, 509
- Rötha pottery 169f.
- Rügen 20, 24, 26, 65, 165, 168, 203, 216 et *passim*, 258, 301, 304, 306, 493, 499f., 504, 506, 510, 516, 526
- Runestones 1, 79, 86, 279f., 336, 354, 359, 363, 373, 386f., 407, 435, 451, 480, 505
- Rurikids, Rus' royal house 21f., 36, 176, 426f.
- Rus' 1f., 5, 17, 21f., 34–38, 39, 46, 48, 51f., 54, 56, 71f., 111, 127, 174, 176, 178, 183f., 186f., 190f., 196 et *passim*, 242, 244f., 247, 249, 254, 257 et *passim*, 339, 341 et *passim*, 351f., 355, 362, 391, 394f., 404 et *passim*, 419, 421 et *passim*, 428, 431, 433, 439 et *passim*, 446, 449, 452, 462, 466f., 472, 474 et *passim*, 481 et *passim*, 486 et *passim*, 493 et *passim*, 497, 501 et *passim*, 505, 507, 510 et *passim*, 518f., 521 et *passim*, 526f.
- Rus' pottery in Scandinavian contexts 341, 344, 351f., 394, 419, 421 et *passim*, 433, 440, 448, 443, 467, 483, 486, 488, 490, 494, 503, 505, 512, 518, 519f., 521 et *passim*, 525
- Ruschwitz 216, 219
- Russians 17, 35, 44f., 51 et *passim*, 112, 336, 467, 520, 518, 524
attitudes towards 39–42, 70, 528
- Ryska gården*, Visby 337
- Ryurikovo Gorodische 183f., 186
- Råda 381f., 384
- Rättaregården 382 et *passim*
- Saami 103, 112 et *passim*, 125
- Saltovo-Mayaki culture 174, 193
- Sanda 406, 450f., 459, 462, 466
- Sandomierz-Sandomir 132, 149 et *passim*, 223, 511
- Santok-Zantoch 172, 201, 223, 240 et *passim*, 259
- Saxo Grammaticus, *scriptor* 2, 16, 24, 61 et *passim*, 64 et *passim*, 81f., 85
- Saxons 23f., 29, 59, 66, 69, 79, 82, 223, 225, 407
- Saxony 222
- Skåne-Scania, district in medieval Denmark 63, 83, 106, 108f., 203, 222, 265f., 272, 299, 301, 305, 307–323, 329f., 333, 335, 363, 374, 407, 435, 472 et *passim*, 480f., 485f., 489, 493, 495, 498 et *passim*, 503 et *passim*, 510f., 514 et *passim*, 521
- Scharstorf 213
- Schleswig 24, 38, 65, 82, 276, 300, 339, 378, 520f.
- Schleswig-Holstein 30, 164, 189, 192, 204, 211, 222, 258, 260, 300, 378
- Sigtuna 2, 38, 79, 143, 266, 270, 360f., 374, 397, 400 et *passim*, 406–434, 435f., 439 et *passim*, 448f., 452, 455, 461 et *passim*, 465 et *passim*, 472 et *passim*, 479f., 483f., 486 et *passim*, 490f., 493f., 498, 500 et *passim*, 504f., 512 et *passim*, 516, 518 et *passim*, 523, 526
- Sigurd Jerusalem-farer, Nor. king 67, 81
- Sille 453, 464
- Silte 346, 352f.
- Skara 361, 363–375, 380f., 383 et *passim*, 444, 476, 478, 482, 487, 490, 494, 516
- Skavsta 455
- Skummeslöv 324, 326
- Skänninge 385f., 388, 391, 394f., 482, 487, 490, 503, 521
- Skärlöv 359 et *passim*, 478
- Slavs
definition of 18–22
in Greece 56f.
- Småland 79, 105, 330, 353f., 356 et *passim*, 361, 472, 476, 478, 482, 486, 490, 492f., 503, 506, 515f., 527,
- Smolensk 178, 180
- Snorri Sturluson, *scriptor* 16, 68, 79 et *passim*, 509
- Solberga, Öland 354
- Solberga, Östergötland 396
- Stapelhagen 458, 461
- Staré Město 193
- Staraya Ladoga 13, 34, 36f., 70, 111, 178, 183f., 186, 196, 251, 254, 339, 403
- Stenby 455, 457

- Stockholm 47, 265f., 401, 444, 446 et *passim*, 450, 456, 463, 467, 488, 521, 525
 Stora Tensta 457, 461
 Strängnäs 401, 434, 436, 438f., 442 et *passim*, 448f., 462, 466f., 483, 488, 516, 521
 Style 128–131
 and culture transfer 136f., 498 et *passim*
 and pottery 131 et *passim*
 Sukow-Dziedzice pottery 159, 164f., 171, 189, 195, 232, 271
 Svear 1, 27, 186, 330, 334, 336, 375, 475, 483
 Svealand 373
 Sweden 1, 4, 12f., 27f., 34f., 38f., 41, 61, 63, 67, 70, 72f., 79, 113f., 116, 129, 140, 155, 263f., 269 et *passim*, 274, 333, 353, 355, 363, 373 et *passim*, 380f., 392, 394 et *passim*, 399f., 438, 442, 469, 472, 475, 477, 480f., 491, 493, 498, 503, 505, 516, 518f., 522, 526, 528f.
 Swedes 1, 2, 23, 27, 34, 37f., 42, 74, 83, 103, 113, 127, 355, 373, 512, 519, 523
 Sven Estridsen, Dan. king 24, 67, 147
 Sven Forkbeard, Dan. king 23, 27, 66f., 84, 147,
 Sven Grate, Dan. duke 25
 Sverker the Elder, Sw. king 28, 35, 385
 Szczecin-Stettin 26, 67f., 165f., 201, 223, 225, 230–235, 237, 258, 300f., 305, 339, 426, 487, 521
 Säby 406, 450 et *passim*, 457, 462, 466
 Söderköping 274, 361, 363, 385f., 387–390, 397, 399, 400, 436, 476, 479, 482, 487, 490, 503, 521, 524
 Södermanland 70, 434, 436, 449, 452 et *passim*, 461 et *passim*, 466 et *passim*, 480, 493, 504
 Södertälje 401, 434, 435f., 440–442, 445, 448f., 452, 463, 466f., 475f., 479, 483, 488, 516, 521
 Talby 453
 Tarv 457
 Teterow, stronghold 201, 204, 221
 Teterow pottery 201 et *passim*, 205 et *passim*, 210 et *passim*, 218 et *passim*, 224, 226f., 229, 231f., 237, 258f., 271f., 301, 305, 339, 362, 372, 378, 426, 481, 487
 Tornow-Klenica pottery 160, 169–171, 188 et *passim*, 201
 Tors backe 460, 462
 Trade 63f., 69f., 134, 136, 139, 141f., 151, 154, 271, 275 et *passim*, 281f., 353f., 364, 375f., 386, 395, 407, 407, 470, 482, 484, 493, 509, 518 et *passim*
 Treaty of Ardenburg 523
 Treaty signed by Novgorod and the Svear 520
 Trulstorp 324, 326
 Träslöv 324, 326
 Tuna, Sollentuna 450 et *passim*, 456, 461, 463, 467, 484, 521
 Turntable, potters equipment 144, 147, 160f., 169, 171, 173f., 176, 178, 180, 182 et *passim*, 187, 194 et *passim*, 199, 224, 230, 232, 235, 240 et *passim*, 245, 247, 251, 254, 258f., 279, 306, 313, 319, 325, 328f., 331, 333, 338, 359, 365, 371, 372, 381, 383f., 392, 404, 426, 430, 472, 481, 493, 500, 511, 525f.
 Uddvide 348
 Uppland 39, 70, 261, 336, 375, 401, 406, 449f., 452, 455 et *passim*, 466 et *passim*, 484, 493f., 504, 513, 514
 late Viking Age graves in 450
 Uppsala 401, 444, 446 et *passim*, 456, 463, 466f., 488, 521
 Usedom 168, 301, 304
 Vaksala 455f.
 Valdemar I, Dan. king 26, 35, 461f., 267
 Valsta 406, 450f., 460, 462, 466
 Varangians 1, 103, 406, 519
 Varla 324f.
 Virö 359, 361
 Visby 38, 273f., 278, 334–344, 347 et *passim*, 351f., 360f., 363, 467, 472, 476f., 481f., 486, 489f., 493, 503, 511, 515, 517f., 521, 523f.
 Vipperow pottery 201 et *passim*, 205, 207f., 210f., 216, 218 et *passim*, 224, 226f., 229 et *passim*, 237, 239, 258f., 272, 301, 323, 362, 372, 487, 506
 Vladimir Monomakh, grand prince of Kiev 21, 34, 36, 426
 Vladimir Svyatoslavich, grand prince of Kiev 21, 34, 180, 183, 191, 196, 406, 519
 Volga river 174

- Volkhov river 111, 183, 191, 427
 Volodar Glebovich of Minsk, duke 28, 35
 Volyncevo culture 176
 Västergarn 345, 350ff., 486, 521
 Västergötland 363, 371 et *passim*, 380 et *passim*, 472f., 476, 478f., 482, 492f., 505, 515f., 527
 Västerås 401, 436, 444–446, 466 et *passim*, 476, 479, 483, 488, 491, 523
 Västnora 452, 454
 Västra Bökestad 399

 Warder, stronghold 199, 204, 211, 213
 Warder pottery 204 et *passim*, 210 et *passim*, 214, 216ff., 220f., 226f., 230, 232, 237, 258, 271, 300f., 305f., 323, 473
 Wends 2, 3, 5, 17, 22f., 25, 29 et *passim*, 33f., 42, 60ff., 65, 67, 74f., 79, 222, 267, 318, 378, 394, 509, 517
 Weisdin pottery 207, 210, 214, 216, 224, 227, 229, 231, 271, 347, 352, 508
 Wilzians 20, 22, 25, 190, 506
 Woldegk pottery 171, 198, 201, 203, 214, 224, 226f., 231, 235, 403

 Wolin-Wollin 27, 66f., 165f., 168, 201, 203, 223, 225–230, 232, 258, 266, 268, 270, 278, 299 et *passim*, 323, 339
 Yaropolk, Rus' prince 406
 Ytterbyn 457

 Zabrušany pottery 163f.
 Zirkow 216

 Årsta 453

 Öland 63, 333, 353 et *passim*, 358 et *passim*, 472, 476 et *passim*, 482, 486, 490, 493, 503, 505, 515f., 527
 Önnerup 308 et *passim*, 313 et *passim*, 316f., 320, 485
 Öresund (the Sound) 266, 279, 472
 Öringe 326, 328, 373
 Ösarp 324, 326
 Östergötland 362f., 373, 381, 385 et *passim*, 391, 395 et *passim*, 434, 439, 472, 476, 478 et *passim*, 482, 487, 490, 492 et *passim*, 501, 505, 516, 527
 Östorp 324, 326
 Översta 396